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The Origins and Development of Higher Education for Negros in South Carolina to 1920

Paul L. Sanford

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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DEAN

DATE

13 March 1965

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR NEGROES IN SOUTH CAROLINA TO 1920

By

Paul L. Sanford

Committee

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CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF NEGRO EDUCATION

The term higher education for Negroes is usually applied to that intellectual training received by Negroes after the time of Emancipation and Reconstruction when inspired missionaries and democratic legislatures first established schools for the education of the ex-slaves. That this period marked the beginning of a systematized method of lifting the veils of ignorance from the eyes of the freedman is not to be doubted. It may be historically incorrect, however, to designate these efforts as the first attempts to educate the Negro, and especially may this be true with regard to the appellation "higher education."

The connotation implied by higher education in the mid-twentieth century is that of instruction offered to persons of considerable intellectual maturity, usually requiring previous preparation through the secondary school. In this sense the term is applicable to the progress made in the education of the Negro at the present time. The ante-bellum period, however, was characterized by a different situation inasmuch as the Negro was a slave, a beast of burden with no particular human rights. Under such conditions, any intelligence which he might receive could be called higher education. As a matter of fact, it may be suggested that the life of the Negro in America has been one of
constant education which was at once compulsory insofar as his survival and progress in a new environment were dependent upon his acquisition of the techniques of the white man's mode of living.

The academic education of the Negro has been divided into three periods: (1) Education prior to 1861; (2) Educational efforts of the Civil War period; (3) Education through public and private funds since the Civil War.¹ In application of this division to South Carolina, it appears necessary to further divide the first period into two parts, divided by the year 1830. During that year, slave insurrections caused the whites to re-assess the idea of educating the Negro - who had been present in this colony since 1670 when the first boatload of Englishmen arrived at what is now Charleston.² The original number of Negroes was only four and they were then in a minority; the situation, however, was to reverse itself as population estimates and accounts, through 1920, were to indicate that the Negro population developed into a majority, exceeding the white population by an average of approximately ten to twenty percent, and thus was considered by the mere fact of numbers a threat to the whites.³

Two generalizations may be made about the education of the early


²Hereafter written as "Charlestown" until after the Independence movement when patriotic citizens elected to dishonor the Crown by giving the city its present name.

Negroes in South Carolina. First, some doubt may be cast upon the
ability of the mass of slaves to communicate well with the whites of
the colony as may be indicated by the fact that Charlestown was a
direct point of landing by ships sailing from Africa. Second, it is
probable that the whites were not long in observing that the slave
could be more useful if he possessed a greater acquaintance with the
arts and sciences of the master. It has been suggested that the Negro
slave in considerable numbers received rudimentary education, and there
has been established three categories of whites who early advocated
and were active in the education of the Negro. These were: (1) Masters

\[4\] South Carolina received the bulk of her slaves directly from
Africa during the eighteenth century. Lorenzo D. Turner, in his study
Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect (Chicago: The University of Chicago
Press, 1949), pp. 1-5, suggests that the figure 100,000 would be a
conservative estimate of the number of slaves imported direct from
Africa to South Carolina and Georgia prior to 1808. These slaves, he
presumes, had little or no acquaintance with the English Language, a
presumption based on the extent to which African customs and speech
habits have survived in the area. Survival, he maintains, was rein-
forced by continued direct importation from Africa throughout the first
half of the nineteenth century, even though such importation was
illegal. Further support to the idea of poor communication between
whites and blacks during period is found in a letter from Alexander
Garden, Commissary of North and South Carolina and the Bahamas, to
Philip Bearcroft of the Home Office of the Society for the Propagation
of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, May 6, 1740, in which the author
proposed the establishment of a school for Negroes. His proposal was
prefaced with the caution that "This good Work must not be attempted
in the Gross, or inclusive of the whole Body of Slaves, of so many
various Ages, Nations, Languages etc. For in this view it always has,
and ever will appear insuperable. But it must commence, and be carried
on among such of them only, as are Home-Born, and under the Age of Ten
years." Quoted in Frank J. Klingberg, An Appraisal of the Negro in
Colonial South Carolina (Washington: The Associated Publishers, 1941),
p. 104. Garden's observance sanctions Turner's opinion that very few
South Carolina slaves had been seasoned in the West Indies and other
continental colonies.
who desired to increase the economic efficiency of their labor supply; 
(2) sympathetic persons who wished to help the oppressed; and, (3) 
zealous missionaries who taught slaves the English language that they 
might learn the principles of Christianity. It was perhaps the last 
of these three groups, agents of the Society for the Propagation of 
the Gospel in Foreign Parts, who had the most widespread program and 
performed the most effective educational work in South Carolina.

EDUCATION OF NEGROES PRIOR TO EMANCIPATION

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. 
Organized in London in 1701 for the purpose of converting to Christian-
ity the heathens within the realms of the British Empire, the 
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts began to 
work with the Indians in the American colonies. It was not long, 
however, until its activity began to encompass the African slaves. The 
records of the organization indicate that some of the most effective 
work of its early history was performed in South Carolina.

The first missionary of the Society to enter South Carolina 
was the Reverend Samuel Thomas who arrived in Charlestown in 1702, 
charged with the mission of converting to Christianity the Yemassee 
Indians. He included in his efforts, however, the Negroes located at

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6 Referred to hereafter as the Society.
a settlement in Goose Creek Parish, and by 1705, he had taught twenty Negroes to read. His action in this respect may have prompted the Society to broaden the scope of its endeavors to include Negroes. This was suggested by the instructions, absent from earlier issues, sent to schoolmasters in 1706, which stated that "they be ready, as they have Opportunity, to teach and instruct the Indians and Negroes and their Children."8

Reverend Thomas died in 1805, and was succeeded by Dr. Francis Le Jau, reputedly the most famous of the Society's missionaries, who continued the work begun by his predecessor. Writing to the Home Office in 1707, Le Jau expressed a desire "with God's blessing to have a day in the week for the instruction of poor Indians and Negroes."9 Some unfortunate experiences, however, with Negroes who had already been taught to read caused him to reevaluate this pursuit, and consequently, after mentioning a need for a schoolmaster for white children, he wrote:

... but as for Negroes or Indians with all submission I would desire that such a thing should be taken into Consideration as the importance of the matter and the Consequences which may follow do deserve ... I fear that those Men have

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not judgment enough to make a good use of their Learning; and I have thought most convenient not to urge too far that Indians and Negroes shou'd be indifferently admitted to learn to read...10

Upon the application of a number of Negroes for baptism, and after observing that the imprudent habits of the slaves were but imitations of their white masters, Le Jau reconsidered and became convinced that Negroes were worthy of instruction. After a few years of concentrated effort among them, he informed the Society that:

It is a singular comfort to me to see that while so many professed Christians appear but Lukewarm, it pleases God to raise to himself faithfull and devout Servts from among the heathens, who are very zealous in ye Practice of our Christian dutyes.11

By the time of his death in 1717, Le Jau was certain that he had begun a good work insofar as the conversion and instruction of the Negro was concerned. Most assuredly he did lay a foundation and precedent for a greater action of the Society which was the establishment, in 1743, in Charlestown, of a school solely for the education of Negroes.

This "revolutionary" idea was the brain-child of Alexander Garden, Commissary of the district, who had resided in Charlestown since 1719.12

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12 Revolutionary because the Colonial Assembly in 1740 passed an "Act for the better Ordering and Governing of Negroes and other Slaves" which made a crime of teaching slaves to write or employing them as scribes. David J. McCord (ed.), The Statutes at Large of South Carolina (Columbia: A. S. Johnston, 1840), VII, 413.
Garden first intimated the desirability of such an undertaking in a letter to the Society in May, 1740, in which he proposed a five point program for the establishment of the school. The fundamental concept was that the school was to be conducted by trained Negro teachers who in turn were to impart their knowledge to other slaves. To put this plan into effect, Garden gave the Home Office benefit of the observations made during his twenty-one year tenure in the colony. The attention which he gave to the smallest detail indicates that the project was not an impulsive gesture, but was the result of careful and long consideration. His ideas were explicitly communicated as follows:

1st This good Work must not be attempted in the Gross, or inclusive of the whole Body of Slaves, of so many various Ages, Nations, Languages etc. For in this view it allways has, and ever will appear insuperable. But

2dly It must commence, & be carried on among such of them only, as are Home-Born, and under the Age of Ten years.

3dly Neither will the work thus Limited over turn out to any tolerable effect, in the Hands of the Masters and Mistresses of Slaves; much less in the hands of any White Schoolmrs or Mistresses that may be sent from England, or in any otherwise employed in it, And therefore

My 4th Conclusion is, that the above effectual Method of Proceeding in the Work as above limited, must be by Negro Schoolmasters, Home-born, & equally Property as other Slaves, but educated for this Service, & employed in it during their lives, as the others are in any other Services whatsoever. Pursuant to this last Conclusion I long since Proposed, that every owner of Eighty or a Hundred Slaves, ('mong whom there are seldom fewer than Ten or Twelve Children from Ten years old and under) should be at the charge of sending to School One or other of the Males, as should appear most capable and best disposed, "till he be taught to read the Bible, to say the Church Catechism by heart, and to use the Common Prayer; and who from thenceforth should be employed by the said Owner, as a Schoolmaster, and in that Service only during his life, to instruct in the same manner all
the Slave children not only of that Plantation, but of the smaller Plantations, that may be in the Neighbourhood.  

After belabouring the opposition to his plan from the planters and the Assembly, the Commissary, in a fifth point, concluded that the matter rest "wholly on the Bottom of Charity; and in no hands so proper or promising of Success, as those of the Honble Society . . ."  

The Society was enthusiastic and gave unqualified support to Garden's plan by appropriating 1,500 pounds for the purchase of two slaves and the construction of the school. On April 4, 1742, two Negro boys, Harry and Andrew, one fourteen, the other fifteen years of age, were acquired and placed under the care and supervision of Commis- sary Garden.  

After an interim of seventeen months, during which time Garden engaged himself in educating the boys, soliciting funds for the enterprise, and persuading the people of the expedition of Negro educa- tion, the school opened on September 12, 1743, with several Negro children present. The venture was an immediate success, and after a year of operation, Garden was able to write:  

The Society's Negro School, under my Care, succeeds even beyond my first Hopes or Expectation. Upwards of Sixty Negro Children are now Daily taught in it, the Principles of our holy Religion, & to read the Scriptures; (15 of which are now capable to read the Testament very well, & 20 more are in Psalters, & the rest in the Alphabet and Spelling Books) and the Number still gradually increasing, so as sufficiently to employ both the Society's Youths to Teach them. And indeed one of the

14 Ibid., p. 105.  
15 Ibid., p. 111.
said Youths, named Andrew, tho an exceeding good natur'd & willing Creature, yet proves to be so weak on understanding that I'm afraid he will not soon Qualified to Teach alone; & wish the Society would give a discretionary Power to sell him, & Purchase another of better Genius for Learning in his Room.16

Garden was Comissary for North and South Carolina and the Bahama Islands, a position of many responsiblities which undoubtedly restricted his supervision of the school once it was in operation. The intimation in the above letter is that it was conducted solely by the two Negroes, Harry and Andrew. The request for the sale of the latter, which was a subsequent action, indicated that the weight of teaching fell to Harry who evidently was capable and sustained the work throughout his lifetime.

In the ensuing years, with an increased enrollment, the school became firmly established and widely publicized which effected a change in, or expansion of, its original purpose. Founded primarily for the training of Negro children, the desire of adult slaves for education prompted the addition of classes for their instruction. In an address before the Society during a trip to England, Garden mentioned the fact that the enrollment of the school "was increased to the Number of 70, viz 55 Children taught of days, and 15 grown slaves taught of Evenings, when their Days Work is over."17

Garden died in 1756, but the school was continued by his

16Ibid., p. 115.

17Ibid., p. 116.
successor, the Reverend Richard Clarke. In correspondence with the Home Office, Clarke noted the indifference and negligence of the white people towards the education of Negroes, and regretted that there was not one "Civil Establishment in the Colony for the Christian Instruction of 50,000 Negro Slaves." This statement may be regarded as evidence which may support a conclusion that the ultimate goal of the Society may have been publicly supported schools for Negroes inasmuch as the Colonial Assembly in 1710 and 1712 had passed laws which indicated patronage for free schools presumably for whites.

The Charlestown Negro school remained in existence until 1764, having until that time a large enrollment and a number of graduates. Its discontinuance, it has been suggested, was due to the fact that Harry, the original teacher, died near that time and no one was elected or trained to take his place, and, the fact that the Society had discontinued financial assistance in South Carolina, and transferred its sphere of influence to other centers.

Educational Efforts of Negro Benevolent Societies. The education of the Negro, although hindered by the cessation of the activities

18 Ibid., p. 119

19 Thomas Cooper (ed.), The Statutes at Large of South Carolina (Columbia: A.S. Johnson, 1837), II, pp. 342-346, 389-396. In accordance with these laws a Free School was established in Charleston and staffed by the Society. Thomas Morritt, a schoolmaster, reported that Negroes were enrolled in this school! See Knight, A Documentary History, I, p. 112, Item 25.

20 Klingberg, An Appraisal of the Negro, p. 121.
of the Society, did not come to a conclusion with the closing of its school. The free Negroes located in the more or less metropolitan city of Charlestown established numerous societies and organizations which sponsored the cause of Negro education. The earliest of these was the Brown Fellowship Society, organized in 1790, which had as its purpose the construction and maintenance of schools for Negro children. Others operating in a similar vein and under similar sponsorship were the Humane and Friendly (1802), the Minors Moralist (1803), the Friendly Union, The Brotherly, and the Unity and Friendship, all organized perhaps in 1813. Many others flourished before 1833, among which were the Cumberland Society, the Asbury Association, the Capers Missionary Society, and the Bonneau Library Society.21

Notwithstanding the fact that there was on the statutes a law which prohibited the education of Negroes, there seemed to have been some progress in this endeavor between 1740 and 1833, as suggested by the existence of the benevolent societies of free Negroes, and in all probability slave Negroes had their share of learning. As a consequence of the Denmark Vesey resurrection in 1822, however, the Legislature passed a stringent measure against the education of Negroes. This law forbade any white person, free Negro, or slave, to teach any slave to read or write, and prohibited any free Negro or slave from keeping a school or place of instruction for teaching

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a slave or free Negro to read or write. In all event this legislation should have doomed the cause of Negro education, and in most localities this was probably the result. There are records, however, which bespeak the fact that this endeavor was not grossly impeded, especially in Charleston, where many schools, primarily for and operated by free Negroes, flowered until close to the outbreak of the Civil War. The largest and most important of these was conducted by Thomas S. Bonneau and W. W. Wilburn.

The school of which Bonneau was master existed from 1803 until sometime after 1835. So large was it that he was compelled to employ two assistants, William McKinney and F. K. Sasportas. After the death of Bonneau in 1829, the school was conducted by Daniel Alexander Payne who later became a bishop of the African Methodist Church and founder and first president of Wilberforce University in Ohio. W. W. Wilburn was a white man whose school was managed by a Board of Trustees among whom was Joseph A. Sasportas, a figure who was to become a strong voice for Negro education in the post-Civil War Era. Sasportas was a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, serving both white and colored congregations, and was influential with both races. That Negro schools could exist in spite of the law of 1834 may have been due to his influence since it was observed that "by a judicious combination of strength he obtained several grants of peculiar privileges


for free colored people from the South Carolina Legislature.\footnote{24} The existence of the numerous schools in Charlestown where the population was more urban than provincial, suggested that city-bred Negroes had more educational advantages than those elsewhere. Some substantiation of this idea was offered in the incident of Susie King Taylor, self-acclaimed first Negro nurse to serve with the United States Army. During the capture of the Sea Islands, Susie Taylor fled by water to the Union vessels and was rescued by a Captain Whitmore who evidently was in need of a scribe. Receiving affirmative answers to his interrogations as to her ability to read and write, he said: "You seem to be so different from the other colored people who came from the same place as you did." To which Miss Taylor replied: "No! The only difference is, they were reared in the country and I in the city."\footnote{25}

It must be adduced then, that Negro education, regardless of legal attempts at extirpation, progressed at least in the city of Charlestown where many schools were conducted. The good which these schools served is as incalculable as is the number of persons touched by their efforts. Their existence, nevertheless, suggested that there

\footnote{24}William H. Lawrence, The Centenary Souvenir, Containing a History of Centenary Church, Charleston, and, An Account of the Life and Labors of Rev. R. V. Lawrence (Philadelphia: Collins Printing House, 1885), xv-xvi.

\footnote{25}Susie King Taylor, Reminiscences of My Life in Camp With the 33rd United States Colored Troops Late 1st South Carolina Volunteers (Boston: By the Author, 1902), p. 9.
may have been a substantial number of literate Negroes in South Carolina by the time it capitulated to Federal forces.

EMANCIPATION AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY

Whatever else the Civil War accomplished, one of its most important was the freeing of some 4,000,000 persons who had been shackled with the bondage of slavery. Their immediate freedom, however, resulting from the occupation of Confederate territory by Union troops and the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, found the Federal Government without a positive program for their support. The necessity for such a program was dictated by the attitude and action of the slave once he understood the meaning of emancipation and by what methods it could be secured. To him, freedom could come only when he had acquired a sanctum within the limits of territory occupied by "Massa Linkum's sojers." Thus, as Union armies penetrated the South, they were met by thousands of Negroes who flocked to them for refuge, thereby creating unhealthy conditions and hampering the movement of troops and supplies. Similar to Lincoln's search for a Union General who could match the military strategem of the Confederate officers, there was now sought some solution to the problems created by the freed and fleeing Negroes.

Evolution of Government Policy on Slavery. At the beginning of the war, the policy of the government with reference to the institution of slavery was based on two precedents: The Republican Party
platform of 1860, and Lincoln's Inaugural address in 1861. Both of these were explicit in the opinion that slavery was a domestic institution with which neither the executive nor legislative offices of the national government could and would interfere. After secession and the commencement of hostilities, Congress reiterated its stand in the Crittenden Resolution of July 22, 1861, and Lincoln reinforced it in the now famous letter to Horace Greeley in reply to the latter's "Prayer of Twenty Millions." The attitude expressed in these measures was deemed necessary to insure the continued allegiance of the loyal border states in some of which slavery was yet extant. Inasmuch as it believed that a state could not legally secede from the Union, the government felt bound to observe and enforce the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, which meant that escaped slaves had to be returned to their owners. Most generals adhered to this concept, but some of them as if to lead the government to a more liberal and positive action, disregarded it and attempted to confiscate the property of the secessionists and free their slaves.

Examples of the latter-type generals were Benjamin Butler, John C. Fremont, John W. Phelps, David Hunter, and Thomas W. Sherman. Butler, at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, as early as May, 1961, found


himself involved in a situation which caused him to consider escaped slaves as contraband of war. In a letter to Commanding General Winfield Scott, Butler wrote that:

I am credibly informed that the Negroes in the neighborhood are now being employed in the erection of batteries and other works by the rebels, which it would be nearly or quite impossible to construct without their labor. Shall they be allowed the use of this property against the United States, and we not be allowed its use in aid of the United States? 28

The question posed in this letter had a tone of an apology or either a request for higher sanction of an action which Butler had followed on the previous day when he was requested to surrender three escaped slaves who had made their way into Union lines. He refused to do so on the grounds that they were property and could be used against the United States as any other property, and hence, should be considered as contraband of war. 29

Fremont, in Missouri, in August, 1861, issued orders which confiscated the property of all citizens in rebellion and established the freedom of the slaves. His proclamation stated that:

The property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to


be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men. 30

Hunter, in May of 1862, on Hilton Head Island, declared in orders for the states of Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, which comprised the Military Department of the South, that these states had deliberately declared themselves no longer under the protection of the United States of America, and had taken up arms against the United States, which made it a military necessity to declare them under martial law. "Slavery and martial law in a free country," said Hunter, "are altogether incompatible, and the persons in these three states heretofore held as slaves are therefore declared forever free." 31 Phelps, on Ship Island, Louisiana, in the winter of 1861, issued an emancipation pronouncement which provided for the freedom of the slaves and their utilization as troops. 32

Some of these generals acted on exigencies of the moment which they found advantageous to military operations in their particular theatres, but some acted on the dictates of personal conscience and attitudes towards the institution of slavery as well as a sympathy for the conditions in which the Negroes found themselves as a result


of war. Such was indicated by General Thomas W. Sherman who, early in January, 1862, wrote to the Adjutant-General that:

I have the honor to ask the attention of the War Department to a subject upon which I have before hinted, but which is of so much importance, that I cannot again refrain from intruding it upon its notice. Of the large number of negroes on the islands in our possession some have come into the camps and obtained work, bringing with them their families. These are, therefore, cared for, and the work of the able-bodied men, numbering probably one out of five or six of a family, will be sufficient, with the rations issued, to support them. Those still remaining on the plantations are now living on the corn and potatoes left there, and when these are all consumed the negroes will be in a suffering condition or thrown upon the commissariat of the Army for support.

For the future maintenance of these people some system must be established, and one which will permit them to sustain themselves; but before they can be left to their own government they must be trained and instructed into a knowledge of personal and moral responsibility - which will be a matter of time. I have, therefore, the honor to recommend that suitable instructors be sent to them, to teach them all the rudiments of civilization, and secondly, and in the meantime, that agents, properly qualified, be employed and be sent here to take charge of the plantations, and superintend the work of the blacks until they are sufficiently enlightened to think and provide for themselves.  

In a later communiqué, Sherman wrote that:

The imperative necessity of putting the blacks in the way of avoiding starvation before the planting season expires without a draw on the commissariat to an extent that would cripple the service, and for other reasons suggested in the general order which I herewith inclose, has induced me to the measures mentioned therein.

I would respectfully ask for a speedy reply to this communication, and should the plan be generally approved, then how far shall I be authorized to hire instructors? This is a point whereon I have entertained some doubts. I firmly believe, however, that the general agent of instruction should be

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employed by the Government, if not all the instructors; but
the latter, the district or sub-instructors, may possibly
be provided by the public charities.

This step which I have taken is of vital importance,
and to be beneficial for the present year must go into
operation at once. The present condition of the blacks,
daily increasing in numbers and daily diminishing in
their resources, must be alleviated for their own welfare
and the great cause itself.\footnote{T. W. Sherman to the Adjutant-General, February 9, 1862.
O.R., Series I, Vol. IV, p. 222.}

The order which Sherman mentioned in the second letter above
was his famous General Order Number 9, which was a request for the
provision of elementary instruction for the Negroes. His subordi-
nate, Brigadier General Isaac I. Stevens, doubted the propriety of
this action, and pointed out to his superior that to educate Negroes
and raise hopes of freedom in their breasts would make their condition
doubly hard in case, on the suppression of the rebellion, they had to
return to their masters. Sherman's reply was most expressive of the
generals who acted on humanitarian principle rather than, or as well
as, military expedience. He said:

After all, my dear General, the government will do as it
sees best in this matter. My order can be reversed at its
pleasure. But, of myself, it would be doing some violence
to my own views of duty to make the change you desire in the
system therein indicated.\footnote{Hazard Stevens, \textit{The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens} (Boston:
Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1900), II, 369.}

It should be stated, however, that the measures of these
generals were not allowed to go unquestioned or without reprimand
from higher officials. Lincoln took a negative view of the
proclamations of Hunter and Fremont, and wrote to the latter that his proclamation violated the Act of Congress of August 6, 1861, and the President made an open order for its modification. His reaction to Hunter's proclamation was similar. He said that:

... neither General Hunter nor any other commander or person has been authorized by the Government of the United States to make proclamations declaring the slaves of any State free; and that the supposed proclamation now in question, whether genuine or false, is altogether void, so far as respects such declaration.\footnote{36 Lincoln to Fremont, September 11, 1861, O.R., Series 2, Vol. I, p. 768.}

Congress began to search for some formula whereby the program of the national government in the war effort could be brought closer to the realities of the situation. A feeble but definite step was taken on July 6, 1861, when this body approved an act for the confiscation of property used in the rebellion. This measure stated that if:

Any persons shall purchase ... sell or give any property of whatsoever kind of description, with intent to use or employ the same in promoting the insurrection ... all such property is declared the lawful subject of prize and capture wherever found and ... be seized, confiscated and condemned.\footnote{37 O.R., Series 3, Vol. II, p. 43.}

A year later, Congress came to definite grips with the matter when, on July 7, 1862, it passed a second Act of Confiscation which made the crime of treason punishable by death, and provided for the emancipation of all slaves of such persons as were judged guilty of

Going further, Section 9 of this Act gave freedom to slaves who escaped from rebels and made their way through the Union lines, and also freed those in rebel territory which was occupied by the Union Army. Section 11 solved the dilemma of the disposition of the freed Negroes by authorizing their employment for work in the suppression of the rebellion.  

Finally, Lincoln saw certain advantages in emancipating the slaves, and on September 22, 1862, he issued the second Emancipation Proclamation to take effect on January 1, 1863. This measure declared that all slaves in those areas of the country in rebellion against the United States and held by the Confederate armies should be thenceforward and forever free. Thus, by acts of Congress and by Presidential decree, the status of the Negro was changed from that of slave to that of free man.

Through the Proclamation the Federal Government not only assumed the obligation of recognizing and maintaining the freedom of the Negro, but also of making it meaningful to him. The implementation of this obligation was partially achieved by the later passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.


40. Ibid., p. 7.

of the United States; these, however, were more of the spirit of freedom than of the flesh. What was immediately needed to give the ex-slave realization of and responsibility to his new position was an intangible which might lift him from the demoralizing state which the institutions of slavery and war had placed him. The needed intangible was education. And at once, hardly before the shooting had ceased, there were persons ready and waiting to engage themselves in the most vast social service experiment attempted by citizens of the United States.

PHILANTHROPIC AND GOVERNMENTAL ASSISTANCE

It has been shown that the United States Government had no established policy relative to the slaves until early 1863. Over two years elapsed, however, before any governmental machinery was organized to alleviate the conditions of the freedmen. The vacuum created by this inactivity was filled by various benevolent associations of the North which were the first organized bodies to administer to the needs of the ex-slaves. Their efforts, in addition to providing the necessities of life, also were responsible for the establishment near the end of the war of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, a governmental agency which pursued the work as well as cooperated with the societies.

**The Port Royal Experiment.** Rehabilitative and educational action was early in South Carolina due to the capture of the Sea Islands
by Union forces in November of 1861. As has been indicated, General Thomas W. Sherman, the commanding officer of the area, was quite concerned over the welfare of the Negroes located in this area, and had suggested that teachers be sent for their elementary instruction. Mass education, however, seems to have been impeded by a situation which developed as a result of the appointment by the Treasury Department of two special agents who had similar but apparently conflicting duties. Even before their appearance, one William H. Nobles, a former Colonel in a New York regiment, had been appointed to a position which brought him into close contact with the Negroes. General Sherman had been ordered by the Assistant Secretary of War, Thomas A. Scott, to employ Negroes in gathering cotton. To effect this, Sherman had to appoint an agent, and wrote to Nobles that:

I deem it proper to take steps for the preservation of as much of this article as practicable, in order that such disposition may be made of it as the Government may direct. You are therefore appointed an agent of the United States Government to collect and put into store, at the most convenient points occupied by the United States troops, such quantities of cotton as you may find in any part of the State of South Carolina deserted by the inhabitants.

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42 The Sea Islands Lay between Charleston and Savannah. The South Carolina Islands are: Hilton Head, St. Helena, Port Royal, Morgan, Paris, Phillips, Folly, James, John's, Wadmalch, Kiawah, Edisto, Ladies, Hunting, Pritchard, and Daufuskie. In Georgia they are: Tybee, Wilmington, Cumberland, Skidaway, Ossabaw, St. Catherines, Sapelo, St. Simons, and Jekyll. For military purposes, they were collectively called "Port Royal." Leon E. Seltzer, (ed.), The Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer of the World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), p. 1724.

43 Supra, pp. 18-19.

You will employ negroes in picking, collecting and packing the cotton, who on your vouchers, properly made out and certified to, will be paid by the Quartermaster's Department. Your services will be compensated by allowing you 6 percent on the market value of the cotton stored as above.  

Nobles wasted little time in establishing an apparatus to execute his commission, giving indication that he was going further than the limits of the appointment and accrue to himself more than the six percent allotted. Such was indicated in a letter to General Stevens in which Nobles said that:

I send you herewith copies of the letters of Sherman and Saxton appointing me agent for the United States Government "to take possession of all cotton, commissary and quartermasters' stores and all public property that I may find in any part of the State of South Carolina deserted by the inhabitants;" also a copy of my letter appointing James A. Suydam my assistant, with full authority with myself.  

General Stevens, however, had his own interpretation of the duties of Nobles and would not allow him to enlarge them beyond the expressed wording of the appointment. He replied to Nobles that:

I have received your letter and inclosures of this date, claiming that you are authorized to take possession of the cotton in the deserted portions of South Carolina, and also of all other public property. The instructions of Brigadier General Sherman clearly give you authority to collect, gin, and pack cotton. I am advised of the extent of your authority in regard to quartermaster and commissary stores. The letter of instructions of Captain Saxton does not give the information. I have, however, to inform you that I have taken military possession of Ladies Island, and shall proceed to collect and take charge of such quartermaster and commissary  


46 Nobles to Brigadier-General Isaac I. Stevens, December 10, 1861, Ibid.
stores as my parties may take possession of - not inter-
fering, however, with your operations in collecting cotton
on that island or the quartermaster or commissary stores you
have already collected.

I shall not permit you to establish an agency at
Beaufort, or to interfere in any way with the steps already
taken by the commanding general to collect the cotton and
the quartermaster and commissary stores on Port Royal
Island and its dependencies.47

Into this situation came the aforementioned two special agents
of the Treasury Department. Both of these men were appointed by the
Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, who by dint of his
position was interested in disposing rebel property for whatever
advantage it could have been to the Federal government, and who, by
his allegiance to the abolitionist cause, was interested in providing
for the welfare of the Negroes.48 Chase's first appointee was Lt.
Colonel William H. Reynolds who was recommended by Governor William
Sprague of Rhode Island, a dealer in cotton, to serve as special
agent to "receive and ship cotton to Port Royal."49 His orders were
later elaborated to "secure and prepare for the market the cotton and

47 Stevens to Nobles, December 10, 1861. Ibid., p. 201

48 Jacob W. Schuckers, The Life and Public Services of Salmon
Albert Bushnell Hart, in the biographical study, Salmon Portland
Chase (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1899), p. 76, wrote that
Chase's chief activity while he was governor of Ohio was in the anti-
slavery cause. "While Seward said strong things and tempered them,
while men like Henry Wilson sought to find other issues for the
Republican party, while Douglas was reelected senator from Illinois
on the programme of not caring whether slavery was voted down or
voted up, Chase stood out unswervingly as a political abolitionist."

49U. S. Department of War, Port Royal Correspondence,
BE 1861-62, Items 5 and 10. Record Group 105, Old Army Branch, War
Records Division, National Archives. MSS. Hereafter cited as P.R.C.
such other products and property as may be found or brought within the lines of the army, or under the control of the Federal Authorities." In short, Reynolds's assignment was to direct economic activity at Port Royal, a position which outranked that of Nobles and would have created antagonism between them - except that they were cut of the same cloth on the matter of profits, and were able to collaborate and expand the program for their mutual benefit.  

The second appointee of Chase's was Edward L. Pierce who, as a soldier under General Butler at Fortress Monroe, had experienced immediate contact with Negroes and was acquainted with the implications of their emancipation. Chase requested Pierce to go to Port Royal to see what aid could be given to the Negroes there, explaining to him the different facets of the situation, and acquainting him with what he was expected to do. In accepting this commission, Pierce wrote Chase that:

I know nothing of Colonel Reynolds - but I hope that there will be no difference between us as to the system and means of dealing with these people whom Providence has entrusted to our care. If we do not agree, I shall be entirely willing to return.

It may be necessary to have a few young men of religious fervor and humanity to aid as teachers and of appealing to the religious element through which the Negroes may be brought in sympathy with us.  

50 T. W. Sherman's Order on Hilton Head, Ibid., Item 23.

51 Pierce to Reynolds, March 23, 1862, Ibid., Item 113. The cotton agents began to collect, in addition to cotton, household goods, furniture, libraries, animals, and farm equipment of which they disposed for their own gain and advantage.

52 Pierce to Chase, December 29, 1861, Ibid., Item 29.
That Pierce should have had a premonition of a possible conflict between himself and Reynolds indicated that he was aware of the importance of his appointment. His request for ministers to serve as teachers further suggested that he knew how to secure the greatest cooperation from the Negroes. Support to this opinion was found in the observations of the Reverend Mansfield French, a friend of Chase's who was detailed by the Secretary to survey the needs and conditions of the contrabands, and who reported to Chase that "they have no spiritual ministrations as heretofore, and most earnestly desire religious instruction, as well as the common means of civilization and enlightenment."  

Pierce arrived at Port Royal in December, 1861, and within a few weeks sent a report of his observations to Chase. His recommendations resulted in the circulation of appeals by Chase, Summer, Sherman, and Edward Everett Hale to the North to embark upon the great humanitarian crusade of freedman relief. One of the most widespread of these appeals was by General Thomas W. Sherman who wrote:

The helpless condition of the Blacks inhabiting the vast area in the occupation of the forces of this command calls for immediate action on the part of a highly favored and philanthropic people. . . . hordes of totally uneducated,

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53 Mansfield French to Chase, Ibid., Item 65. Mansfield French had been a President of the Methodist Female College in Xenia, Ohio, and, in 1857, had aided the African Methodist Episcopal Church authorities in the establishment of Wilberforce University by outlining the principles on which the school should be based, and the character of the Faculty and Board of Trustees. He "did much to secure the property and to found the institution." Daniel Alexander Payne, History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (Nashville: A.M.E. Sunday School Union, 1891), I, 409-410.
ignorant and improvident Blacks have been abandoned by their constitutional guardians, not only to all future chances of anarchy and of starvation; but in such a state of abject ignorance and mental stolidity as to preclude all possibility of self government and self maintenance in their present condition . . . . until the Blacks become capable themselves . . . . the services of competent instructors will be received . . . . whose duties will consist in teaching them, both young and old, the rudiments of civilization and Christianity . . . .

As the Blacks are now in great need of suitable clothing, if not other necessaries of life, which necessity will probably continue, and even increase, . . . the beneficent and philanthropic of the land are most earnestly appealed to for assistance in relieving their immediate wants. Never was there a nobler or more fitting opportunity for the operation of that considerate and practical benevolence for which the Northern people have ever been distinguished.54

This appeal was reinforced by the publication of Reverend Mansfield French's report which suggested the alleviation of those conditions through the following proposals:

1. The organization in the City of New York of an association of wise, humane, and in all respects, competent and reliable men, to develop, concentrate, and direct the benevolences, charities, and various instrumentalities deemed essential to meet the many wants of this people.
2. A general and immediate appeal to the benevolent for contributions of suitable clothing and shoes, and of monies to procure the same.
3. The furnishing of competent and suitable missionaries or religious teachers.
4. The establishment of common and industrial schools for their youth, and the free use of appropriate buildings for the same, wherever found, and not needed for governmental purposes.55

In response to these appeals there developed in the North feverish activity for the relief of the Negroes in the manner suggested

54 General Orders, No. 9, Hilton Head, February 6, 1862. P.R.C., Item 56.
55 Mansfield French to Chase, Ibid., Item 65.
by the proposals. During the month of February, 1862, there was organized the Boston Educational Commission, the New York National Freedmen's Relief Association, and the Port Royal Relief Committee of Philadelphia. These organizations were non-sectarian in character and were composed of remnants of the abolition movement, enlarged by young people who were imbued with ideals of service to mankind. Out of their ranks came a group of fifty-three teachers, including twelve women, which, on March 3, 1862, sailed on the ship Atlantic for Port Royal.56

Before the sailing of the Atlantic, there was some indication that the teachers would not meet with a warm welcome from all quarters. Indeed, the shrewd Yankee railroad promoter, John Murray Forbes, who was also a passenger aboard the ship, alluded to them as members "of the villiantropic society . . . bearded and mustached and odd-looking men, with odder looking women."57 Likewise did James Adrian Suydam, the assistant to Colonel Nobles and a passenger aboard the ship, intimate to Pierce a hostility toward the work of the teachers.58

Even after landing at Port Royal, it was reported that "the irreverent

56Luther Porter Jackson, "The Educational Efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau and Freedmen's Aid Societies in South Carolina, 1862-1872," Journal of Negro History, VIII (January, 1923), 6. Mansfield French wrote that "In March, 1862, the Government sent to Port Royal, forty Superintendents, and fourteen ladies, under the direction of Mr. E. L. Pierce and myself." In "Address to Masters and Freedmen," Ancestors and Descendants of Samuel French the Joiner (Ann Arbor, Michigan, Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1940), Appendix A, p. 17.


58Pierce to Chase, March 8, 1862, P.R.C., Item 84.
young officers styled them 'Gideonites,' and were disposed to make all manners of fun of them."59 This appellation, however, rather than one of derision which it was originally meant to be, became in time, one of honor and distinction. It was further recorded that the teachers "met with a cold and ungracious reception from General Sherman, who declared that their coming was uncalled for and entirely premature, and incontinently packed them off to Beaufort to the care of General Stevens, thus washing his hands of them."60

Nonetheless, the arrival of these persons in the Sea Islands began what was known as the "Port Royal Experiment" which was the first attempt at the mass education of Negroes and the establishment of schools for them. In the anticipation of their work, the teachers were perplexed as to whether or not the Negroes should be taught or told that they were free, and this quandary is understandable when it is remembered that the Government had not, at this date, declared its policy in respect to the slaves' freedom. Before disembarking from


60 Ibid. There seems to be an incongruity in the writing of Stevens on this point. Earlier, Supra, p. 19 he asserts that General Sherman was in favor of educating the Negroes, which we can assume as fact since Sherman petitioned in their behalf. In light of this, it is hardly likely that the General would declare the teachers' arrival "uncalled for." On the other hand, since the territory controlled by the Union forces was still subject to attack by the Confederates on the mainland, he may have considered the danger to the teachers and called their arrival "premature." Hence, their removal to Beaufort - a safer place.
the Atlantic their queries were answered by Reverend French who told them:

You ask me if it will be well to assure them for their freedom. We should do all things as wisely as possible. It may be best to tell them, that we believe that they are free, and that they now have an opportunity to prove to the world whether they are capable of self government and support, and general respect, or not -- that we have come to render them all possible aid -- that the government and the North, generally, desire the experiment to be successful, but still much will depend on their own efforts. 61

The islands were divided into four districts over which was placed a general superintendent and a local superintendent for each plantation. The teachers began their work immediately and soon had into operation "eight schools which consisted of cotton barns, sheds or old kitchens, praise houses, and . . . tents." 62 The students, however, were not disturbed by their meager surroundings. Their aptness and eagerness to learn was attested to in the reminiscences of several teachers. One wrote:

All the available school buildings were put into use as fast as teachers, either Northern or native, could be found. Pupils who did not know a letter of the alphabet or a figure in arithmetic were separated from those who did, and those who could read from those who could not . . . . To them, being free meant being educated like white men. One of their first impulses, therefore, was to go to school. 63

Another of the more famous teachers was quite observant and very

61 A. M. French (Mrs.), Slavery in South Carolina and the Ex-Slaves; or, the Port Royal Mission (New York: Winchell M. French, 1862), p. 28.


explicit in her characterization of the Negro's desire to learn. With descriptive words the stated that:

Intuitively, they learned all of the tricks of dramatic art. Their perceptions were quickened. When seemingly absorbed in work, they saw and heard all that was going on around them. They memorized with wonderful ease and correctness. The Negro mind had never been cultivated; it was like an empty reservoir, waiting to be filled. Under their calm exterior was always a smoldering volcano ready to burst forth. 64

One of the questions uppermost in the minds of the teachers, as suggested by their mention of the matter, was whether or not Negro children were as apt to learn as white children. This was undoubtedly fostered by the execrations of the proslavery forces and Southerners who had ascribed to Negroes a similarity to lower animals incapable of education. The falsity of these beliefs was quickly discovered by the teachers. From North Edisto Island came a communique which said:

The plan upon which I teach is that of the Kinder Garten School; they learn the letters as readily as any children taught in our Northern Schools. The boy who keeps the card for me is teaching his sister as fast as I teach him; he is fourteen years of age, and she is over twenty, and married. 65

A teacher on St. Helena came to the same conclusion and wrote that "the boys learn more readily than the girls, though they are not so orderly in behavior. The children learn quite as readily as white

64 Elizabeth H. Botume, First Days amongst the Contrabands (Boston: Lee and Shepherd, 1893), p. 6.

65 C.E.R. to Home Office, April 6, 1862. New England Freedmen's Aid Society, Extracts From Letters Received by the Educational Commission of Boston; From Teachers Employed at Port Royal and its Vicinity (Boston, 1862), 2nd Series, p. 3.
children of the same age."66 Pierce himself was inspired to write that "all the teachers concur in stating, and my own observation is to the same effect, that there is a great desire to learn among these people, and they learn with more facility than whites of the same age."67 This discovery was to be multiplied in as many instances as there were teachers coming from the North. Once and forever, the myth of the ineducability of the Negro was rent asunder.

Unfortunately, the Port Royal Experiment was not to be allowed to proceed without discomfiture and opposition from Reynolds and the cotton agents. As director of economic activity which embraced the shipping of cotton, and from which enterprise he received a commission or percentage of the total production, Reynolds was primarily interested in keeping the Negroes working as long and hard as possible. Conversely, Pierce, as responsible for the social welfare of the Negroes, wanted them to devote time and energy to educational pursuits. The Negroes could not be in the school-house and in the cotton fields at the same time. That Pierce was aware of this and tried to deal with the situation is indicated in a report to Chase in which he said:

No persons of a workable age are admitted to the schools which are carried on in the morning, but there are schools at several points in the afternoon for those who have finished their tasks. We have opened Sabbath Schools which have been in operation for two sabbaths. 100 persons from six to forty years of age attended . . . . 68

66Ellen H. W. to Home Office, April 8, 1862, Ibid., p. 3.
67Pierce to Chase, April 1, 1862, P.R.C., XIX, Item 1071.
68Ibid.
Reynolds, nevertheless, saw Pierce and the teachers as a threat to his work and his commission; hence, small-scale warfare occurred between the agent for contrabands and the agent for cotton-gathering. That this state of affairs created adversity for the Port Royal Experiment was suggested by John Murray Forbes who, as a somewhat impartial observer on Hilton Head, wrote to Charles Sumner that:

I don't believe in having two sets of treasury agents here with equal and sometimes conflicting powers, but suppose this has been made so apparent that Mr. Chase must have stopped it ere this, and put Mr. Pierce distinctly above the cotton agents . . . . He is here with enemies all around, and in his own association weak brothers and sisters, - his only friend being the general commanding. . . .

The conflict assumed many facets and was directed not only against Pierce personally, but also against his co-workers whom the cotton agents attempted to discourage and make uncomfortable by appropriating the most desirable living places, the furniture from those less desirable, and the horse-teams which were used for transportation. This was a source of irritation to the teachers, but Pierce was more anguished over the fact that Reynolds worked the Negroes without giving them adequate compensation. Pierce was of the impression that the ex-slaves should have received a money wage which would have been indicative of their status as free men and he paid such to those in his employ. Reynolds, on the other hand, paid his laborers with a

69 Hughes, Letters and Recollections. I, 301.

type of scrip which was redeemable in trade only at the stores operated
by the cotton agents. Goods in these stores, according to Miss Susan
Walker, were more expensive than those in the commissaries, and nearly
doubled the prices in Beaufort - prices which the teachers did not
consider to have been very reasonable. 71 One of the workers of the
Philadelphia Freedmen's Relief Committee reported that:

The Negroes showed themselves so loyal and friendly, and in
all respects, so well disposed, that our Government, concluded
to employ them at wages in gathering the cotton and preparing
it for market. The wages that were promised, though moderate,
were nominally - that is, in the intentions of the Government -
all sufficient; but when they were disbursed in store goods,
at exhorbitant rates, by selfish and sordid agents, they
amounted to but a meager pittance. Some of these cotton agents
. . . were base and unscrupulous. Nevertheless, the blacks
worked industriously, and were content. 72

The cotton agents, observed Miss Laura M. Towne, were making
the Negroes work without pay, and were living upon "the fat of the
lamb" [sic] - selling brown sugar at twenty-five cents a pound, and
using Government horses, carriages, furniture, corn, and garden
vegetables. 73 Pierce's non-cooperation in the graft of the cotton
agents, and his report of their corruption to Chase, led to a physi-
cal assault upon him by Colonel Nobles who undoubtedly thought that

71 Ibid., pp. 33 and 40.

72 J. M. M'Kim, The Freedmen of South Carolina: An Address De-
ivered by the Author in Sansom Hall, July 9, 1862 (Philadelphia:
Willis P. Hazard, 1862), p. 2.

73 Rupert S. Holland (ed.), Letters and Diary of Laura M. Towne,
Written From the Sea Islands of South Carolina, 1862-1884 (Cambridge:
Pierce was trying to take over the production of cotton as well as control of the Negroes.\textsuperscript{74}

The matter was finally resolved by the appointment of Brigadier General Rufus Saxton who was assigned by the Secretary of War to the Department of the South to take possession of the plantations and assume general supervision of the people who remained on them. These orders indicated that Pierce was relieved of his duties, and that Reynolds was subordinated to General Saxton.\textsuperscript{75} Under this reorganization, the ark of Negro education proceeded upon more peaceful waters.

The Freedmen's Aid Societies. In addition to the organizations which had participated in the early stages of the Port Royal Experiment, there came other groups which had the effect of making freedman relief a national, indeed, an international effort. Societies were organized in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, Baltimore, and in most of the New England States. A movement to correlate their activities resulted in the development of regional organizations which opened central offices in the major cities. Thus, there existed in 1863, the New England Freedman's Aid Society, the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association, the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, and the Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission. These confederated in 1863 to form the United States Commission for the Relief of the National Freed-

\textsuperscript{74}Ibid., p. 60.

\textsuperscript{75}\textit{O.R.}, Series 3, Vol. II, p. 27.
men, an organization which, expanded by the admission of more societies, became, in 1865, the American Freedman's Aid Union.\textsuperscript{76}

By a merger of the Amistad Committee, the Union Missionary Society, and the Western Evangelical Missionary Society, there was formed on September 3, 1846, the American Missionary Association which was actually the first organization to contribute to freedman relief, as it participated in the venture at Fortress Monroe. It did not enter South Carolina, however, until after the Port Royal Experiment had commenced. Its membership was later enlarged by the admission of the Wesleyans, the Free-Will Baptists, the Council of the Congregational Churches, the Synod of the Reformed (Dutch) Church, the Methodists, and the Reformed Presbyterian Church.\textsuperscript{77}

Freedman relief assumed an international aspect by the organization of aid societies in various cities of Europe - primarily London, Paris, and Amsterdam. Numbers of European liberals had long clamored for the abolition of slavery, and now that this was being effected, they continued their interest in the Negro by organizing for his relief. More than a million dollars were raised and expended


by their efforts, usually being disbursed by the American societies of their choice.\textsuperscript{78}

Until the Federal Government entered the task, and even afterwards, these organizations labored in the cause of Negro education by supplying teachers and equipment. As time passed, their administrators found the undertaking much too broad to have been adequately performed with their meager resources. Hence, the President and Congress were petitioned to create a government bureau, backed with the funds of the national treasury, which would not only aid but pursue the work commenced by the societies. Accordingly, but not without political debate, and far from unanimity of vote, on March 3, 1865, an Act of Congress established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, popularly called the Freedmen's Bureau.

The Freedmen's Bureau. Created as an agency of the War Department, the Bureau was to exist for the duration of the war and for one year thereafter. Its operations consisted of the management and supervision of all abandoned lands, the supervision of labor contracts, and the general relief of the freedmen through medical and hospital service, and the distribution of provisions, clothing, and fuel. There was a resident commissioner in Washington with an assistant

\textsuperscript{78}Henry L. Swint, \textit{The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870} (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1941), pp. 21-22.
commissioner in each of the southern states. South Carolina was divided into five districts, over each of which was a sub-assistant commissioner. General Rufus Saxton was retained as state-head (assistant Commissioner) and maintained his headquarters in Charleston.

At the outset this agency did not include provisions for the promotion of education among Negroes; however, its appointed commissioner, General Oliver O. Howard, did not hesitate to point out that such activity would be a necessary pursuit of the Bureau. As early as 1857, Howard had observed and written that it would be inexpedient to turn the Negroes "loose on the world, with all their simplicity and improvident habits without a proper education." Now that he was in a position to advance this endeavor, he proceeded to make recommendation for its promotion. His efforts were rewarded when Congress, on July 16, 1865, passed over the President's veto a new bill which made education an authorized function of the Bureau, in addition to extending its life for two years.

Since the officers of the freedmen's aid societies had been instrumental in the establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau, close cooperation existed between the two in the execution of their programs.


80 Howard to his mother, January 4, 1857. Quoted in Bentley, The Freedmen's Bureau, p. 54.

Fortunately for the Bureau, a foundation had been laid in relief as well as educational activity. Realizing this, Howard, in accord with the Bureau bill which stated that the commissioner should at all times cooperate with the benevolent societies, announced:

... but it is not the intention of the government that this Bureau shall supersede the various benevolent organizations in the work of administering relief.

Let me repeat, that in all this work, it is not my purpose to supersede the benevolent agencies already engaged in it, but to systematize and facilitate them.82

The societies acknowledged Howard as their ally and looked upon him "as their friend and coadjutor."83 On certain matters of policy, nevertheless, there were instances of contention. One such was a plan of Howard's to get the several societies to unite into one general agency which would concentrate on the mechanics of education while the Bureau supervised and correlated its execution, thereby promoting efficiency and reducing duplication. This proposal was viewed by the societies as a surrender of the control of their work to the Bureau, hence, most of them declined it. Competition, the Commissioner was to discover, was almost as much the rule among the aid societies as was cooperation.84 On the other hand, so closely intertwined were the activities of the two that at most points their


83Howard, Autobiography, p. 218.

84Bentley, The Freedmen's Bureau, p. 64.
work was indistinguishable. Under their joint auspices the education of the Negroes in South Carolina proceeded with full vigor.

The operations of the Bureau and its agents were outlined by Howard in a set of instructions which said that:

The Assistant Commissioner will designate one or more of his agents to act as the general superintendent of schools . . . for refugees and freedmen. This officer will work as much as possible in conjunction with the State officers who may have school matters in charge. If a general system can be adopted for a State, it is well, but if not, he will at least take cognizance of all that is being done to educate refugees and freedmen, secure proper protection to schools and teachers, promote method and efficiency, correspond with the benevolent agencies which are supplying his field, and aid the Assistant Commissioner in making his required reports. 85

The earliest schools were those in the Port Royal Island and coastal areas. As more of South Carolina came into Union hands, the educational system was extended into the larger region. Charleston was the first city in which schools were opened under the military government but with teachers supplied and paid by the New York and New England societies. There were enrolled some 3,114 students of which a small minority were white. In some instances native whites taught in schools composed of Negro children solely. The first school in Columbia opened on November 6, 1865, in the basement of a Negro Church. Shortly thereafter, the number increased to nine, all sponsored by the New York society. 86 During the ensuing year, the

85 B.R.F.A.L., Circulars, Circular Letters, etc., Issued During the Year 1865, Circular Number 11, July 12, 1865.

efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau and the freedmen's aid societies established schools in practically every county of the State.

By February, 1867, the combined total of day and night schools in operation was seventy-nine, attended by 8,120 students. There was a total of 144 teachers, of whom forty-three were colored. That the establishment of schools had a quieting effect on the population was indicated by a Bureau official who wrote that:

I have recently visited Columbia, Camden, Sumter, Timmonsville, Darlington, Cheraw, Florence, Kingstree, and some intermediate points, and I am confirmed in the conviction... that nothing so rapidly tends to produce harmony between the white and colored people of the State, and to improve in all respects the condition of the colored people as the establishment of schools among them. Take the towns enumerated above as examples. In no other places has greater opposition short of violence, been manifested towards colored schools, than was met with in these places where the first schools were started. I question very much whether now a half dozen men of intelligence in any of these places can be found who would not deem it a public calamity to have these schools discontinued. I do not mean to assert that any active sympathy is shown towards the schools or the teachers, or that white people in any of these localities are ready to cooperate with us in the support of these schools. The time has not yet come for this.

The program planned and executed by the Bureau was directed at two primary objectives. One was to interest all people in the acquisition of an education, and, the other was to create a situation where it (the Bureau) would no longer be needed. To accomplish these aims, the school superintendents were exhorted to make their schools self-

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88. Ibid., p. 13.
supporting by appealing to local responsibility which, it was hoped, would lead to the establishment of a public school system. The freed-
men were to have been organized into school districts controlled by a school committee which was to have been aided by the Bureau and the societies. Wherever committees or teachers would open schools, school buildings were to have been provided by the government. Adult education was emphasized through the establishment of night and Sabbath schools, and by urging children to teach their parents what they had learned.89

Not content to accept the charities of the government and the aid societies without some personal exertions on their part, the freedmen demonstrated their eagerness for education by establishing their own schools - although these were not on a par with those otherwise provided. Assistant Commissioner Robert Kerr Scott reported in October, 1867, that:

There has been a large increase in the number of schools sustained by the freedmen themselves, though the poverty of the people has prevented them from securing the right kind of teach-
ers. Their schools, as a consequence, are inferior and must remain so until competent teachers can be secured.90

Nevertheless, the inferiority of the end product could not have been a gauge to the sincerity of motive which inspired such

89B.R.F.A.L., J. W. Alvord's Instructions to School Superin-
tendent of Education, February 20, 1867, Educational Division, XVIII, 12-14.

ventures. The Negro had a natural thirst for knowledge which was common to all men. They had seen the power and influence of whites always coupled with learning, and regarded it as the sign of that elevation to which they aspired. Their freedom, which opened new worlds of life and longing, indicated their immediate need of education, and where schools were tardy in being provided, they took the initiative to avail themselves of the mysteries and keys of progress in written literature hitherto hidden from them. Their perception of this ideal was described by J. W. Alvord who wrote that:

They may be often seen during the intervals of toil, when off duty, as servants on steamboats, along the railroads, and when unemployed in the streets of the city, or on plantations, with some fragment of a spelling book in their hands, earnestly at study.\textsuperscript{91}

Attendance at school was confined to no one class or age - although those advanced in life at first threw up their hands in despair. But courage and tenacity brought its reward, and caused a special inspector of the Bureau to report that:

I cannot forbear remarking that everywhere in the State I found the colored people diligent in the pursuit of knowledge, and quick in its acquirement. They have already proved that their emancipation was not a moral or political mistake. They are fast learning the rights and duties of citizenship, and they are competent and ready to aid in effecting the emancipation of the white masses of their native State.\textsuperscript{92}

\textsuperscript{91}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 97-98.

The educational influence of the Bureau unfortunately declined after 1870 when monies appropriated by Congress for its operation were exhausted. By letter of law it existed until 1874, but its activity in South Carolina came to a slow halt three or four years earlier. The later reports of superintendents of education were full of pathos and regret over the diminution of Bureau influence and interest in its work. It was estimated, in July, 1869, that there were approximately one hundred schools for freedmen in South Carolina.\textsuperscript{93} In December of the same year, only seventy-two were reported.\textsuperscript{94} One month later, it was reported that only twenty-nine were in operation.\textsuperscript{95} The reasons advanced for this decrease were that contributions for the support of freedmen's schools had fallen off in the North, and that there was a lack of general interest manifested in the undertaking.\textsuperscript{96} This boded ill for Negro education, but fortunately, forces for its continuance were regrouping.

**CHANGE OF CHARACTER OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM**

The Freedmen's Bureau was discharged of its duties in 1874; a number of the earliest aid societies already had disbanded. Hence, the character of the program of Negro education assumed a different


\textsuperscript{94} Ibid., January 20, 1870, p. 192.

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{96} Ibid.
aspect. Several reasons may be advanced to account for this change, but basically there were two issues which evoked bitter disagreement among the societies. The first was the question of the segregation of the races in the schools; the second was whether or not the schools should be purely educational, or parochial.

The segregation question was engendered by a proposed merger between the American Union Commission and the American Freedmen's Aid Union. The former had been organized in 1864 for the purpose of giving relief to loyal refugee families of the South, particularly in Tennessee, and supported schools for whites as well as for Negroes. There was some reluctance on the part of the whites to attend the same schools with the freedmen, an attitude which caused much debate at the conference. The merger, nevertheless, was effected in December, 1864, and the new federation adopted the name "Freedmen's Aid Union Commission." The constitution which was adopted provided that the schools and supply depots should be opened to all applicants without distinction of race or color.97

The second question involved a more bitter dispute than did the first. The search for an answer brought a realignment of many societies and the establishment of new ones. The issue arose because the non-sectarian character of the national organizations became incompatible with the wishes of some of the members which instituted

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a program of proselytism in the relief work. Unlike the eastern branches of the American Freedmen's Union Commission which made no stipulations as to the religious denomination of its workers, the western branches of this organization employed as teachers only members of evangelical churches which evidently instructed their workers to convert the freedmen to specific religious doctrines and attitudes as they educated him. Thus, the program of relief began to assume the character of missionary work, which, in its basic connotation, was not feasible or desirable within the framework of the national non-sectarian organizations since the activity promoted by them was primarily educational and not religious. Furthermore, it was probable that denominations which had lost members because of the war and the slavery-schism before the war, looked with some trepidation at the invasion by these missionary-workers in areas and among people whom they once claimed and wanted to reclaim before they became attached to a different church. There was, consequently, a movement by most churches to withdraw support from the national organizations, and the establishment of denominational societies.

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98 This is an overstatement or an oversimplification of the facts. All of the activities of the benevolent societies were rooted in Christian morality. Indeed, a number of the teachers were also preachers, and the Bible, in a good many instances, was used as a textbook.

The first victim of the denominational spirit was the American Freedmen's Union Commission which had its demise early in 1866. In its stead came the Freedmen's Union Commission to which all the societies in the East and West, having no sectarian connections, joined. ¹⁰⁰ Although losing some of its members, the American Missionary Association survived; but it also lost some of its non-sectarian character through its selection by the National Council of Congregational Churches as the agency for the administration of freedmen relief sponsored by that Church. Indeed, so predominant with Congregationalists had the leadership of the American Missionary Association become, that it was well considered to have been the missionary arm of the Congregational Church.

The sectarian societies which came into existence during this period were: the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Friends Association of the Relief of the Colored Freedmen, the Committee of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church, and, the Missionary Society of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. ¹⁰¹ Their entry into the relief work brought a program of evangelization as well as academic instruction to the freedmen.

The dispute over the denominational prerogative of imparting


particular religious points of view to the freedmen could have caused damage to the educational program. Such was not the case, however, for the program endorsed and pursued by the denominational bodies prompted the establishment of permanent institutions which developed into the senior colleges existent today. Therefore the education of the Negro in South Carolina, as well as in other southern states, benefited rather than suffered from this rivalry.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 284-287.}

Another factor contributing to the change of character in the program of Negro education at that time was the assumption by the State of some responsibilities in the education of its citizens. This eventuality was anticipated by both the Freedmen's Bureau and the aid societies, and, indeed, this was one of the goals towards which they worked. In the Act of July 17, 1868, which extended the life of the Freedmen's Bureau, a stipulation was that "the educational division of said bureau shall not be effected, or in any way interfered with, until such states shall have made suitable provision for the education of the children of the freedmen within the state."\footnote{B.R.F.A.L., Circulars, Circular Letters, etc., Issued During the Year 1868 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1869), Circular Number 6.} A number of the aid societies believed that the regeneration of the South should have been left to the South herself, and that their efforts were simply stop-gap measures designed to alleviate conditions until orderly government could be re-established.
The colored people, it was felt, must learn to fight their own battles with political and industrial weapons. Under the Congressional Reconstruction Plan of 1867, the Negroes found ample opportunity to do this.

The Beginning of Public Education. Throughout its history as a colony and a state, South Carolina made no provisions for public education although there were several attempts to establish a public school system, most notable of which was a "Free School Act" introduced in 1811. This measure was a failure, however, because there were no legal enactments for the support of education through taxation. The mentality of the people, furthermore, led them to believe that education was an individual matter, and that public schools were for the benefit of the poor. Under such beliefs, the attempts by the all-white pre-Civil War Legislatures to establish a public school system ended in failure. The Congressional Reconstruction Plan of 1867, which brought the full-scale entry of the Negro into politics, created a different situation by introducing into the body politic a people who held an advanced outlook in the realm of public education, and who felt that free universal education was of such importance that provisions for it should be made by law.

104 Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies," p. 274.

The Negro's thirst for education and his action for its procurement was indicated in the incident of an experiment conducted by the military authorities on Hilton Head where an all-Negro village was established and called Mitchelville, in honor of General Ormsby M. Mitchel. The officers of the village government, with the exception of the mayor and the treasurer, were composed of and elected by the Negro population. The common council required all children between the ages of six and fifteen to attend school regularly, except in cases where their service was needed for parental support. This experiment in the Negro village of Mitchelville was the first instance of a compulsory education law in South Carolina.106

There can be little doubt that when the Constitutional Convention of 1868, composed of forty-eight whites and seventy-six Negroes, convened in Charleston in January of that year, the establishment of a system of public education was one of the paramount objectives of the Negro delegates. It was important to these men that a system of public education be instituted because, according to one report, they were being fleeced of their right to education although they were paying for it. This situation existed in Charleston where a municipally controlled public school system had been effected. A special agent for Freedmen's Bureau reported that: "A large and steadily increasing fraction of the school tax

is paid by persons of color; yet colored citizens and their children are absolutely excluded from all the public schools. In addition to this injustice, the person who did not possess an education, or at least who could not produce some evidence of literacy, was more than likely to have been subjected to capital punishment.

Mackey explained the circumstance accordingly:

There is no state-system of public schools in South Carolina. Beyond the limits of Charleston . . . the free-school is unknown in the state. This denial of education to the masses is the more reprehensible from the fact that under her statutes, persons charged with certain crimes, such as burglary, arson, etc., are exempt from the death penalty should they prove in open court, that they can read and write. It has therefore occurred that of the two parties indicted jointly for the same offense, the more guilty has escaped capital punishment by pleading the "benefit of clergy," or a knowledge of the arts of reading and writing, while the less criminal, because more ignorant, has been led to the scaffold.

The removal of these inequities, in addition to the social and economic progress which a public education system might insure, may account for the Negro delegates' support of the idea. It should be pointed out, however, that many of these men bore the mark of generations of slavery and were not qualified to participate in the discharge of the duties of the Convention; a number, on the other hand, had received a substantial education which served to place them in the leadership of the group. Among the latter may be


108 Ibid., pp. 36-37.
listed: Francis L. Cardoza, Robert B. Elliott, Robert Smalls, A. J. Ransier, R. C. DeLarge, J. H. Rainey, H. G. DaCosta, and H. L. Shrewsbury. With their full participation in the deliberations of the Convention, a constitution was framed and adopted and existed as the law of the State for almost thirty years.

In eleven sections, Article Ten of this Constitution provided for the establishment and maintenance of a system of public education. It was all-inclusive, providing for support through taxation, compulsory attendance, separation of Church and State, the creation of a Normal School, an Agricultural College, a State Reform School, a School Fund, and, institutions for exceptional persons. These provisions for education were more advanced than those of contemporary Northern states.

Once the system was devised and subsequent laws were passed to put it into effect, public education in South Carolina became a reality. Its establishment stands as a creditable achievement of the Negro delegates, an honor which the dominant whites for two centuries had failed to realize. Although the operation of the system was hindered by inexperience and, in some instances, fraud and improbity, a result of its establishment was the withdrawal of several aid societies from educational work. Nevertheless, as was earlier mentioned,


110Wallace, History of South Carolina, p. 255.
the denominational societies, by this time, had begun and continued their interest and efforts in the education of the Negroes.

Denominational Schools. Numerous denominational societies came into South Carolina to establish schools for the freedmen. Of those which were responsible for the development of higher education, four stood out prominently: the Freedman's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the African Methodist Episcopal Church Missionary Society, and, the Educational Missionary and Sunday School Convention of the Colored Baptists of South Carolina which began its activity at a date later than the first three. This was not to say, however, that others did not perform exemplary work. For a long time their schools were the only ones in which the Negro people could acquire an education above the standard of mere literacy. Appendix I depicts the number and sponsor of such institutions and indicates their development or demise.

That some did not survive was due to the development of the public school system into which they were absorbed as secondary schools, while others became defunct from lack of adequate financial support. Some were able to maintain themselves but were unable to develop above the level of a junior college.

But the concern here was with those societies whose schools, through evolution and founding with that intention, eventually became accredited four-year colleges of permanence. These were Claflin
University, Benedict College, Allen University, and Morris College. These were able to survive and grow not only because of the continued interest and support of their sponsors, but also because they were recipients of philanthropy from large educational foundations.

**Educational Philanthropy.** In the absence of extensive public education, and coincidentally with the efforts of the denominational societies, there was initiated shortly after the war a new type of philanthropy which assisted in the educational development of the freedmen. This was the large foundation of educational fund which was non-sectarian and assisted both private and public educational endeavors. Rather than support agencies for the promotion of its own interests, the foundation exerted its energies largely toward the stimulation of public recognition of existent needs and supplementation and assistance, on a comprehensive scale, to already established institutions of education.111 Those foundations which have worked for the advancement of Negro education in the South are: the Peabody Education Fund, the John F. Slater Fund, the General Education Board, the Anna T. Jeans Fund, and the Julius Rosenwald Foundation.

The Peabody Education Fund was established in 1867 when George Foster Peabody placed over a million dollars in trust, the interest of which was to be used for the promotion and encouragement

of intellectual, moral, or industrial education among the young of the more destitute portions of the Southern and Southwestern states of the Union. A Board of Trustees was organized and the aims of the Fund were outlined; briefly delineated, they were: the promotion of common school education, assistance to the establishment of a permanent system of public education, the endowment of scholarships for a teacher-training program, the stimulation of normal schools, and, the promotion of scientific and industrial education.\textsuperscript{112}

The John F. Slater Fund was founded in 1882 by John F. Slater of Norwich, Connecticut, who gave one million dollars for the establishment of a fund for the purpose of uplifting with the blessings of a Christian education, the emancipated population of the southern states. The Board of Trustees, of which Rutherford B. Hayes was the first President, was authorized to make the educational advantages of the existing institutions of higher education more freely accessible to poor students of the colored race, and to promote among them the training of teachers.\textsuperscript{113}

The General Education Board, with the promotion of education without distinction of race, sex, or creed, as its object, was organized in 1903 with John D. Rockefeller as its chief patron. This Fund embraced a broader field of activities inasmuch as its charter stipulated that it could assist, stimulate, or experiment in any area of educational endeavor. Huge appropriations were made to the Board with Rockefeller

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., pp. 59-60.

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., pp. 62-63.
eventually giving over 126 million dollars for the administration of its program. Negro education benefitted immensely from its operations. Private institutions which had been established by northern church organizations and southern Negroes received substantial appropriations, while public interest was stimulated in the construction of a public school system.\footnote{114}

Established in 1907 by the lady whose name it bears, the Anna T. Jeanes Fund was founded for the purpose of assisting village and rural schools for Negroes in the South. To that extent, its operations did not affect the institutions of higher learning as its aims were to assist a different type of education. The Fund, basically, provided for itinerant teachers, working under the direction of county superintendents, to improve living conditions and create public sentiment for better schools for Negroes in rural areas. This was effected by introducing simple home industries, instruction in sanitation and personal cleanliness, improvement in school buildings and grounds, and, the conduct of social activities which would better the school, home, and neighborhood.\footnote{115}

The Julius Rosenwald Foundation, similar to the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, devoted its attention and aid to the educational problems of the rural Negro. Established in 1912 through the friendship and influence of Booker T. Washington with Julius Rosenwald, this Fund was devoted

\footnote{114}{\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 66-71.}

\footnote{115}{\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 71-74.}
entirely to Negro education. The donor agreed to assist in the construction of schools for Negroes whenever the state, the local Negro constituency, and, at times, the local white people would contribute toward the necessary funds for the erection of schools of modern type for colored children. To a large extent, this was responsible for increased public effort in the provision of schools for rural Negroes. 116

This new type of educational philanthropy did not supplant or replace the activity of the denominational society; nor were its purposes that. These agencies used the institutions established by the denominational societies for the recipients of their benevolence. In many instances, the institutions of higher education of the societies would not have developed as substantially as they did without the aid of the large foundations. Thus, the cooperation seen between the early philanthropic organizations, and the Freedmen's Bureau continued between the denominational societies and the educational funds. Their efforts, foresight, and money made possible the growth of those schools which became institutions of higher education for Negroes in South Carolina.

CHAPTER II

FOUNDING THE FIRST COLLEGES

Claflin University

Almost one hundred years after the first Negro was baptized in the Methodist Episcopal Church and this body had grown to such proportions as to include some 30,000 Negroes among its communicants, it was rent in twain by conflicting attitudes towards the institution of slavery. Those members living in the Southern states found their pro-slavery views incompatible with the position adopted by the Church, and hence, in 1844, they withdrew and organized the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.\(^1\) The original church retained its name and attempted to keep its connections with its Negro adherents in the South, but its activity was proscribed almost to the extent of eliminating it from the southern field. The number of Negro Methodists in South Carolina before the schism and prior to the Civil War has been given various estimates with the lowest being 6,500.\(^2\) It seems more likely that a less conservative figure would have been closer to the truth. Upon the solicitation of Bishop William Capers, the Missionary Society of the


\(^2\)Ibid.
South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1829, sent two persons, for the first time, to labor as missionaries to the Negroes on the southern plantations. By the time of the Bishop's death in 1855, it was reported that there were twenty-six colored missionary stations in South Carolina, comprising a membership of 11,546, served by thirty-two missionaries, and supported by an annual revenue of $25,000. These figures were dwarfed by another report which listed the Negro Methodist membership in South Carolina in 1860 at 49,774, served by no more than thirty-five ministers, and supported by annual revenues between $25,000 and $35,000.

At least the Methodist Episcopal Church had a considerable financial and human investment in South Carolina and in the South generally; it, therefore, gave earnest support to the war effort and kept open an anxious eye for any situation which might give it the opportunity to begin again its work in the area from which it had been excluded. The opportunity presented itself in capture of the Sea Islands by the Union forces. In 1862, Bishop Osman G. Baker sent the

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4 Mason Crum, The Negro in the Methodist Church (New York: Editorial Department, Division of Education and Cultivation, Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, 1951), pp. 27-28. This large number may be due to the fact that after the schism, the Methodist Church, South, "entered more feverishly than ever upon the task of Negro evangelism. To convert the slave became its chief mission." Crum, p. 53.
Reverend T. Willard Lewis to labor among the contrabands at Beaufort. When Charleston surrendered, Reverend Lewis came to that city to reclaim the lost and displaced Methodist brethren. He found them worshipping in three churches: Old Bethel, St. James, and Zion Presbyterian, all of which were connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Previous to the War, the Negroes had occupied the galleries of these churches, but when the whites fled, in each instance they took over the entire church. The congregation at the Presbyterian Church was requested to leave, and it departed to Trinity, a church which had been partially destroyed by artillery, but which, under Reverend Lewis' direction and inspiration, was repaired and restored to an almost new condition. 5

When the war ended and reconstruction began, the white pastors and congregations of Charleston returned and demanded their churches from the Negroes, indicating that they saw no necessity for the presence of the "Yankee" preachers in the city, and felt that colored and white members might worship according to the plan of the old regime. At a communion service at Trinity, this arrangement was proposed by two southern white pastors. The Negroes asked time for consideration, and led by Samuel Weston, J. A. Sasportas, Jacob Mills, Charles Holloway and other ministers, they began an earnest contest for what they considered to be their rights. There were many consultations between the Negroes and the authorities of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South,

5Lawrence, The Centenary Souvenir, vii.
in an effort to arrange some plan for continuing worship with the southern whites. In all of the discussions, Reverend Lewis represented the "Old Mother Church" or the "John Wesley Church" as the parent Methodist Episcopal Church was called. The Negroes in the deliberations argued that they had not been consulted in the division of 1844, and, as they had not withdrawn or been expelled, they claimed their membership in the national church.⁶

On the day appointed for the decision with regard to the Trinity congregation, the Negroes were addressed by the southern white pastors who appealed to old associations and loyalties. They said: "Stay with us in your old places in the galleries." Opposing this plea, Reverend Lewis arose and said: "Brethren and sisters, there will be no galleries in heaven. Those who are willing to go with a church that makes no distinction as to race or color, follow me to the Normal School on the corner of Beaufain and St. Phillips Streets."⁷

The congregation, in a show of complete unity, rose and marched with enthusiasm to the Normal School. Through such means, Reverend Lewis soon had numerous congregations under his charge.

In December, 1865, Bishop Baker sent the Reverend Alonzo Webster, a member of high standing in the Vermont Conference, to Charleston to aid Lewis in the work of reorganizing the South Carolina Conference

⁶Ibid., viii–ix.

⁷Ibid., ix.
of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A warm friendship developed between the two men, and it was agreed that Webster should take charge of the work in the city, while Lewis formed congregations in the rural areas. The latter performed efficient service, organizing churches in Orangeburg, Columbia, Sumter, and other towns. An indication of the devotion to his work was given by the conditions under which he labored. "He travelled by rail, by stagecoach, by private conveyance, on horseback, and on foot; he slept in the humblest cabins and accepted all kinds of food."\(^8\) All of his efforts were not directed solely at the organization of churches as some of them were expended also in a search for suitable Negroes to educate as preachers and teachers.

It was soon apparent that some ordered theological instruction was needed for the fledgling preachers appointed by Lewis. To that end, the Conference authorized the acquisition of property on East Bay Street in Charleston and established a school which was called the Baker Theological Institute in honor of the Bishop. A large enrollment at Baker necessitated greater facilities for their accommodation than those offered. This situation coincided with the desire of the Conference to afford its members not only instruction in theology but in the arts and sciences as well. Inspired with offers of financial aid from Mr. Lee Claflin, a founder of Boston University, and his son, the Honorable William Claflin, Governor of Massachusetts, Lewis and

\(^8\) Ibid., xi.
Webster began to search for a location for the proposed school.9

Two circumstances probably dictated the location of the school. One was that it should be centrally located, equally and easily accessible to all sections of the State, the other, that it should be in such condition that it could be put into immediate operation. It was discovered that both of these requirements could be met by the Female College located in Orangeburg. During the early summer of 1869, negotiations were entered into with the holders of this property, and the transaction was consummated in July of that year.10

No time was wasted in readying the school for occupation. Repairs, at a cost of $2,500.00, were undertaken by Major Deane of the Freedmen's Bureau.11 The local newspaper reported that:

Extensive repairs are now being made to the buildings in our town, formerly known as the LeGare Female Seminary, by persons who design making the establishment a first class Theological Seminary for the education of young colored men to the Ministry of the Methodist Episcopal persuasion.12

Named Claflin University in honor of Lee Claflin, its outstanding benefactor, the school opened on Wednesday, October 24, 1869, with

9Ibid., xvii.
10Ibid., xvii.
12Orangeburg News, July 31, 1869, p. 4.
four departments: The College proper, and the Normal, Theological, and Preparatory Departments. Several weeks after its opening, the school was visited by an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau who reported that:

"At Orangeburg I found the Claflin University in the large and beautiful building (late of Orangeburg Female Academy) with about one hundred students under the efficient training of Dr. Webster. This is a very promising Institution, and in a commanding and well-chosen locality."

Benedict College

The denominational rivalry which produced the withdrawal of the original benevolent societies and the establishment of sectarian organizations in the relief work, followed a similar course in the development of institutions of higher education for Negroes. After the establishment of Claflin University by the Methodist Episcopal Church there came the entry of the Baptists who were striving for Negro memberships. Like the Methodists, the Baptists who entered into educational work for Negroes came directly from Northern organizations of that religious denomination, but their task was easier because of the predominance of Baptist-inclined Negroes within the State.


Due to a peculiar organization which permitted broad autonomy to individual congregations, the Baptist Church did not have a national body which adjudicated and pronounced doctrinal positions and attitudes. Some integration, however, was given to the individual churches through the General Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States for Foreign Missions which was formed in May, 1814. With the migration of Americans to the West, the American Baptist Home Mission Society was organized in 1832 to provide missionary activity on the frontier. Circumstances similar to those which brought about the schism in the Methodist Church were not absent from Baptist ranks. Slaveholders were seldom appointed to the missionary field, while some northern Baptists were active in the abolition movement. Fearing a coalescence of the two and begrudging financial assistance to abolitionism, those Baptists in the southern states met, in May, 1845, in convention at Augusta, Georgia, where they withdrew from the General Convention and formed the Southern Baptist Convention.  

This division excluded the Northern Baptists from any influence on the southern Negro - an influence which was always small because of the preoccupation of the Baptist missionary agency with the West. Some missionaries, however, made their way into the South and reported a promising field for conversion among the Negroes. They were extra-

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ordinarily successful in persuading the Negroes to join their denomina-
tion.16 There were some 65,000 Negro Baptists in South Carolina alone
at the end of the Civil War.17 Nevertheless, the bitterness felt by
the Southerners as a result of defeat gave them no impetus to continue
ministrations to the freed Negroes. This void was filled by Northern
Baptists.

After an affirmative vote to take immediate measures "for the
occupation by our missionaries of such Southern fields" as were opened
to them, the Baptist Home Mission Board, on June 25, 1862, commissioned
the Reverends Isaac W. Brinkerhoff and Jonathan W. Horton to work
among the Negroes of St. Helena Island. Several weeks later, Dr.
Solomon Peck, Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Union, volun-
teed his services and was commissioned, on September 16, to Beaufort.18
Other workers followed and soon Baptist Missions encompassed the entire
State. It was discovered, however, that "religion without learning"
could be an obstacle to the anticipated rapid rise of the Negro. The

16 American Baptist Home Mission Society, Annual Report, 1843, p. 17. Hereafter cited as A.B.H.M.S. This is not surprising when it is considered that the southern whites tended strongly towards the Baptist Church. The freedom and latitude of this Church's philosophy was probably ideally suited to the religious aspiration and fervor of the Negro mentality at that time.


situation and conditions were explained as follows:

In the colored preachers we see a class of men, who, by the simple purity of their lives, have won the confidence and respect of their people. These preachers are the leaders in all social movements among the freedmen. If we can lead and elevate them, we may through them hope to elevate the mass of the people. But if we devote ourselves to educating the youth, neglecting the education of their preachers, we elevate the youth to an intellectual plane from which they shall look down upon the meager attainments of their present religious teachers. The most direct, accessible, and effective way of teaching the mass of colored people is by educating the colored ministry.19

The implication here was that the American Baptist Home Mission Society, as early as 1866, was debating the founding of schools which would emphasize religious education. Yet, in this endeavor, the Society did not have the cooperation and blessing of those whom it desired to aid. An observer reported that: "The pastors for the most part were ignorant men, and little attention was given by them to the work of education and missions. Some of the early missionaries found them bitter opposers of the work of the Society."20 Certainly, as far as available records indicate, those Negroes of the Methodist denomination had a different outlook from those who were Baptists. This suggested that the Northern Methodists were more fundamental in their exhortations than were the Southern Baptists. There was little wonder that the Methodist Episcopal Church, after 1844, had only limited access to the Negro.

The executive board of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, after careful deliberation, decided that it should found and endow one first-class training school for preachers and teachers in each southern state.\(^{21}\) In South Carolina, a desirable site, valued at $40,000 before the War, was found to be available in Columbia. The property consisted of nearly eighty acres of land on which there was a large mansion with several out-buildings and beautiful grounds. It was offered to the Society for $16,000.\(^{22}\) This development coincided with a desire of Stephen A. Benedict to advance the education and spiritual emancipation of the freedmen. Mr. Benedict, brother of the historian, Dr. David Benedict, was a mill owner and a deacon of the First Baptist Church of Pawtucket, Rhode Island. Before his plan could be realized, exposure caused while fighting a fire which occurred in the mill on Christmas 1868, resulted in his untimely death. Nevertheless, his widow, Mrs. Bathsheba A. Benedict, fulfilled his wish by donating $10,000 to the purchase of the property and financing the construction of the first building.\(^{23}\) In honor of her husband, the board named the school "Benedict Institute." On December 1, 1870, under the supervision of the Reverend Timothy S. Dodge,


\(^{22}\) A. W. Pegues, Our Baptist Ministers and Schools (Springfield, Massachusetts: Willey and Company, 1892), p. 593.

Benedict Institute opened with sixty-one students. 24

The State-Supported Institution

One of the revolutionary measures resulting from the control of the federal Congress by the Republicans was the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862, which provided for the establishment of colleges of agricultural and mechanical arts, commonly called "land-grant" colleges. The Act stipulated that 30,000 acres of public land for each Congressman from a state were to be donated to the state and sold, with the proceeds utilized for the erection of the colleges. 25 The Republicans, who were in political control of South Carolina between 1867 and 1877, hesitated only briefly in carrying out its provisions. In 1872, the legislature passed a measure which, in accord with the Morrill Act, established at Orangeburg, in association with Claflin University, a school which was designated the South Carolina College and Mechanic's Institute, and which was to afford instruction in practical and theoretical agriculture, mechanical art, and military tactics and training.

24Pegues, Our Baptist Ministers, p. 593. A later president of the institution wrote that: "The school was opened as a mission in 1871. The first students were few in number. More than half were men and women past middle age. Some were preachers who came to learn to read." A. C. Osborn, Forty Years: A Review of the Work of Benedict College, Columbia, S. C. (New York: American Baptist Home Mission Society, 1911), p. 2.

25The Statutes at Large of the United States...1859-1863 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1863), XII, 503-505.
The school was to have been "located as near as practicable to Claflin University, so as to combine ... practical training with theoretical instruction in the science and art of agriculture." 26

It would appear that the location of the publicly-supported institution on the premises of a school founded and sustained by a religious denomination would have violated the American tradition of the separation of Church and State. Such an occurrence was engendered by the political situation in South Carolina which at that time was in the turbulence of Reconstruction. Many of the Republicans who were dominant were from the North, having served either with the Union Army, and/or with the Freedmen's Bureau. In addition, the majority of school teachers and administrators were secured from the abolitionist stronghold of New England and were inclined to be sympathetic towards the Republican administration. 27 On most matters they were more often together than apart. An illuminating illustration of their cooperation was seen in the incident of the State College-Claflin University relationship. Alonzo Webster, the President of Claflin, also served as the chaplain of the Senate and "was chiefly instrumental in securing the State Agricultural College in connection


27 Swint, The Northern Teacher in the South, pp. v, 90-93.


The method of analysis is based on the assumption that the behavior of a system can be accurately predicted through the application of mathematical models. The models are designed to capture the essential features of the system under study, allowing for the simulation of various scenarios and the identification of critical conditions.

In the context of system analysis, it is crucial to consider the interdependencies between different components. These interdependencies can significantly influence the overall performance and reliability of the system. Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of these relationships is essential for effective design and optimization.

Moreover, the analysis process often involves the identification of key performance indicators (KPIs) that can be used to evaluate the system's efficiency and effectiveness. These KPIs serve as metrics for assessing the system's ability to meet its intended objectives.

In summary, the systematic approach to analysis, combined with the rigorous application of mathematical models, enables a deeper understanding of system behavior and facilitates the development of more robust and efficient systems.
with that institution." Similarly, Robert K. Scott, the Governor of the State and former Assistant-Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, was a member of the Board of Trustees of Claflin.

While the situation was not absolutely clear, the available facts suggest that two motives were in operation. Claflin seemed to desire the State school as a means of expanding its program, whereas the State appeared to choose the existing institution, Claflin, to minimize its expenditure for the education of Negroes. The State authorities appear to have been somewhat tardy in executing the provisions of the Morrill Act, and considered it only at the behest of an outside party. Although the charter of the State institution stated that funds would be allotted for the undertaking, it was apparent that they were not immediately allocated. This was indicated by the fact that the Claflin Board of Trustees requested that its Prudential Committee inquire into the possibilities of organizing a State school and procuring State aid. A special committee subsequently was appointed to "secure the passage of an

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28 South Carolina Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Minutes of the 82nd Session, 1882, p. 22. Hereafter cited as S.C.A.C.M.E.C.

29 Claflin University, Catalogue, 1870, p. 3.


31 Minutes of the 4th Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees of Claflin University, June 22, 1871, p. 121. MSS. Hereafter cited as C.U.B.O.T.
act by the Legislature placing the State Agricultural College in connection with Claflin University.32 As a further inducement to acquire the proposed institution, this body later voted to loan $3,500 to the Trustees of the State school in the event that the latter needed money to begin its operation.33 The following year the Claflin Board of Trustees purchased 116 acres of land from the J.S.K. Legare estate and authorized the transfer of title to the Trustees of the State College upon the agreement of that Board to reimburse the former for the expense.34 Through such an exchange was the establishment of the State College at Claflin effected.

The Second Founding of State. The winds of politics blew up an educational storm in South Carolina during the later 1870's. This was occasioned by the return to power of the Democrats in 1877. Previously, during the Republican era, Negroes had matriculated at the University of South Carolina where a number won degrees in law and other fields. Negro faculty members were also in evidence; Richard T. Greener, the first Negro graduate of Harvard College, was awarded a degree in law from the University of South Carolina, and was appointed to the faculty as a Professor of Latin and Greek.35

32 Ibid., p. 126.


That this situation was intolerable for some of the native whites was indicated in a newspaper editorial which said that:

The University cannot, if it is to succeed, be fish, flesh, and fowl. It must be one or the other. It must stand out in bold relief, an institution for the whites of the State. At the same time, we do not object to Claflin or some other college standing out, in equally bold relief, an institution for the colored people of the State. That public man who thinks that he can secure public education upon the basis of mixed schools and colleges is a poor statesman.36

The Democrats, riding a wave of anti-Republicanism and white-supremacy, dismissed the Negro and Northern-white faculty members and closed the University for three years. This action left the Democrats in the anomalous position of supporting an institution for the education of Negroes, but none for whites.37

The State College for Negroes, however, was not untouched by the white supremists; it embodied too many features which were contrary to their philosophy. Thus, on March 22, 1878, the original charter, with its suggestions of racial equality, was revoked, and a second charter of incorporation was passed. This involved a reorganization of the University system and was a part of the legislation which reopened the University of South Carolina. The change was described in the report of the State Superintendent of Education which stated that:

The old University of South Carolina, suspended in 1877 and reorganized in 1878 and 1879, has been divided, the part of it

36Columbia Daily Phoenix, January 17, 1872, p. 2.

designed for whites remaining at Columbia; that for colored students, at Claflin University, Orangeburg. Both are sustained out of the agricultural college fund and have the character and courses of agricultural and mechanical colleges.

The South Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanics, Columbia, organized in 1880 for white youths of the state, occupies the buildings of the former University of South Carolina.38

The second charter changed the name of the Negro institution from the South Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic's Institute to the Orangeburg Branch of the University of South Carolina. It still retained, as the Superintendent's Report indicated, its connection with Claflin University.

Allen University

One of the bodies into which the Methodist Episcopal Church divided was the African Methodist Episcopal Church, founded in 1816, as a result of discrimination and segregation in some churches of the parent body.39 Upon its inception, the African Methodist Episcopal Church strove to attract from other Methodist organizations as many Negroes as it could and, therefore, entered South Carolina in 1817, with the establishment of a church under the supervision of the Reverend Morris Brown.40 This denomination grew considerably


during the first five years of its existence in the State, but continued expansion was prohibited by the legal and political enactments which followed the Denmark Vesey insurrection in 1822. Thereafter, the African Methodist Episcopal Church lay dormant until Civil War operations in the Sea Islands and on the coastlands created a situation whereby it could be revitalized. Two missionaries, James Lynch and James Hall, were commissioned for this work, and, on Wednesday, May 20, 1863, they sailed from New York harbor on the government steamer Arago bound for South Carolina. Commencing their activities at Port Royal, Edisto, and Beaufort, Lynch and Hall followed the Union armies into Savannah and Charleston where they pursued the reorganization of their Church. On May 13, 1865, the Arago brought to Charleston additional missionaries among whom was Bishop Daniel Alexander Payne who, thirty years and four days earlier, had been exiled from this city for radical educational activities. So energetically was the Church re-established that before the expiration of Reconstruction, it could boast of being the second largest Negro denomination in the State.

With the activity of the various philanthropic and missionary organizations in education among the Negroes, it became apparent to the African Methodists that they must also sponsor education or be

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41 Payne, History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, pp. 468-469.

42 Ibid., p. 469.

43 Tindall, South Carolina Negroes, p. 190.
confronted with restricted growth and possible loss in membership. Consequently, the Columbia District Conference, in session at Newberry, July 29, 1870, resolved to undertake steps towards this end.\(^{44}\) A committee appointed for the purpose negotiated the purchase of 150 acres of land and school buildings in the village of Cokesbury. The Annual Conference of 1871 accepted the committee's work, and the Payne Institute, which became the property of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of South Carolina, was established. This school, named after Daniel Alexander Payne, made no pretense of offering higher education; rather, its program was that of elementary and industrial training combined with religious education.\(^{45}\)

The assignment of Bishop W. F. Dickerson to the diocese brought some change to the educational program. The Bishop saw that the location of the school in Cokesbury limited the attendance of Methodists in the Low Country where the majority of the denomination resided; he was also of the opinion that the curriculum should have been expanded. After some deliberation, the Annual Conference, meeting in Spartanburg in 1881, voted to transfer the school to Columbia where it might benefit the entire State. A Board of Trustees was elected, a charter was procured, and the new institution was named Allen University in honor of Richard Allen, the founder of African

\(^{44}\)Allen University Catalogue, 1919-1920, p. 5.

\(^{45}\)Ibid.
Methodism. In the transfer the school ceased to emphasize industrial training and embarked upon a program of higher education, the first attempt by South Carolina Negroes to maintain a school of this nature.

THE EARLY YEARS

The establishment and maintenance of an institution of higher education is a difficult task at any time, at any place, and among any people. Whether there be prosperity or poverty, the educational institution, in most instances, manages to eke out an existence in which only the minimum needs are satisfied. What then must have been the plight of the schools founded for a people only recently removed from centuries of bondage in a state laid prostrate by the destruction of war? Was there a chance for their success?

Had the establishment of the Negro colleges of South Carolina come at any other time, it is doubtful that they would have succeeded — at least with the degree of initial success which they enjoyed. As it was, coming in the wake of a national tragedy when the degraded social conditions of the people whom they were to serve had excited the humanitarian and philanthropic impulses of the nation, a situation was created whereby the colleges could command a somewhat firm foundation. Nevertheless, the job which they undertook was one of enormous proportions amidst an impoverished people rich only in the desire

46 Ibid.

to afford themselves of the enlightenment and progress which they believed an education could insure. The tools which the colleges utilized to satisfy this desire were their physical plants, their ambitious and imposing curricula, and their inspired and dedicated faculties. This equipment gave some indication of the suffering and successes which marked their development during the early years.

Plant and Finances. Two schools, Claflin and Benedict, were patronized by Northern benefactors, while one was subsidized by the State, and the other, Allen, through the efforts of the Negroes of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Among these schools, it may be suggested, Claflin was the most fortunate inasmuch as it found for occupancy a ready-made plant needing but few repairs. The extent of the Legare property purchased by the Claflin family was thirty-seven and one-half acres, of which six and one-half acres, including the main school building, were donated for the purposes of the college. By an estimate of the value of the building and land was established at $10,000 and $2,000 respectively. The University was housed in one or more buildings; one record spoke of "building," while another


49 B.R.F.A.L., State Superintendent's Monthly School Report, October, 1869, Educational Division. This report erroneously lists the property of Claflin as being owned by the Bureau.
said "buildings." There were fifty-six rooms designed for the presentation of the college program.

If the initial cost of Claflin's plant was $12,000, it was safe to assume that $10,000 of this amount was paid immediately. This deduction seemed reasonable due to the fact that there was a notice of indebtedness by the authorities in the amount of $2,000. Twelve months later this obligation had been removed and the college was operating without debt.

From its beginnings of a main and several auxiliary buildings, Benedict College, during its first fifteen years, experienced considerable expansion. By 1885, new buildings had been erected and designated as to function. The "Mansion" served as the faculty residence; Colby Hall was a three-storied women's dormitory; a two-level dining hall included the Library and Music Room on the second floor, and a combination dormitory, chapel and classrooms occupied a $14,000 edifice which was called College Hall.

The plant and facilities of the State-supported institution were difficult to assay because, as the Secretary of that school

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50 Claflin University, Letter of Appeal, December 1, 1869.
51 Claflin University, Public Announcement.
52 Claflin University, Letter of Appeal, December 1, 1869.
54 Benedict Institute, 5th Annual Catalogue, 1885-1886, p. 17.
reported to the Legislature:

The Agricultural and Mechanical Institute sustains such a coordinate relation to Claflin University that it is not easy to separate the educational work which each has done in connection with the other.\footnote{55}

It was evident that the State school utilized the buildings of Claflin, purchasing for its requirements only the land necessary to agricultural training. The tract of Legare property, consisting of 116 acres lying directly adjoining the grounds of Claflin, and containing a dwelling house, barn and other out-buildings, appears to have been the initial outlay of the State for its Agricultural and Mechanical Institute. Appropriations for the operation of the Institute during its first five years were never substantial and may be best understood by analyzing the report of the Secretary:

The donation made by Congress for an Agricultural College and Mechanic Institute was 180,000 acres of land which was sold for seventy-two and one-half cents per acre, amounting to $130,500. This amount was invested in six percent bonds of the State of South Carolina at such a discount as to aggregate $191,800. These bonds were disposed of by the officials for the benefit of the State on October 25, 1870.

- Annual interest of these bonds \ldots \ldots $11,508
- Interest for five years last October \ldots 57,540

On this accrued interest two appropriations have been made, amounting to $21,508, but only $11,836 have actually been paid, leaving an amount of interest due October last, $45,704. The endowment of the institution would, in justice, stand as follows:

- Six percent bonds \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots $191,800
- State indebtedness \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 45,704
- Total fund, October 25, 1875 \ldots \ldots 237,504

\footnote{55 Edward Cooke, "Report of the Secretary of State Agricultural College and Mechanical Institute" to the Senate and House of Represent- tatives, Claflin University \textit{Catalogue}, 1876-1877, p. 1.}
An appropriation of $10,000 was made one year ago towards meeting the interest on the bonds, but only $5,000 was received during the fiscal year ending December 31, 1875. Of this amount $1,800 went into running expenses of the college.\(^{56}\)

This report indicated that the State-supported institution, during its first five years, received from the State a total of $16,836, or a pro-rated amount of $3,367 per year. The Governor of South Carolina, in his annual address to the Legislature, reported that:

The State Agricultural and Mechanical Institute, I regret to say, is in a condition far from flourishing. This is due, in great part, to the want of funds, which consist, under law, of the interest on the bonds arising from the sale of the congressional gift of land scrip. If provision can be made to restore these funds, I do not doubt that the institution can be made useful. I call attention to the subject without offering any recommendation.\(^{57}\)

During the session of 1875-1876, the Legislature took steps to remedy the situation by authorizing a sum of $5,000 to be granted to the school to remove some of its deficiencies, specifically as part payment for the farm - on which an indebtedness, excluding the $5,000, was still due.\(^{58}\)

Allen University experienced some unfortunate circumstances inasmuch as all of its original buildings were destroyed by fire.

\(^{56}\)Ibid., p. 3.


\(^{58}\)Cooke, "Report of the Secretary," p. 31.
and with them, in all probability, the early records of the institution which might have depicted its orderly growth. Nevertheless, a cryptic view of Allen's first year was provided in the first report of its first President. He wrote that in:

April, 1881, a beginning was made by the purchase of the Methodist Episcopal Chapel at a cost of $700, which was speedily converted into three school-rooms, and on April 8, 1881, Allen University began with forty-eight students, all of whom were in the preparatory department.  

From these meager and rather hurried beginnings, Allen University proceeded to establish an adequate plant. Its grounds consisted of four acres on an elevated site which commanded an extensive view of the Congaree River Valley. By 1888, a main building, which included a chapel, was erected at a cost of $12,000. This building, which contained twenty-one rooms, was destroyed by fire on February 21, 1895. During that year, however, the Ladies Industrial Hall, containing forty-four rooms, was in the process of completion. There were also four cottages on the campus, presumably used as a boy's dormitory or quarters for the faculty.

Administration and Faculty. During the early years the


60 Allen University, Catalogue, 1888-1889, p. 23. Subsequent catalogues list the cost as having been $20,000.

61 Allen University, Catalogue, 1894-1895, p. 29.
schools were so small as to preclude any division between the administration and the faculty. In most cases persons served in a dual capacity, acting as both administrators and teachers. An unusual situation existed at Claflin during its first year when it had two presidents serving at the same time. Alonzo Webster and T. Willard Lewis, both of whom were the co-founders of this institution, in the school-year 1869-1870, shared the responsibilities of the presidency.\textsuperscript{62}

In 1870, Webster alone held the office, followed in 1875 by Edward Cooke. Claflin's earliest Board of Trustees numbered six, including four or five Negroes, among whom were Samuel Weston, Thomas Phillips, Abram Middleton, and J. A. Sasportas.\textsuperscript{63} Later members of the Board who were Negroes were: V. H. Bulkley, True Whittier, Joshua W. Wilson, Jr., and H. J. Fox.\textsuperscript{64}

The faculty of Claflin during its first year of operation consisted of five teachers, all white.\textsuperscript{65} They were: Alonzo Webster, T. Willard Lewis, H. J. Moore, Eugene A. Webster, and John H. Dosher. The first Negro who was employed in this capacity was W. H. Crogman, of Massachusetts, who joined the faculty at the opening of the second

\textsuperscript{62} Claflin University, \textit{Catalogue, 1869-1870}, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., p. 3.

\textsuperscript{64} Claflin University, \textit{Catalogue, 1872-1873}, p. 2.

school-year in 1870. As the school grew, the faculty increased, and included a proportionate number of Negroes - some of whom were outstanding graduates of Claflin.

The close relationship in academic work between Claflin and the State College was also evident in the administration and faculty of the two schools. The Board of Trustees was appointed by the Legislature and was independent of the Claflin board although in some instances the same persons served on both boards. The executive officer of the State school was not a president, but was a Secretary (appointed by the Board of Trustees) who also filled the office of General Superintendent upon whom devolved the power of general administration over all property of the corporation. This dual officer had the power to call a meeting of the Board of Trustees, and the duty of keeping account of revenues and disbursements. The first Secretary-General Superintendent of the State College was Alonzo Webster who was also President of Claflin. When he surrendered his positions to become presiding elder in the Church, his successor, Edward Cooke, assumed the triple offices.

The second Act of Incorporation of State College completely revised the administrative structure of the institution. The college for whites in Columbia and the college for Negroes in Orangeburg were

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combined into the University of South Carolina with the Negro division becoming the Orangeburg Branch of the University. One Board of Trustees, consisting of the Governor, the State Superintendent of Education, the Chairman of the Committee of Education of both legislative chambers, and seven persons elected by joint vote of the General Assembly, had supervision over both branches which included the power to appoint a Board of Visitors for each, the authority to employ and dismiss all personnel, and the administration of property and funds.68

Consequently, the marriage of Church and State which was featured under the first charter was visibly shaken. Divorce, however, was not yet effected. The new political administration appeared unconcerned with the union between the State College and Claflin University since academic relations were allowed to continue.69 The Orangeburg Branch of the University of South Carolina was not an organic part of the latter, but rather was specifically recorded as the Claflin College of Agriculture and Mechanic's Institute.70 This

68Tbid., 1877-1878, pp. 532-536.

69There was a proposal by the State to adopt Claflin University as an institution to be run at the expense of the State; the Claflin authorities were amenable to this development but it was never realized. C.U.B.O.T., Minutes, Special Meeting, October 30, 1877. Minutes, Semi-Annual Meeting, January, 1878, pp. 172-173, 177.

70All Claflin University Catalogues, 1878-1896.
was not to say, however, that the State did not contribute financially to the institution. One report mentioned that "the State Agricultural College is located here, and during the past year, 1879, $7,500 have been appropriated by the State for educational work."\textsuperscript{71} Two years later, a statement of the condition of the University in discussing income mentioned the usual school-revenue sources and listed $7,000 from "other sources" - which were taken to indicate the State appropriation.\textsuperscript{72} If this assumption was valid, it suggested that the State contributed to the institution approximately $7,000 per year, which was twice as much as had been received from the Republican administration. But, all of the foregoing notwithstanding, the net effect of the reorganization was to exclude Negroes from any position of policy-making and direction of the school which was established in part by them and for their benefit. Furthermore, no attempts were made to develop the Orangeburg Branch of the University of South Carolina into a first-class institution.

Benedict Institute had an administration different from either of her sister schools. As has been indicated, the American Baptist Home Mission Society in 1866 decided to found and endow one first-class school in each of the southern states. The executive

\textsuperscript{71}Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 12th Annual Report, 1879, p. 10. Hereafter cited as F.A.S.M.E.C.

\textsuperscript{72}S.C.A.M.E.C., Minutes of the 75th Session (16th), 1881, p. 19.
board of the Society, acting through its secretary or educational agent, was the Board of control or Trustees of the institution. It appointed the President, and, except for occasional advice, left the operation of the school to his discretion. An annual report of the progress and problems of the school was made to the executive board, either by its agent or by the President. The early faculty of Benedict was all white although some of the students were required to give instruction in classes as a part of their training. All teachers at Benedict were required to be church members of good standing.

Negro teachers and administrators were the rule rather than the exception at Allen University. Naturally, a school founded by Negroes for the education of Negroes in a period of extreme race-consciousness would attempt to maintain its independence and direction within that group. As white control was lacking, so too for a considerable time, was white patronage. Income for the operation of the school was derived solely from abject Negroes whose economic status was among the lowest in the nation. But Allen had to succeed; it had to be the example to demonstrate to its people that they were

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73 The records and minutes of the American Baptist Home Mission Society give this indication. There was also a board composed of six whites and three Negroes which acted in an advisory capacity.

74 The Columbia Daily Register, July 10, 1880, p. 4.

capable of operating a big business as certainly the church and the school were. 76

In addition to the sums contributed by the individual African Methodists from all over the State, an ingenious device was contrived by which Allen could be certain of an annual income. The Board of Trustees which secured the charter of incorporation for Allen University, was commissioned by that document to appoint or elect such officers as were necessary and proper for the organization and government of their own body. 77 The Six Annual Conferences of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in South Carolina were empowered to select from their membership those who composed the Board of Trustees. Twenty persons, of whom ten were ministers and ten were laymen, became members of the Board of Trustees upon their election by their respective Conferences. 78

76 Lewis K. McMillan, Negro Higher Education in the State of South Carolina (Orangeburg: By the Author, 1952), pp. 94, 100.


78 This was stipulated in 1935 by an amendment to the charter of 1880, but the situation had existed for many years. The South Carolina Conference was organized on May 15, 1865, in Charleston. It included the states of South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. A reorganization in 1878 excluded the other states and divided South Carolina into two conferences. Further divisions in 1892, 1909, and 1911 created the present six Annual Conferences. Richard R. Wright, Jr., The Encyclopedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (2d ed.; Philadelphia: Book Concern of the A.M.E. Church, 1947), pp. 509-510. The earliest available record which indicated a Trustee Board of over 100 members was the Allen University Quarto-Centennial Catalogue, 1905-1906, pp. 5-10. It listed thirty-three ministers and thirteen laymen from each of the then existing Conferences as members of the Board of Trustees.
Allen University had, thereby, a Trustee Board of over a hundred members, each of whom was to contribute to the financial security of the institution by collecting assessments in the various precincts of their conferences.

**Curricula.** The words "college" and "university" do not always at first glance imply large buildings on great expanses of ground where students congregate to learn. In certain instances they may refer to the level of course which one is studying. The founders and organizers of the Negro Colleges of South Carolina evidently had the latter in mind when they established these institutions. If one word could be a common denominator descriptive of their course selections, it would be "ambitious." But then, to these persons, college and university implied what they had learned in institutions bearing those names. Only at Benedict did there appear to have been early concern over the proper classification of the institution.

The President of Benedict wrote to the United States Commissioner of Education for information relative to the academic classification of this school. The reply was that: "It would appear from your note in regard to the type of studies pursued that the Institute would properly be classed with academies, or schools of similar instruction." This instance notwithstanding, it was generally the rule, in establishing the colleges, to impose on them a curriculum appropriate to that name.

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A survey of the earliest available curriculum of each school indicated that several departments were common to all institutions. These were the Normal, the Preparatory, and the Theological Departments. From the listing of the subjects it appeared that the Normal Department was the equivalent to mid-twentieth century high school, the Preparatory to college, and the Theological course a kind of graduate study in preparation for the ministry. Of course this varied from school to school. Claflin's Normal Course for the first year included Arithmetic, Geography, English Grammar, United States History, Reading, Writing, Spelling, Physiology and Hygiene. On the other hand, Allen's first year Normal Course prescribed Latin, English Composition, College Arithmetic, General History, Physiology, and Elementary Algebra. The last year of Allen's Normal Course included Caesar, English Literature, Astronomy, Chemistry, History of England, Botany, Ethics, Mental Philosophy, Geology, and Logic. The corresponding level at Claflin contained Algebra, School Economy, Rhetoric, Civil Government, Book-keeping and Commercial Arithmetic, General Review, and, Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Teaching. As taught in these two institutions the Normal Course was designed to prepare students

80 Claflin University, Catalogue, 1872-1873, p. 13.
81 Allen University, Catalogue, 1888-1889, p. 20.
82 Claflin University, Catalogue, 1872-1873, p. 13.
to teach on the elementary and secondary levels of the public school system.

The Collegiate Departments in all schools (at Benedict and Claflin it was called the Classical Course) ranged all the way from or through Greek, Latin, Higher Mathematics, and International Law. Benedict listed such courses as Greek Grammar and Composition, Xenophon's Anabasis, Virgil's Aeneid, Navigation and Civil Engineering, Evidences of Christianity, and Trigonometry.83

These three were not the only offerings of either college although they received the most prominence - except in the instance of Claflin which, through its connection with the State College, boasted an impressive curriculum in Science and Agriculture. Those scholars enrolling in the State College took their liberal arts courses along with the regular Claflin students. Both Allen and Benedict offered a curriculum in Music and Teacher training, while the former included a Law Department and a Resident Graduate School.84

Although these curricula were listed and given wide publicity they failed to attract many students. The college authorities soon realized that their aims for their colleges had to undergo a radical change. The curricula had been established along the lines of New England training. When, however, it was discovered that there was no foundation for such a classical education, adjustments had to be made

83 Benedict Institute, 5th Annual Catalogue, 1885-1886, p. 15.
in the system to accommodate and temper the raw materials. Recognizing the deficiencies, the educators reorganized their schools to include the primary grades through the highest earned degree. The reorganization was not immediately perfected, of course, inasmuch as the overhaul of educational systems was a task of some difficulty which involved experiment upon experiment until a properly working instrument was evolved. That constant change was a characteristic of the early college curricula was evidenced by a perusal of the catalogues which silently express the fact that the school authorities accepted and rejected, devised and revised until there was designed a system which might have some practical value in the educational requirements of those whom the colleges were established to serve.

As an example of the problem, Claflin University may be used as illustration. This school opened in October, 1869, with four Departments: the Collegiate, the Normal, the Preparatory, and the Theological. One hundred and nine students was the enrollment for the first year; of this number, twelve were registered in the Classical Department, and ninety-seven in the Collegiate Department. Of the seventy-five who were present during the initial month, none of them needed to study the alphabet, thirty could spell and read easy lessons, and forty-five were advanced readers. Provided that these

85 Claflin University, Catalogue, 1870, p. 5.
students had the means to finish the curriculum in the prescribed four years, Claflin should have had a graduate in 1873. But the first student did not graduate from the Normal Department until 1879.\textsuperscript{87} By that time the curriculum had undergone many revisions. If students were compelled to complete their studies under the catalogue regulations in effect at the time of their entrance, it was probable that they needed more than the allotted time. Elementary education became mandatory. By 1872, Claflin had added a Primary Department which had ninety-three enrollees.\textsuperscript{88} At its tenth year of operation, attendance in the College Department numbered twenty-two, the Normal Department eighty-six, the Preparatory eighty-two, and the Grammar School one hundred and fifty one.\textsuperscript{89} The majority of the students did not possess the preparation and qualification to embark upon the ambitious curriculum of the college program. Claflin did not graduate its first student from the College until 1882 when Nathaniel H. Middleton and William L. Bulkley received the Baccalaureate Degree.\textsuperscript{90} Both of these men had faculty rank as early as 1879. Middleton was Principal of the Grammar School, Bulkley was a teacher in the English branches.\textsuperscript{91}

\textsuperscript{87} Claflin University, Catalogue, 1883-1884, p. 19.

\textsuperscript{88} Claflin University, Catalogue, 1872-1873, p. 14.

\textsuperscript{89} Claflin University, Catalogue, 1883-1884, p. 20.

\textsuperscript{90} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{91} Claflin University, Catalogue, 1879-1880, p. 7.
During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, great debate raged throughout the United States as to the efficacy of industrial education over that of pure liberal arts training. In the circles of Negro education, the debate was more heated because of the economic successes of the graduates of the Hampton Institute, Virginia, and the Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, both of which were pioneers in the area of industrial education. It was considered an advantage to Negroes to have manual as well as mental training, and most schools for Negroes sooner or later established industrial departments.\(^2\)

Claflin, through its connection with the land grant college, and Benedict, through the beneficence of the John F. Slater Fund, very early included industrial education in its curricula.\(^3\) It was discovered that participation in the industrial training program improved the performance of students in regular academic work. Writing of the industrial departments in their relation to intellectual drill and development, President Becker of Benedict, in his report for 1885-1886, said:

> Those who have had to do with teaching the colored people have found two great difficulties in the way, to wit, sluggish action of the mind and the ease with which they have been discouraged. The aid that has been afforded in quickening the mental energies, by the introduction of the industrial work, could not be believed by those who have not had to do with it


as we have. We find the grade of scholarship growing better in the case of all who have been engaged in the industrial departments. I explain the difference by the fact that they have found work they could do, and so, getting the sense of mastery and real power to overcome obstacles, carried it into their literary work.

Another value of this industrial work has been in the teaching of the economy of time, which lies at the foundation of all other economy. Some who laughed at those who took the work at the opening of the school and spent their hours in idleness saw these shoemakers and carpenters doing things utterly impossible to them at the close of the year, and done in time that they had utterly wasted. They also saw the workers able to pay their way for a month or more by the work they did, while they were compelled to go home, for I gave no aid to those who declined to enter the industrial department.94

The reference to carpenters and shoemakers implies that industrial education was restricted to male students. Continued experience with the program, nevertheless, reaffirmed Becker's contention. As a matter of fact, he used manual training as a gauge to measure the students' sincerity of motive and desire for achievement. In March, 1887, he wrote: "The introduction of the industrial work has changed the whole fibre of our other work. A student who has no interest in the industrial departments is certain to be of no account in any other."95

Those students enrolled in the Agriculture and Mechanics Institute at Claflin naturally were committed to industrial education. But the entire student body of Claflin University could not escape its influence. This applied to female as well as to male students.


95 Ibid., p. 996.
L. M. Dunton, the President of Claflin, declared that:

We do not allow any young woman to graduate until she can measure, cut, fit, and make a dress, and make it in style. They also learn cooking and artistic needlework. The young men are required to learn the principles of different trades, and to learn one trade thoroughly. We require a certificate from some one of the industrial departments that they have accomplished the required work before they can graduate from the institution.\footnote{Quoted in N. H. R. Dawson, \textit{Report of the Commissioner of Education}, 1890 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), II, pp. 1093-1094.}

Students. The fourth element which completes a college is those who come to it to learn, and indeed, like the similarities indicated in the other aspects of South Carolina's colleges for Negroes, the student bodies of each had much in common. Most of all was their background which was a common one in poverty and a probable one of slavery. A cryptic view of the student's home environment and the problems he met in college was given by the Charleston \textit{News and Courier} which said:

The students come from all parts of the State, and a better class of colored families are represented than usual. From the number of students (902), their condition and their work, it would seem as if the colored people are taking more than ordinary interest in the cause of education. Many parents are making great sacrifices to send their children to Claflin, and many of the students are in much better circumstances than their parents at home. The students lack early home training. They do not have access to daily papers, magazines, or books like most white children. As a rule subjects of importance and interest are not discussed in the family circle, and on account of these drawbacks the colored student labors under disadvantages. A lack of general information is noted by the professor. Their behavior is, as a rule, very good. There is not, in the knowledge of the officials of the institution, a
single student who visits a barroom, smokes in the campus or in
the streets.97

The first student at Benedict was a freedmen preacher, sixty-
six years old.98 Available records imply that his longevity may
have been the exception rather than the rule inasmuch as positive
attention was called to this fact. At its opening, Claflin enrolled
seventy-five students of which only fifteen were over sixteen years
old, but of which none was free before the war.99 Before the year
was over, however, Claflin's attendance numbered over three hundred,100
Allen's original enrollment was forty-eight, while those attending
Benedict during the first year numbered sixty-one.101 With the
exception of Claflin, all of the students evidently were Negro -
although Benedict, like Claflin, could have experienced a situation
in which some of its students were white. During November, 1869,
Claflin enrolled three white pupils, and in February, 1870, listed
five in attendance.102 These could have been either relatives of

97 Ibid., p. 1096.
October, 1869, Educational Division.
100 Jay S. Stowell, Methodist Adventures in Negro Education (New
101 J. C. Waters, "Report of the President of Allen University,"
p. 154.
November, 1869, February, 1870, Educational Division.
faculty members, or, local citizenry who decided to take advantage of the proximity of a college.

Entrance into these schools was not a simple matter of applying for admission and paying tuition since all would-be scholars were given a careful screening in an attempt to determine their fitness. Requirements for admission were fairly uniform; all schools required evidence of good moral character and the passing of examinations which might indicate the degree of preparation for the departments which the students proposed to enter. At Benedict, good moral character was evidenced by the possession of a certificate of the same from the church or Pastor of the church which the applicant attended. 103 Allen required students transferring from other schools to present from those authorities a certificate of honorable dismissal. 104 Both schools required that the student be present on the opening day.

Once the student had been admitted, he was faced with a host of rules and regulations of which a Hammurabi or a Justinian might have been proud; but these were designed for his advancement as well as for his protection both on and off the campus. The positions of servitude which the Negro, prior to emancipation, had experienced, did not inculcate in him the civil arts of responsibility, morality, and character, and he was not so far removed from the influence of these

103 Benedict Institute, 5th Annual Catalogue, 1885-1886, p. 16.
104 Allen University, Catalogue, 1888-1889, p. 23.
positions that vestiges of their depravity did not remain. Hence, the department required by the regulations was intended to effect a reformation of acquired habits as well as to create exemplary behavior in college life and activity.

Student regulations were alike basically in all of the schools and had their roots deep in Christian morality. Attendance at worship services on the Lord's Day, Sabbath School, and daily chapel were required of all, in addition to any and all special religious services appointed by school authorities. Students at Allen attended these services, marching to and fro, in a body and in the company of a matron or professor. 105 The use of intoxicating beverages and tobacco was prohibited under all circumstances. Deadly weapons, such as firearms, dirks, and bowie-knives, were strictly forbidden. Profanity and games for a reward or prize could easily result in one's dismissal, as was, at Claflin, any visit to an exhibition of immoral tendency, circus, billiard saloon, barroom or tippling house. 106

"Habits of economy," said the Benedict Catalogue, "will be a part of the instruction." 107 All food carried away from the dining hall was subject to a ten-cent charge, and waste of food at the table could, if a repeated action, result in expulsion. Damage to buildings,

105 Allen University, Catalogue, 1894-1895, p. 34.
106 Claflin University, Catalogue, 1872-1873, p. 20.
107 Benedict Institute, 5th Annual Catalogue, 1885-1886, p. 17.
or breakage of equipment was charged to the guilty party when that party could be identified; if individual guilt could not be assessed, the expense of repair or replacement was charged to the occupants of the room or building in which the damage was done. All rooms were to be kept clean and orderly and accessible at all times to the officers of the school. Students were expected to leave their rooms in good order at the end of the session, and, any delinquency or negligence in the care of rooms would subject the student to discipline and sometimes deprive him of occupancy. At Claflin, a bucket of water, presumably for combatting fire, was allowed for each occupied room and had to be filled each night before inspection. 108 Another carefully regulated use of water was at Allen where bathing, and all preparations for the Sabbath, had to be faithfully attended to on Saturday. 109

Freedom of movement and speech were somewhat restricted as their exercise in some instances necessitated special permission. All students who lodged on the campuses were not allowed to depart from the premises without leave from the authorities. Even then, all business had to be attended to in the day-time and outside of the hours appointed for study and recreation. During study hours, playing in or about the buildings or visiting the rooms of others could be a cause for demerits if not dismissal. For those who were attracted by the opposite sex, the regulation which prohibited ladies and gentlemen

108 Claflin University, Catalogue, 1872-1873, p. 21.
109 Allen University; Catalogue, 1894-1895, p. 34.
from visiting and walking together must have been an unbearable one, and undoubtedly the one which was most frequently broken.110

If and when these regulations were broken, immediate dismissal, depending upon the nature of the violation, did not instantly occur. Only Benedict implied direct expulsion whenever one of the rules was not observed. Allen and Claflin had a system of demerits which, when a specific number was reached or acquired, effected a discharge from the university. Within these systems there was ample latitude and warning which might act as a brake on the student's deportment. The student at Allen was allowed ten demerits, on the acquisition of which his parents or guardian was notified; when twenty demerits were acquired, he was visited with suspension or expulsion.111 Claflin's system appeared a little more lenient - but then it had more rules to be broken. When the demerits reached ten, the student was privately warned by the President; when the number reached twenty, public censure was given and parents were notified of the action. Upon acquiring thirty demerits the student, at the discretion of the faculty, was discharged from the school.112

110 Allen University, Quarto-Centennial Catalogue, 1905-1906, pp. 16-17. In one instance at Claflin, male and female students were found visiting each other and were reported by a teacher who became the recipient of anger and criticism by the students. During a concert, the men pleaded to accompany the ladies and give them complimentary tickets, but were refused permission to do so. They then decided to boycott the concert and brickbat the participants. Claflin University, President's Annual Report, May 3, 1905, pp. 516-517.

111 Ibid.

112 Claflin University, Catalogue, 1872-1873, p. 22.
The Cost of Education. In order to attend the schools, the student was asked to assume some of the burden of expenses; and to him, the expenses were a burden. At first glance, a conclusion may be reached that the cost of education was sufficiently low as to allow a wholesale entry into the colleges. Such was not the case, however, as the students found it, sometimes extremely, difficult to procure the fees which were attached to the acquisition of an education. The encumbrance was succinctly illustrated by the Secretary of the State College who said:

The practical difficulty has been how to keep the students long enough to complete the prescribed curriculum of studies. The absence of means and any state aid to students ... has compelled the more advanced pupils to resort to teaching much of the year ... 113

The economic status and financial income of the Negro was so minute during this period that he did not have the token sums which would permit an uninterrupted education - if he was successful in gaining entrance.

The poverty of the people was adequately indicated by a perusal of the fees which the college applicant found necessary to pay. The apparent inability to secure the small sums no doubt prohibited a number of persons from taking advantage of the opportunity for education. The cost of attending Claflin was $2.50 a week, which included $2.00 for board, $.25 for laundry, $.15 for stationery, and

$.10 for incidental expenses. These were later revised on a monthly basis to include $10.00 per month for board, $1.00 for room rent, and $1.50 per term for incidental expenses. Tuition was free except for music and drawing, but all students were required to furnish their own lights, toweling, bedding, and books. A means of meeting these expenses was depicted by the Charleston News and Courier which reported that:

A student probably has less expense at Claflin than at any other educational institution in the country. Think of it — all actual expenses for a session covered by $52! What can be cheaper? This is popular education. The figures seem to be hardly credible. Here is the itemized bill for a month: Rent, $1; incidentals, 50 cents; tuition, 50 cents; board, $3.50; washing, $1; total $6.50 per month and $52 per session. You may think that dormitory rent at $1 and washing at $1 are reasonable. But you, as many others, will ask how can a living working being be fed for $3.50? Well, it is done at Claflin, and here is how it is accomplished. Fifty students club together and get a table at the dining hall for which they pay no rent. They are not afraid of work and agree to do all the washing, waiting, and setting of tables in turn. A purchasing committee is appointed, and they have potatoes, meat, corn and rice at the cheapest market price. The only expense besides the food is that of a cook. It seems almost incredible, but the students eat substantial meals and the bill of fare shows what they eat.

The fees at Allen ran considerably less than those at Claflin although a tuition was charged for enrollment in each of the departments. In the Collegiate, Theological, and Normal Departments the amount was

114 Claflin University, Catalogue, 1870, p. 9.


$1.00 per month, while the Intermediate and Graded Departments entailed a cost per month of seventy-five and fifty cents respectively. Room rent was fifty cents, and board costs were $3.00, both on a monthly basis. In some instances all schools provided some type of employment whereby a student could earn some if not all of the costs of his education; but the supply of jobs could never keep pace with the demand for them.

Every student at Benedict was required to work one hour per day for the benefit of the college. The children of ministers performed not only the work of the required industrial hour, but because they attended school at reduced rates, they did any and all other work for which they had time. Claflin exempted the children of Trustees from paying tuition, and ministers in good standing in the Conference were required to pay only half tuition for their children.

117 Allen University, Catalogue, 1888-1889, p. 29.
SUMMARY

The founding of the colleges and the early years of their existence has been discussed in this chapter. It was shown that the institutions grew out of and were a continuation of the work in the Port Royal Experiment. Claflin University was founded through the aegis of the Methodist Episcopal Church, acting through its missionary workers, T. Willard Lewis and Alonzo Webster. The American Baptist Home Mission Society erected Benedict Institute as a means of advancing the education of Baptist ministers. The State of South Carolina established an Agricultural and Mechanics Institute in connection with Claflin University in an effort to provide an education under the stipulations of the Morrill Act of 1862. Allen University was established by the African Methodist Episcopal Church and was the first institution of higher education for Negroes founded and operated solely by that group. The early years brought many problems, most of which were solved by changes in the curricula to meet the requirements of the students. Finances were always desperately needed, but these were acquired through benefaction rather than student fees. In addition to giving intellectual training, efforts were directed at inculcating good living habits in the students and future citizens.
CHAPTER III

EXPANSION: PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL

The years from 1869 until 1885 may well be thought of as the first and founding period in the history of the Negro colleges when they gained a foundation and more or less established their procedures. For the next thirty years they experienced various adjustments in curricula, a renewed search for the accommodation of growing attendance, and met a cultural phenomenon where Negroes began to demand the leadership of their colleges. This latter situation resulted in the establishment of a new college and, indirectly, led to the reorganization of one of the old schools. Furthermore, even though the animosity between the North and the South was diminishing, the South was fastly becoming "solid" and adamant in the ways of segregation. This was to bode both good and bad for the colleges.

Claflin

Founded under the auspices and controlled by the deliberations of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Claflin University very early sought affiliation with the body which could give her more support and keep her abreast with the developments of other schools established by this Church. In 1878, the Board of Trustees, by unanimous vote, passed a resolution which called for the
transfer of control of Claflin from the South Carolina Annual Conference to the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.\textsuperscript{1} The following year, the entire property of the University was deeded to the Freedmen's Aid Society which became the Board of Trustees and assumed the school's outstanding debt of $4,000.\textsuperscript{2} In addition, the school's acreage was increased through the donation by Governor William Claflin of thirty-one acres of the former LeGare property which adjoined the campus.\textsuperscript{3}

This acquisition of new ground inaugurated a program of physical expansion which was not to culminate until 1913. The first efforts at a building program were directed towards the replacement of buildings which were destroyed by fire on January 6, 1876. The origin of the fire was not determined and very little of value was saved.\textsuperscript{4} The funds for the restoration of this property were acquired through appeals to friends of the college, and by the assessment of each Methodist minister of the South Carolina Conference of an average of ten cents per member of his church.\textsuperscript{5} The new building was completed in

\textsuperscript{1} S.C.A.C.M.E.C., Minutes of the 14th Annual Conference, 1878, p. 10.


\textsuperscript{3} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{4} Edward Cooke, "Report of the President of Claflin University," S.C.A.C.M.E.C., Minutes of the 11th Session, 1876, p. 15.

\textsuperscript{5} S.C.A.C.M.E.C., Minutes of the 12th Session, 1877, p. 22.
1878 at a cost of $10,500, and was reported to have been far superior to the one destroyed. The indebtedness above mentioned was a direct result of the failure of the fund-raising campaign. Nevertheless, the deficit was assumed by the Freedmen's Aid Society which, in 1881, reported that "Claflin University has been relieved by the Society from a debt incurred in the erection of its new building by the payment of $3,616.39, leaving the institution, with its valuable property, entirely free from debt." 

Thereafter, all physical construction at Claflin was undertaken through the cooperation of the Freedmen's Aid Society and the South Carolina Conference, in addition to whatever outright gifts of buildings that were bestowed by interested parties. There were many of the latter. A group of ladies of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, under the auspices of the Woman's Home Mission Society, sponsored the construction of the Matthew Simpson Memorial Home - a girl's dormitory which accommodated twenty-two girls and a matron. Through the efforts of Mrs. M. L. Dunton, the wife of the President, funds for an Annex to this building were secured, in 1899, from the Woman's Home Missionary

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8 Claflin University, President's Annual Report to the Board of Trustees, June 2, 1885, p. 245.
Society of Binghamton, New York. Mrs. L. P. Bennett of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, financed the construction of a library which was named the Lee Library. She later sponsored the electrification of the campus and put in a system of baths for the use of both teachers and students. Mr. S. H. Tingley, a wealthy banker of Providence, Rhode Island, but not a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, donated over $20,000 for the construction of an Administration building which contained fifteen classrooms and an assembly hall. It was called the Tingley Memorial Hall in honor of his deceased wife, Mrs. Adella M. Tingley.

A little difficulty was experienced in constructing an adequate dormitory for male students. Of an estimated cost of $20,000, Mr. Andrew Carnegie offered to pay one-half on the provision that the Trustees raised the remaining sum. Mr. John Harney of Los Angeles, California, donated $6,000, and Mr. Everett O. Fisk of Boston gave $2,000. But the cost of the building was under-estimated - which

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9 Claflin University, President's 16th Annual Report, May 2, 1899, p. 435.
10 Ibid., p. 436.
11 Claflin University, President's 18th Annual Report, April 26, 1901, pp. 461-462.
12 Claflin University, President's 23rd Annual Report, May 1, 1906, p. 546.
13 C.U.B.O.T., Minutes, Annual Meeting, May 1, 1906, p. 537.
14 Claflin University, President's 23rd Annual Report, May 1, 1906, p. 546.
necessitated the acquisition of more funds. Mr. Harney immediately increased his donation by $2,000, but Mr. Carnegie turned a deaf ear to appeals for more money. He was later persuaded, however, to give an additional $4,000, on the promise by the Trustees to raise an equal amount.\textsuperscript{15} Erected in 1907, the boy's dormitory was a three-storied brick building named the Mary E. Dunton Hall.

The ladies of the Tabernacle Methodist Episcopal Church of Binghamton, New York, contributed funds for a building to house classes in the art of cooking.\textsuperscript{16} Additional buildings constructed before 1918 were: Wilson Hall, a girl's dormitory, Minister's Hall, a refectory, a manual training building, and, the Louise Soules Club House for Girls, named after its largest contributor, which was designed to accommodate one-hundred self-boarding girls.\textsuperscript{17} Mr. S. H. Tingley, who was regarded as the greatest benefactor of the college, suggested that the school employ a trained nurse to look after the health of the students. Five rooms on the upper floor of the main building were set aside as a hospital which Mr. Tingley had painted and repaired, and equipped with twenty-four regular hospital beds,

\textsuperscript{15} Claflin University, President's 24th Annual Report, April 30, 1907, p. 564.

\textsuperscript{16} Claflin University, Annual Catalogue, 1906-1907, p. 105.

mattresses, sheets, pillows, tables and chairs. He also provided for
the painting of the Lee Library, the Chapel, and Holyrood - the Presi-
dent's residence.\textsuperscript{18}

\textbf{Curriculum Changes.} The transfer of control of Claflin from
the Annual Conference of South Carolina to the Freedmen's Aid Society
contributed to important alterations in her curriculum. One of the
earliest of these changes involved the Theological Course which
originally was embodied in the school as the Baker Theological Insti-
tute designed to furnish candidates for the ministry with a short
practical course of study of not more than two years. In the develop-
ment of the University, however, the time of the course was lengthened
to four years and the Institute was merged into a department of the
University, thus requiring future ministers to obtain a full collegiate
education. The South Carolina Conference protested this situation
inasmuch as it restricted the preparation of ministers who were not
able to pursue their studies for four years. The Conference therefore
recommended that the Baker Institute be reorganized with a distinct
President and Board of Trustees as a Conference Training School.\textsuperscript{19} This
separation was effected, and Alonzo Webster was appointed President -
although the two schools were one in operation.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{18} Claflin University, President's 26th Annual Report, May 4,
1909, p. 598.

\textsuperscript{19} S.C.A.C.M.E.C., Minutes of the 77th Session, 1883, pp. 21-26.

\textsuperscript{20} S.C.A.C.M.E.C., Minutes of the 78th Session, 1884, p. 25.
At the same time, the Freedmen's Aid Society, which had over a dozen schools under its control, all of which offered similar programs, found that the duplication of effort was more of a financial burden than a benefit, and it decided to reduce the duplication, as far as theology was concerned, by establishing a first class seminary in a central location. This was accomplished with the founding of the Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta, Georgia, an institution to which all conferences were to send their ministerial students.\(^2\) That the Baker Institute had a slow but certain demise was indicated in the establishment of a new department of theology, in 1904, by Mr. John C. Martin, a wealthy layman of New York City. Impressed with the superior opportunities for successful Christian work among the colored people of the Carolina cotton-belt, he selected Claflin for the location of a "Bible Training School for Ministers, Sunday School Teachers, and other Christian Workers." Several prominent southern business men consented to act as members of the Board of Directors, and outstanding southern white ministers were selected to serve as lecturers.\(^2\) Buildings for the conduct of the classes were erected during the summer of 1903, and the courses, which offered an opportunity for thorough and systematic study of the Bible, were incorporated into the college curriculum as the Martin School of Divinity.

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\(^2\) Claflin University, President's 20th Annual Report, May 5, 1903, p. 494.
Another curriculum development at Claflin was the institution of a night school in which adults could acquire an education after working hours, and by which the Grammar School program could be expedited. The night school was later expanded to serve as a School of Practice for Normal students who were enrolled in the course "What to teach and how to teach it." This afforded experience and practice for the prospective teachers. As ominous rumblings of war were heard, the Claflin authorities instituted, in 1909, a program of military training. A retired officer of the United States Army, Major R. A. Benjamin, was employed as Commandant to give the men practice in drilling. The major entered his work with much gusto and alarmed the authorities by his rough discipline and drastic army methods. It was necessary to remind him that campus conditions were different from those of the army, and he was required to soften his approach.

Accreditation and Endowment. In order that students of the Methodist-sponsored schools might have been readily accepted by other schools in the event that they found it necessary to transfer, the University Senate of that Church fixed certain financial and educational standards for all of its seminaries and colleges. The Freedmen's Aid Society, in cooperation with this movement, introduced a uniform course

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23 Claflin University, Annual Catalogue, 1886-1887, p. 40.
24 Ibid., 1888-1889, p. 43.
25 Claflin University, President's 26th Annual Report, May 4, 1909, p. 620.
of study in all of the Methodist schools for Negroes in an attempt to standardize the curricula in keeping with the Senate decree. In effect, this amounted to an accreditation procedure which meant that no Methodist institution would have been considered a college unless it did standard college work. Claflin followed this program but at some detriment to her operation, inasmuch as the literary standards were so high that it took a student longer to complete the prescribed curriculum than it did in other colleges of the State, hence, their inclination to enroll in the latter. 26 Even several years before the new curriculum was attempted, Claflin had been criticized for high standards which required of the student more time than any of the other colleges in the State. President L. M. Dunton remarked that:

We are aware that we have been criticized because we have insisted upon grading our students about two years lower than is customary in most schools. It is probable also that we have lost some students who have desired to graduate in a shorter period. Our answer to our critics is - that while we have a high standard of scholarship it is considerably lower than in similar schools in the North. Our students are at a disadvantage from the fact that they are expected to do in seven months what is required in the North in nine months. We are not in sympathy with that class of people who advocate a short cut to education. Students can go to school most anywhere, but if they are going to get an education, they must take time for it and do their work thoroughly. 27

A result of raising the already high standards of Claflin was a decline in the number of students attending this institution. The


27 Claflin University, "President's Report" in Special Meeting of the Board of Trustees, December 13, 1904, p. 507.
decline, however, was not attributed solely to the raising of standards. By 1912, Claflin began to feel the competition of the State school which had been separated from Claflin in 1896, and which had fees lower than its mother institution. The Claflin authorities considered a reduction in the costs of attending the school but found it financially inexpedient to render first-class education for less than twelve dollars a month. In order to counteract the decline in the number of students of the Methodist persuasion, however, Claflin did establish a number of scholarships which were apportioned to the Districts of the South Carolina Conference to be awarded to worthy students.

The University Senate decreed, furthermore, that to be classed as a college, a school should have a substantial endowment. As early as 1909, the Claflin authorities had considered an endowment fund and had passed a resolution which called for the establishment of a fund of $50,000. The University Senate, however, set Claflin's endowment at $100,000, a sum which was to have been procured by January 1, 1916. Those responsible for raising this amount experienced some difficulty in doing so by the deadline, and therefore asked for an extension of a year, during which period an extensive apparatus was put in motion.

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28 Claflin University, President's 29th Annual Report, April 3, 1912, p. 648.

29 C.U.B.O.T., Minutes, Special Meeting, July 2, 1913, p. 668.

30 C.U.B.O.T., Minutes, Special Meeting, November 22, 1909, pp. 604-605.
for its procurement. The Conference voted that:

Be it resolved that the first Quarterly Conference of each circuit and station be requested to make an assessment of such an amount as in the judgment of the Quarterly Conference can be raised on the charge . . . and . . . that two Sundays to be known as Endowment Days shall be adopted on each charge for the year 1916, and that one of these shall be observed before the Annual Conference at Claflin when all funds collected on said day shall be reported at Claflin.31

This rather huge amount, to have been garnered from the masses of South Carolina was not raised, but Claflin acquired a substantial base on which to develop an endowment.

Benedict College

After eighteen years of operation as "Benedict Institute," it was deemed advisable to advance this school to the rank of a college in order that it might better fulfill its mission among the freedmen. That conditions had progressed to the point where such a change was necessary was indicated in the following announcement by the authorities:

The law of supply and demand holds good in education as well as commerce. The demand for workers to take the field immediately has been so pressing, that it has seemed almost impossible to retain students till the Academic Course had been completed. The few who completed the other courses and had taken the College Preparatory could, at far less expense, be educated in Northern Colleges where full classes made the expense of such a corps of instructors necessary. But the time has arrived when the numbers asking for a full College Course has become so large that they cannot be longer denied.

The Society, therefore, in its Board Meeting, April 14, 1890, voted to change the name from "Benedict Institute" to "Benedict College." The changes in the course of study in harmony with the change have therefore been made, and already there are students entering the College Department. The thoroughness and completeness of this preparation will be second to none. There will be no attempt made to hasten the student to the detriment of his drill, but due regard to complete preparation for his life work will be the ideal, rather than a superficial smattering and flash show, and speedy completion of his time for preparation.32

In keeping with this progress and as a further expedient to its students, inasmuch as "those having diplomas from institutions not chartered are required to submit every year to examination, at great inconvenience," it was decided that Benedict College, in conformity with a proposal by the American Baptist Home Mission Society that instruction in college courses should be given in only a restricted number of schools under its supervision, should be chartered.33 Steps were taken towards this end, and on November 2, 1894, the College was legally incorporated, and became a chartered institution, possessed of full college powers, under the laws of the State of South Carolina.34

32 Benedict College, 9th Annual Catalogue, 1889-1890, p. 15.
34 Benedict College, Catalogue and Announcements, 1895-1896, p. 5.
growth of the institution necessitated a building program, but unfortunate occurrences dictated more immediate action. During 1894, the college experienced the loss of three buildings which were destroyed by incendiary fire. According to Henry L. Morehouse, Educational Agent for the American Baptist Home Mission Society, a careful investigation revealed that the destruction or "acts of vandalism" were instigated solely by prejudice against the education of the Negro.35 One of the buildings destroyed was the teacher's residence, and brought about a condemnation of the arson by the Columbia State, the leading white newspaper which reported that the fire was clearly of incendiary origin and was diabolical.36

Undaunted by this loss and state of affairs, the authorities went ahead with the college expansion. By 1900, seven edifices dotted the campus; these were: Morgan Hall, which served as the President's and teacher's home, College Hall, which contained a chapel, classrooms, and men's dormitory, a Dining Hall, an Industrial building, and, a laundry.37 In 1900, Mr. and Mrs. John Pratt of Carlton, New York, gave to the college a two-storied brick building which was to serve as a Nurse Training Department bearing their name.38 The campus was

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37 Benedict College, Catalogue and Announcements, 1899-1900, p. 6.
further beautified and improved by the acquisition of electrical power which was wired to all of the buildings as well as providing the grounds with incandescent lighting.\(^39\) This made possible the use of an Electric Stereoptican Lantern which provided illustrated lectures as well as entertainment for the student body. After the turn of the century, several new buildings were acquired through philanthropic donations from both Negroes and whites. The Colored State Baptist Convention sponsored the construction of a brick classroom building containing twenty-five recitation rooms at a cost of $5,650.06.\(^40\) During the same year, through a gift from Andrew Carnegie, a library building was erected.\(^41\) This was one of the better equipped buildings on the Benedict campus.

**Curriculum Development.** Since it was the purpose of Benedict College to train ministers, it would seem that an elaborate curriculum in theology would always be maintained in this school. Yet, the expense of maintaining such in each of its schools was felt by the American Baptist Home Mission Society as it was in the Methodist institutions. Hence, in the Baptist system, there was a move towards consolidation and retrenchment. The Baptists established the Richmond Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, as its center.

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\(^39\) Benedict College, *Catalogue and Announcements, 1897-1898*, p. 8.


for the complete education of ministers, and restricted the curriculum in its colleges to the following: Study of the English Bible, Family Organization, Church Work, and Missionary Work. But this change did not work out well at Benedict, due evidently to the fact that most ministers were somewhat impoverished and of such an advanced age that the long trek to Richmond was difficult if not impossible. In 1898, therefore, it was decided that a distinct Theological Department would be opened which would have as its base a thorough training in the English Course. Students who were prepared to include Greek and Hebrew in their Theological study were advised to pursue the course at Richmond. This situation was further altered in 1905 by the establishment at Benedict of a three-year course in theology leading to the Bachelor of Divinity degree, sponsored by the John C. Martin Foundation. The completion of the regular Arts course or its equivalent was the prerequisite for this course. This was expanded two years later to award a Bachelor of Theology degree to those who had completed the Licentiate or Normal course.

In its expansion to a college program, several new departments were established. One such was an agricultural course made possible

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43Benedict College, Catalogue and Announcements, 1897-1898, p. 20.
45Benedict College, 27th Annual Catalogue, 1907-1908, p. 25.
through the munificence of the South Carolina Industrial Home for Colored Children which deeded to the American Baptist Home Mission Society seventy-six acres of land for the purpose of demonstrating practical methods of improved and scientific agriculture, horticulture, and stock raising. In conjunction with the Industrial Department, the Farm was advantageous in that its care and maintenance gave employment to students who otherwise could not pay for their college expenses. A similar advance was the establishment of a State Summer School for Colored Teachers, under the direction of John J. McMahan, State Superintendent of Education, on the grounds of Benedict. Although this was not under the direct supervision of the college authorities, some of its faculty, as well as its facilities, were utilized in the program.

With the election of Byron W. Valentine to the Presidency in 1911, the character of the college underwent a change. The agricultural and mechanical arts were de-emphasized if not totally dropped. Benedict became purely a liberal arts college offering only degrees in the arts and sciences. Several additional departments were created to bolster this program and keep the college abreast with the opportunities which were opening for Negroes in new areas of employment. A business or commercial department was established in 1911, as was a Nurses Training

46Benedict College, 23rd Annual Catalogue, 1903-1904, p. 10.

course in 1914 in cooperation with the hospital or infirmary which was established in that year. These additions were valuable sources of student employment and secretarial services necessary to a college.

Endowment. The interest which Mrs. Bathsheba A. Benedict originally manifested in the school did not wane. She stated that she never had any misgivings but that the Freedman's Schools were of God's own right-hand's planting," and she continued to be a constant and liberal supporter. Her contributions included a Music Room, a Lecture Hall, equipment for women's dormitories, and the erection of a fence around the campus. The most substantial contribution, however, in addition to the original purchase, was the inauguration of an endowment fund which bore her name. Established in 1873 by Mrs. Benedict's initial gift of $10,000, the fund, by 1898, had reached the amount of $57,479.88. This amount was greatly increased at the final settlement of the estate of Mrs. Benedict who died in 1897. Indeed, the settlement provided a substantial base for the college since, two years later, the endowment was recorded


50 A.W. Pegues, Our Baptist Ministers and Schools, p. 594.

51 Benedict College, Catalogue & Announcements, 1898-1899, p. 7.

52 Ibid., insert between pages 6 and 7.
at $125,000. Its rate of increase was steady, from almost $128,000 in 1911 to $140,000 in 1914, an increase made possible by a contribution of $10,000 from the estate of Emma Swan of Albion, New York. The interest on the fund was not adequate for current operation of the institution, but it was sufficient to guarantee its perpetuity.

**Allen University**

As has been earlier stated above, practically all of the original plant of Allen University was destroyed by fire. There was no record which indicated whether or not this destruction was wilful or accidental; nevertheless, its loss by such occurrences absorbed the funds and energies which the supporters of Allen might have more effectively expended on expansion than replacement. Under the circumstances, the equipment of the college was very meager. At the turn of the century its needs were a chapel, a dormitory for boys, a library, a laundry, apparatus for chemical experiments, buildings for industrial departments, sewing machines for the dressmaking department, one hundred

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53 Benedict College, *Catalogue and Announcements, 1900-1901*, p. 7. A discrepancy in the records was indicated by one report which stated that "Mrs. Benedict, upon her death left her entire modest fortune of $100,000 as an endowment to provide some security for the college." Benedict College Bulletin, December, 1959, p. 4. If this was the case, the amount of the fund in 1900 should have been $157,479.88. A more accurate accounting appears to have been the record which listed Mrs. Benedict's total endowment contributions from 1873 to 1897 as $102,366. 41, an Emma Swan donation (1906) of $4,790, and from other sources $20,272.96, making a grand total in 1909 of $127,429.37. A.B.H.M.S., 77th Annual Report, 1909, p. 46.

classroom desks, and the completion of Arnett Hall which served as a classroom building and dormitory for girls.\textsuperscript{55} Appeals were sent out to the rank and file of African Methodism for contributions beyond the ordinary donations to improve the conditions of the college.

By 1907, Arnett Hall had been completed and occupied. It contained fifty rooms, which were used for administrative purposes, academic work, and a dormitory for girls. An additional building, named Coppin Hall after Bishop Levi J. Coppin who sponsored its erection, was completed in March 1907, at a cost of $22,500. This was a four-storied brick building, containing fifty-five rooms and a chapel with a seating capacity of 700 persons. On the first floor there were eight rooms used for offices, library, and classrooms. The chapel was located on the second floor, and the third and fourth levels were utilized as dormitory accommodations for girls. Boys were housed in six cottages located in various spots on the campus.\textsuperscript{56}

Curriculum Development. When the African Methodist Episcopal Church authorities transferred their institution from Cokesbury to Columbia, industrial education was eliminated from the curriculum. However, a re-evaluation of the role of such a course of study led to its development at Allen; its needs are best expressed in the words of the college administrators:

Recognizing that the purpose of instruction is to carry forward intelligence to the farthest point it is capable of

\textsuperscript{55}Allen University, \textit{Catalogue, 1899-1900}, p. 38.

\textsuperscript{56}Allen University, \textit{Quadrennial Catalogue, 1907-1908}, pp. 3-4.
attaining, and knowing that idleness is a constant menace to
the safety and perpetuity of American Institutions, an Indus-
trial Training Department has been established by us in con-
nection with the University. The education of an individual
must be adapted, as far as possible, to his proposed work in
life, and Allen University, being located in the midst of
thousands of persons belonging to the industrial class, has
undertaken this branch of instruction and it is believed that
this instruction will result in incalculable good. 57

This idea had already pervaded the daily life of the institu-
tion inasmuch as all students who boarded in the University were
required to give an hour each day to such manual work as was required
of them. 58 All female students, regardless of their area of study,
were required to learn to sew, as well as to gain other skills in
domestic economy. For the boys, such industrial crafts as agriculture,
shoemaking, and printing were included in the new program.

Allen could boast of eleven departments which, in 1905, led
to one of six degrees; these were the B.A., B.S., M.A., B.D., Ll.B.,
and the Ph.D. Relative to the latter degree, Allen was the only
college for Negroes which offered it. Candidates for the doctorate
were restricted to college graduates who complied with the following
conditions: A two years' course of study in two subjects of science
or literature, or one subject of each, under the direction and approval
of the Professors of the Department; an examination upon these subjects
and an acceptable thesis upon one of them, satisfactory to these Pro-
fessors; and, the payment of a tuition fee of twenty-five dollars a

57 Allen University, Catalogue, 1894-1895, p. 28.
58 Allen University, Catalogue, 1888-1889, p. 22.
year, and a diploma fee of ten dollars. Just how many candidates received this degree was not recorded, but there may have been a number of candidates who attempted to comply with the ambitious requirements.

An endowment fund was not established at Allen until the third decade of the twentieth century. Until that time the total income of Allen apparently was derived solely from the Conferences of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of South Carolina, and the Department of Education, a national office of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Student fees provided some income, as did various donations by individuals and groups, but it is a well known fact that tuition never sufficiently covers the cost of education for which it supposedly pays.

State College: The Third Founding

After the State College for Negroes had existed for eighteen years as a dual entity without any show of disharmony, belonging to the University of South Carolina and to Claflin University, events had begun to suggest, by 1890, that this situation was not to last for much longer. The first indication of discontent with the Church-State relationship came from within the faculty of Claflin in an altercation.

between two of its members - one employed by the State, the other by Claflin. A misunderstanding between the two led to a situation which, without astute handling, would have harmed the reputation of the college.

The DeTreville-Cardozo Incident. Both of these men served on the Claflin faculty - DeTreville employed by the State as a Professor of Mathematics, the Reverend Mr. Cardozo by Claflin. During a faculty meeting, the two had engaged in a heated discussion over the advisability of a series of special lectures during the spring term. DeTreville was opposed to anything which interfered with regular classwork inasmuch as nine months of schoolwork were crowded into an eight-month school year. His objections included having on the campus a series of religious revivals which likewise he regarded as interference with the academic program. Cardozo opposed him in faculty meeting and probably insinuated things which were detrimental to his character.

On the morning of May 4, 1890, about 8:45 A.M., DeTreville met Cardozo on the brick stairs leading into the main building and administered to him a beating on the head with a walking cane and left him prostrate on the ground. The students, very excited over the caning, and having no knowledge of the disagreement in faculty meeting, refused to attend classes, especially those in mathematics conducted by Professor DeTreville, and they maintained this refusal in the face of suspension. President Dunton contacted the members of

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60 Claflin University, President's 17th Annual Report, May 20, 1890, p. 330.
the State Executive Committee who advised a suspension of classes until the Board of Trustees could act. In the meantime, Cardozo tendered his resignation, but DeTreville insisted upon the performance of his duties.61

The State Board of Trustees met on April 17 and issued a declaration that the students were in rebellion against the authority of the college and should be required to return to their classes under DeTreville or be expelled from the institution. The action of DeTreville was spoken of as "grave misconduct," but no measures were taken against him. The students resented this and refused to continue in his classes. The President of Claflin prevailed upon DeTreville to resign as the best solution to the situation. This he did within twenty-four hours and the matter appeared to have been resolved.62

But it was confounded at this point by a reporter of the Charleston News and Courier who, perhaps belatedly, published, as a result of interviews with the students, a statement that: "It is positively asserted by the representative students that Professor DeTreville will have no classes to instruct, even if he does report for duty."63 This angered DeTreville so much that he withdrew his resignation, which action caused the students to renew their non-cooperation in or with in his classes. President Dunton, in a

61 Ibid., p. 334.
62 Ibid., p. 335.
63 Ibid.
successful attempt to resolve this new development, drew up a statement, sanctioned by the students, which denied the report in the newspaper and which stated that the students would submit to the commands of the Trustees. A Trustee meeting on May 3, accepted this resolution by the seventy-six students who were under DeTreville's instruction, and also accepted DeTreville's resignation which again had been proffered.\[64\] In an evaluation of the incident, Methodist spokesmen stated that:

The DeTreville-Cardozo episode, the circumstances of which have been published broadcast, was the first event which threatened to destroy harmony. This matter has not only been satisfactorily settled, but the State Board, the local Board of Trustees at Orangeburg representing the South Carolina Conference, and the Executive Committee of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society have been brought into more intimate and helpful relations than at any previous time. Governor Richardson, Judge Islar - in fact, all the members of the State Board - did everything that could reasonably be asked in the interest of harmony and good administration.\[65\]

The harmony and cooperation exemplified in this instance was undoubtedly expected to continue and improve \textit{ad infinitum}, and there was little indication that the disturbance between the Church-supported and the State-supported faculty foreshadowed a movement which was to disassociate the State College for Negroes from the University of South Carolina and divorce it from Claflin University. This action was not inspired by altruism on the part of those who were responsible for the decision, but rather it was a result of politics in the arena.

\[64\]Ibid., p. 336.

\[65\]The Christian Educator, I (July, 1890), 148.
of education. The conditions at the heart of this move were the growing tendency towards segregation and the elimination of the Negro from political affairs, and a desire of a segment of the population to either increase the Church-State relationship in education, or to divorce it completely. That Negroes were at the heart and fulcrum of the third founding of the State College was one of the anomalies of the political situation of those times.

During and after Reconstruction, Negroes as a group maintained allegiance to the Republican Party even though its death-knell had been sounded in the election of 1876. Where else were they to go when the Democratic Party was violently anti-Negro and pursued a course which was to deprive these people of their political rights? Yet, due to certain extravagances by some Republican remnants after 1877, some Negroes withdrew from this party and attempted with the Democrats a fusion ticket which was effected in some local elections, but which was never extended to statewide elections.\(^66\) The fear of "Negro domination," as was supposedly experienced during Reconstruction, carried over into political thinking after the resurgence of the Democrats. Efforts to eliminate this non-existent threat resulted, in 1882, in the passage of a registration and election law which was specifically designed to curtail if not totally exclude the Negro from voting. This legislation, accompanied by fraud, intimidation, and violence, brought the desired

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\(^66\)Tyndall, *South Carolina Negroes*, pp. 52-53.
results. By 1890, the Negro vote, except in a few coastal strongholds, was all but eliminated as a potent factor in the politics of the State. 67

A split in the Democratic Party in 1890 gave rise to the idea that the Negro vote, or what remained of it, might prove to be the balance of power between the white factions. Such a situation in which the whites might be beholden to Negroes for election to office could not be endured. Thus, the new governor, Benjamin R. Tillman, pursued a course where greater restriction could be placed on the Negro's exercise of the franchise. His method for the achievement of this scheme was the popular election of a constituent assembly which would rewrite the Constitution with measures included to obviate all present and future threat of Negro political influence. Although not without opposition from conservative whites and able Negroes, the election was successfully conducted, and a Constitutional Convention, with disenfranchisement of Negroes as its avowed purpose, was called for September, 1895. 68

Robert Smalls, Thomas E. Miller, William J. Whipper, James Wigg, Isaiah R. Reed, and Robert E. Anderson were Negro delegates


elected to the Convention; they were united in their opposition to
disenfranchisement and spoke eloquently against it. The matter of the
college, however, found them taking an opposite position which did not
correspond with their stand taken on disenfranchisement. The elimina-
tion of the Negro from political affairs of the State was one form of
rank discrimination and segregation; the establishment of the State
College was another manifestation of the same idea. Why were the Negro
delegates for one type and against the other? Several factors have to
be considered if an insight to the apparent contradiction in their
attitudes and positions is to be gained.

In the first place, the Negro delegates were aware of the
consequences which would follow the adoption of the new Constitution.
It meant that they, who for twenty-seven years had been the political
leaders of their people, were to be excluded from the exercise of this
responsibility. What could be a better way to exert such influence (in
the absence of political participation) than the direction of a college
exclusively controlled by and for Negroes? Secondly, the Negro dele-
gates were persuaded by the whites to present resolutions calling for
the school, and a promise of its control was held out to them as a
reward for their resignation from politics. Corollary to this idea

69 This is only an hypothesis as no records exist which show a
personal motive. In fact, the idea is invalidated inasmuch as records
indicate that only one politically active Negro was connected with the
college.

70 It may be assumed that Negroes could conceivably be elected
was a third reason which was suggested by a popular opinion prevailing among the older Negro residents of South Carolina. They are of the opinion that the State College was made independent of Claflin in order to have given what may have been considered dignified employment to mulatto offspring of prominent white men in the State. 71

A fourth reason was a suspicion by the white politicians towards the very liberal tendencies of the Methodist Episcopal Church which had again to political office since their districts held a large Negro electorate which could not have been totally disenfranchised. The whites may have recognized this and used the college as a means of eliminating them from running for office.

71 This is a widespread belief, the logic of which is easily comprehensible in light of the fact that the whites were interested in their younger Negro offspring as is attested to in the following resolution adopted by the Negro Baptists in their State Convention: "Whereas, the Plan of Co-operation has been accepted by the Colored Baptists of this State, and Whereas, the white brethren are interested in their orphans, be it Resolved, that as there is but one Negro Orphanage in the State, that this Convention give its consent to use Saturday night's services for plans and raising money for said Orphanage." Educational, Missionary and Sunday School Convention of the Colored Baptists of South Carolina, Minutes of the Twentieth Anniversary, 1896, p. 22. Paternalism by prominent whites towards their Negro children is outstanding in South Carolina, and there is no reason to assume that it waned once the child reached maturity. The researches of the eminent sociologist E. Franklin Frazier, indicate that such phenomena was a carryover from the institution of slavery in which conjugal associations between white men and Negro and mulatto women were not the exception to the rule. Some of these relationships resulted in mulatto children who were often neglected and became public charges - for which an orphanage might be established to support and maintain. On the other hand, in Charleston and especially in New Orleans, associations between white men and mulatto women developed into relatively stable alliances, the offspring of which were held in affection by the father. There were white men who acknowledged the children of such unions and gave them an education and a start in the world. See Frazier, The Negro in the United States, pp. 309-311.
gone against the tide of segregation. It must have been appalling to the State to realize that one of its agencies was located in an environment which stimulated the development of an attitude which was repugnant and diametrically opposed to its announced policy. Under the circumstances, the separation of the State College from Claflin University was the only means by which consistency of policy could be maintained.

Closely related to the attitude of the State towards the Methodist Episcopal Church was the attitude of the Negro Baptists towards the alliance of Church and State. As early as 1892, the Negro Baptists began to question the policy of using public funds to support a denominational institution. They argued that public monies should either have been divided among the several denominational schools, or they should have been disbursed to a public institution which was free

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72 The Methodist Episcopal Church in South Carolina, even during the ante-bellum period - as indicated in an earlier chapter, had deep convictions on the idea of the Brotherhood of Man. When an attempt was made to introduce segregation in the church work, the South Carolina Conference voted against it, adopting a resolution which read thusly: "Whereas, We see indicated a plan to extend the Southern Central Conference, of North Carolina, composed of whites into this State, for the purpose of taking in the "white work" in this State, whereby a nucleus for white and colored Conferences will be formed, a thing inconsistent with the gospel of Christ and the principles of our Church; therefore, be it Resolved, That this Conference, admiring the spirit of Christ, who was no respector of persons, request the Committee on Boundaries not plan for work in this State on the ground of color. (2). That this Conference instruct its Delegates to the General Conference to inform that body that we do not desire separate work, on the ground of color, in connection with our Church in this State." S.C.A.C.M.E.C., Minutes of the Fifteenth Session, January, 1880, pp. 12-13.
of church affiliation. That Thomas E. Miller played the most prominent role in securing the separation of the State College and Claflin was not only indicated in the Convention Proceedings and the Journal of the Assembly which followed, but also in the records of the Negro Baptist State Convention which eulogized Miller and substantiated the Baptist position in a resolution which read:

Whereas, the Honorable Thomas E. Miller, among all our public men stood foremost in achieving this result and has rendered such valiant services in this cause; having been the mouthpiece and chief champion for the new institution in a place where such services could be most effective - thereby seconding the well known position and effort of the colored Baptists of South Carolina touching the alliance of the institutions of the State with a sect.

Resolved, That this Convention most heartily endorse the Honorable Thomas E. Miller for the presidency of the new institution soon to be established.

In addition to championing the new institution, Miller took a position which would bring to the State College all of the equipment and facilities which had been utilized at Claflin. The Claflin authorities appointed a committee to propose to the Legislature a plan which the State could sell to Claflin the State property on Claflin's premises. The Senate Committee on Education and the Governor were favorably impressed with the idea, but the Legislature adjourned before proper measures to effect the transfer could be enacted into

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73 Columbia State, December 2, 1892, p. 2.

law. The State Board of Trustees, however, had the legal power to sell the property. The Claflin committee entered negotiations with the Board and attempted to influence it through Miller who gave assurances of his approval of and assistance in their efforts. But it was discovered that his promises were insincere and that he worked against the plan instead of for it.\textsuperscript{75}

**Convention Proceedings.** On September 20, 1895, the tenth day of the Convention, R. B. Anderson of Georgetown County introduced the following resolution which was read the first time and referred to the Committee on Education. Entitled *A Resolution to Establish an Industrial School or College for the Higher Education of the Colored Youths of the State*, it read:

> Whereas, the diffusion of knowledge as well as virtue among the people tends to make them industrious and law-abiding citizens:
> Be it Resolved by the people, in convention assembled, that the Legislature shall, as soon as practicable, establish an Industrial School or College for the higher education of the colored boys and girls of this State, which shall not be under the control of any denominational or sectarian society or organization, and the Legislature shall make suitable provision for the support and maintenance of the same.\textsuperscript{76}

In an obvious effort to elucidate and expand the reference to denominational or church control in the resolution offered by Anderson,

\textsuperscript{75}C.,U.,B.,O.,T., Minutes, Annual Meeting, April 28, 1897, pp. 393-394. As President of the new institution, Miller probably wanted to take no action which would diminish its already meager capacities, but his word should have been his bond.

\textsuperscript{76}Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of South Carolina, 1895, pp. 177-178.
Miller, on the twelfth day of the proceedings, presented a resolution which stated that:

It is admitted herein that it is the right and duty of the State to maintain and support institutions of higher education; therefore

Be it resolved by this Convention:

1st. That the Legislature shall never pass any law for the purpose of founding, maintaining or aiding institutions of learning that are denominational or sectarian.

2nd. That the Legislature shall never use the credit of the State or appropriate any money for the payment of the support or other expenses of any school or institution of higher education which is wholly or in part under sectarian control.77

This resolution, as Anderson's, was read once and referred to the Committee on Education which made its report on October 2. Section Eight of this report discussed the financial maintenances of Clemson Agricultural College and the State University through the Morrill Act, but made no specific reference to a specific institution for Negroes. Therefore, in a later discussion of the Committee's report, I. R. Reed of Beaufort County offered the following substitute for Section Eight. It said that:

The General Assembly shall provide for the maintenance of Clemson Agricultural College and the State University, also for the establishment and maintenance of a Normal and Industrial College for the colored race, and may create scholarships therein. The proceeds realized from the land scrip given by the Act of Congress, passed July 2, 1862, for the support of an agricultural college, and any lands or funds which have heretofore been or may hereafter be given or appropriated for educational purposes, shall be applied as directed in the Acts appropriating the same.78

77Ibid., p. 220.
78Ibid., p. 569.
Debate by Reed, G. D. Tillman, Benjamin R. Tillman, and Robert Smalls ensued on this proposed substitute, and resulted in two similar proposals, with slightly different wording, by H. B. Buist of Greenville County and O. M. Doyle of Oconee County, as substitutes of Section Eight. After some debate, Reed and Doyle withdrew their proposals and the Convention, after discussing the issue, adjourned for the weekend.

Upon reconvening on Monday, November 18, Miller proposed the following amendment to Section Eight:

Provided, That Claflin College is hereby divorced and separated from the management, control or any connection whatever with Claflin University, and that the professors and instructors of Claflin College be men or women of the negro race.80

On Tuesday, November 19, Miller requested and was granted permission to withdraw the above proposal and substitute the following:

Provided, That Claflin College shall never be directly or indirectly under the management or control of Claflin University, neither shall Claflin College ever be connected in any way with Claflin University, and the professors and instructors of Claflin College shall be Southern men or women of the negro race.81

Miller spoke in support of this amendment, after which Smalls moved to amend the amendment by eradicating the words "shall be

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79 Ibid.
80 Ibid., p. 577.
81 Ibid., p. 580.
Southern men or women of the negro [sic] race." Miller accepted Small's contribution only so far as to strike out the word "Southern." Evidently realizing that only a small thread of distinction separated the words "Claflin College" from "Claflin University," and that their use might bring confusion, Reed offered as substitute for the amendment by Miller and the amendment to the amendment presented by Smalls, the following:

Provided, That in lieu of Claflin College there shall be established and maintained a normal, industrial, mechanical and agricultural college for the higher education of the negro [sic] race, having no connection with Claflin University, whose professors and instructors shall be of the negro [sic] race.

After some debate, both Miller and Reed withdrew their proposals, and Benjamin R. Tillman of Edgefield County offered the following to be added to Section Eight of the report by the Committee on Education. Tillman's proposal, which was adopted, read:

Provided, That the General Assembly shall as soon as practicable divorce entirely Claflin College from Claflin University, and provide for a separate corp of professors and instructors therein, representation to be given to men and women of the Negro race, and it shall be called the Colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural and Mechanical College of this State.

The New Charter. Thus was the machinery established which provided for the third founding of the State College for Negroes.

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82 Ibid.
83 Ibid., p. 581.
84 Ibid.
When the General Assembly convened in 1896, Thomas Miller lost very little time in introducing a bill which would execute the provisions of the new Constitution. On March 3, 1896, after being amended to provide that "The Principal or President and corps of instructors shall be of the negro [sic] race," the bill received its final reading and became law.\(^5\) Three days later, Miller, who had been elected to the House of Representatives in 1894, resigned from this body and assumed the presidency of the new institution.

The act which became the charter of the school was a short one composed of ten sections which delineated the control and operation of the institution as well as provided for its divorce from Claflin University. Severance from the latter was delayed until the end of the school year then in progress so as not to interfere with instruction being given. The Colored Normal Industrial, Agricultural and Mechanical College of South Carolina was to have been established before the expiration of 1896, and was to continue as a branch of the University of South Carolina, but under the management and control of a separate Board of Trustees composed of seven members, six of whom were elected by the General Assembly; the Governor of the State was ex-officio the seventh member of the Board. The Board of Trustees was empowered to conduct the negotiations which would effect a transfer of State property from Claflin University to the new

institution. It was further authorized to secure a new plant, provide buildings, establish a course of study, to select a corps of professors and instructors and fix their salaries. The sum of $5,000 was annually appropriated for five years for the purpose of construction and maintenance of buildings. The authorities of the State Penitentiary were required to furnish, on the demand of the Board of Trustees, forty able-bodied convicts to be used in the construction of buildings. The Colored Normal Industrial, Agricultural and Mechanical College was to receive all funds set apart for Claflin College under the Acts of the General Assembly, and it was to be free and separate from Claflin University and any other school supported wholly in part by a church or religious sectarian denomination or society.86

The Early Years. The authorities decided to locate the new college in Orangeburg where the State owned a tract of land and could utilize the industrial plant which formerly was connected with Claflin University. Furthermore, Orangeburg was considered a healthful locality, situated in the geographical center of the Black Belt of South Carolina, and easily accessible to all portions of the State. The scope of the College encompassed "the Literary and Classical features of the State University of South Carolina, the Agricultural and Mechanical features of Clemson, the Industrial features of Winthrop,

86 Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, 1896, 173-175.
and the Military and Scientific features of the South Carolina Military Academy."\(^{87}\) During the first year, attendance numbered 960 students, served by a faculty of twenty-seven.\(^{88}\) The important and immediate job was that of providing an adequate plant, especially dormitory, dining room, and academic facilities, inasmuch as the equipment inherited from Claflin was primarily for industrial purposes. The construction of an all-purpose building was begun and completed in 1896; this was a three and a half storied frame edifice, 126 feet long and sixty-two feet wide, which was named Bradham Hall.\(^{89}\) By 1905-1906, ten years after the founding, the campus was dotted with buildings, the most impressive of which was Morrill Hall, a four and half-storied frame structure, 154 feet long and ninety feet wide, with two towers, one of which rose seven stories. The speed with which the buildings were erected, and the quality of their materials suggested that the State once again was not exerting itself and provided only minimum arrangements for the education of its Negro citizens. A criticism made of the new school plant said that:

\[ \ldots \text{cheap wooden buildings are being constructed largely out of unseasoned lumber and when completed, will be open, cold, and unfit for school purposes. A school building, above all others, should be solid with thick floors and partitions and as nearly as possible fireproof. These buildings possess none of these qualities. The buildings at Clemson, Rock Hill, Columbia}, \]

\(^{87}\)C.N.I.A.M. College, Catalogue and Special Announcements, 1896-1897, p. 7.

\(^{88}\)C.N.I.A.M. College, Board of Trustees 1st Annual Report, 1896.

\(^{89}\)C.N.I.A.M. College, President's 1st Annual Report, 1896, p. 10.
and Charleston are of brick. Why do we namely accept this makeshift, especially when the major part of the expense of the school is met by the United States Treasury?

While we as a Board of Trustees are not directly responsible for the present condition of affairs, we are to some extent indirectly. We are citizens of the State and as such we have a right and it is our duty to protest in the most vigorous manner to this trojan horse arrangement moved in next to us.90

The growth of the school was not all physical. Unending efforts were made to develop a curriculum and make the institution serviceable not only to its students but to the local and statewide community. The Board of Trustees, acting on the recommendation of the United States Government of Agricultural Colleges, elected a graduate in agriculture to supervise the agricultural and experimental farm and extension work in an effort to instruct Negro farmers in the newer and more scientific methods of farm production.91 One thousand dollars appropriated for Agricultural Extension work made possible a number of Farmer's institutes and conferences throughout the State.92 Through the efforts of Governor Richard I. Manning and President Walter M. Riggs of Clemson College, seven Negro farm demonstration agents were trained, under the Smith-Lever Extension Bill, by the extension agent at Clemson

90 Claflin University, President's 15th Annual Report, April 27, 1898, pp. 414-415.
91 C.N.I.A.M. College, Board of Trustees 16th Annual Report, 1912, p. 4.
92 C.N.I.A.M. College, Board of Trustees 18th Annual Report, 1914, p. 4.
College. A similar arrangement was made with Winthrop College for a demonstrator of Home Economics. Due to a lack of adequate appropriations for the Smith-Lever Farm Demonstration Work, the college found itself handicapped in its execution. Since it was charged by the Federal authorities with the responsibility of State work, Clemson College recommended a supervisor for the colored agents, giving him the franking privilege and a salary, benefits of which he had not enjoyed before then. No provisions were made for the Home Economic workers who were being trained for the work but who could not find openings which afforded them opportunities to render service. President Wilkinson suggested that Demonstration work be undertaken by the college independently of the Smith-Lever funds inasmuch as it had conducted the operations and borne the expenses for five years without compensation from Clemson. A professor of agricultural education and

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93 AN ACT TO provide for cooperative agricultural extension work between the agricultural colleges in the several States receiving the benefits of an Act of Congress approved July second, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, and of Acts supplementary thereto, and the United States Department of Agriculture, The Statutes at Large of the United States. . . March, 1913 to March, 1915, XXXVIII (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), Part I, Chap. 79, pp. 373-374. This measure, which applied to any State in which two or more agricultural colleges were established, provided that cooperative extension work should consist of the giving of instruction and practical demonstrations in agriculture and home economics to persons not attending or resident in the Colleges.


director of vocational training was employed by the college as a result of the Smith-Hughes Act which provided for the training of teachers in these areas. The Act required that every dollar of Federal money used be matched with a dollar by the State; but inadequate appropriations by the Legislature impeded the execution of the work to the extent that the college incurred a debt of over $2000.

Efforts were made by the authorities to carry the college to the people and interest the masses in the opportunities afforded by it. The president desired to "connect the public school system of the State directly with the College, affording a gradual progression of the pupil from the ungraded to the graded school, thence to the college for a more thorough training of the hand as well as the head."

The institution was made the reference point of all educational matters relating to the colored schools. In 1917, at the suggestion of the State Superintendent of Education, a conference was held at the college.

96 "AN ACT TO provide for the promotion of vocational education; to provide for cooperation with the States in the promotion of such education in agriculture and the trades and industries; to provide for cooperation with the States in the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects; and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure," The Statutes at Large of the United States. December, 1915 to March, 1917, XXXIX, Part 1, Chap. 114, pp. 929-936.


to study the rural school situation and discuss methods to improve it; the president was authorized to appoint a commission to draft for consideration by the State Board of Education an accredited list of such schools, the graduates of which were permitted to teach in the public schools of the State without examination. Thus was created a situation in which the public schools of South Carolina employed inferior teachers, a problem which was to plague the schools in the years to come. It was alleviated to a degree by the establishment at State College of a Teacher's Summer School organized in 1913, but serving at that time only the teachers of Orangeburg County. Steps were taken to broaden it to include teachers throughout the State. For its expansion, the General Assembly appropriated $500, and the Slater Fund contributed $100 for a course in Domestic Science.

The misfortunes which struck other colleges during their early years were not absent from the State College. Serious losses were sustained by destructive fires on two occasions. On November 25, 1909, Bradham Hall, which served as the girl's dormitory - but also contained the dining-room, kitchen, bakery, was destroyed. The Legislature appropriated $28,000 for the erection of a brick building for girls, and the Trustees appropriated $10,000 to construct a brick dining-room.

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101 C.N.I.A.M. College, Board of Trustees 18th Annual Report, 1914, p. 4.
kitchen, and bakery. On March 20, 1916, Bradham Hall was again destroyed by fire. This time it contained not only living quarters for girls, but housed the administrative offices as well. Although no fatalities occurred, many persons were seriously injured - not so much from fire as from the panic and accidents which followed. Forty-six girls were maimed by jumping from the building, sustaining broken legs and arms, fractured ankles and wrists, and other serious injuries.

On October 21, 1916, fire was discovered on the fifth story of Morrill Hall. Fortunately, this part of the building, which was a tower, had never been occupied and no injuries resulted. Of all the fires, the latter was the only one attributed to incendiarism.

The Effect of Separation on Claflin. For twenty-four years Claflin University had received from the State a considerable sum for the conduct of the Agricultural and Mechanical College. During the school year, 1890-1891, its annual total income was $22,000, itemized as follows: State Aid by endowment and appropriation $2,000, Federal Aid $10,000, tuition fees and other sources $10,000. After


104 Ibid., p. 18.

separation, during the school year 1896-1897, its annual income was, broken down: tuition fees $1,500, from other sources (neither endowment nor State - or Federal Aid) $13,500, making a total of $15,000. Separation thus caused Claflin University an annual loss of $7,000, or $12,000 - if the increase from other sources is not counted in the 1896-1897 statistics. But the loss went beyond mere monetary considerations; it involved also the industrial education department which was established around the facilities provided by the State.

When the Board of Trustees of the new Colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural and Mechanical College visited Claflin, it requested an inventory of all property formerly belonging to Claflin College, and claimed that property for its own use. The old Board of Trustees made no effort to close the accounts of its administration, and it turned all of the business over to the new Board. The Claflin University authorities feared that the new Board would not feel obligated to settle the accounts of the old administration, which action, if it occurred, would have left Claflin University an indebtedness of $1,952.78, in addition to expenses incurred for the remainder of the school year.107

106 Ibid., 1896-1897, II, 2331.
107 Claflin University, President's 13th Annual Report, June 9, 1896, pp. 382-383.
The State authorities made a considerable effort to wrest from Claflin the Slater Fund for the support of Manual Training. The Legislature passed a resolution which requested the Slater Board of Trustees to transfer the Fund from Claflin to the new State College. The State Superintendent of Education headed a committee which went to New York to confer with the Slater Board and make a direct appeal for the appropriation. But the Board of Trustees of the Slater Fund voted against the transferral and decided to continue the appropriation to Claflin University.

In order to maintain the Slater Fund appropriation, it was necessary for Claflin to build and equip a shop, and in general, replace the industrial apparatus which had been commandeered by the State. That the situation worked some hardship upon the institution was indicated in a resolution passed by the Conference which

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108 That the State contributed largely to the industrial program at Claflin was indicated by a Slater Fund official who wrote that: "At Claflin, S.C., owing to the liberality of the State in response to Governor John P. Richardson's earnest recommendations, large extension has been made to the Industrial plant. A $1,200 barn has been completed; a shop with machinery and tools costing $3,000 also completed - only $180 of Slater money being used in this splendid outfit." Atticus G. Haygood to Rutherford B. Hayes, October 17, 1888, in Louis D. Rubin, Jr., Teach the Freeman: The Correspondence of Rutherford B. Hayes and the Slater Fund for Negro Education, 1888-1893 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959), II, 25-28. In all probability the State authorities believed that the Slater Fund appropriation should have been granted to the school which made industrial education its specialty.

109 Claflin University, President's 14th Annual Report, April 28, 1897, pp. 401-402.
stated that:

Whereas, Because of the separation of Claflin College from the South Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical Institute the former was badly crippled in its industrial training features; and
Whereas, Realizing that an industrial education is essential to the complete uplift of our people in this State, and
Whereas, Mrs. L. M. Dunton, of the Claflin College, realizing the great need referred to, took it upon herself to go among friends in the North with the determination to raise the necessary funds by which to build an industrial plant at Claflin; and
Whereas, Because of the consecration, zeal and effort, $1,400 has been secured, thus insuring the speedy erection and completion of an industrial plant at Claflin University, be it therefore
Resolved . . . that thanks be tendered Mrs. Dunton.110

President Dunton, at this trying time, discovered a novel manner in which to raise money. During the summer vacation of 1897, he took into New England a quintette of male student singers which presented programs in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Maine. The quintette sang not only in Methodist churches, but also in hotels, clubs, Associations, Sunday Schools, and in private homes. The plight of Claflin was well advertised and resulted in making many friends for the school. In addition to cash donations and scholarships, there was received many volumes of books, two pianos, and large quantities of clothing for needy students.111

Although considerable sums were raised through the efforts of President and Mrs. Dunton, the amount was insufficient to supply the

110S.C.A.C.M.E.C., Minutes of the 91st Session, 1897, p. 18.

111Claflin University, President's 14th Annual Report, April 27, 1898, pp. 419-420.
the necessary equipment and erase the indebtedness. In addition to
the building and equipment for manual training, the college was obliged
to construct a barn and stable, to purchase stock, build fences, refit
buildings and rooms, and add large quantities of furniture. The
Freedmen's Aid Society was not in a position to render assistance at
this time and the college was left to its own expedience in removing
the debt of $2,087.84. Three years after the separation the debt
had not been removed as was indicated in a Conference resolution
which said:

The separation of Claflin University from the State school
made necessary an entire readjustment of the work at Claflin
and immediate provision for several departments heretofore
supported by the State. The great pressure upon the Freedmen's
Aid and Southern Educational Society prevents their giving
adequate aid in this emergency. The Conference has responded
nobly to calls made upon it, but out of deep poverty and in
sums not equal to the necessity. In view of the great urgency
of need in Claflin University,

Resolved, 1st, That we appeal to the friends of the Freedmen
and all who long for the elevation of our race, to aid us in
developing Claflin University.

Resolved, 2nd, That we request Reverend Dunton . . . to make
solicitations in the North for funds and other aid for Claflin
University.

Fortunately, or perhaps as a result of the State's action,
Claflin was commencing a period in which she was the recipient of

112 Ibid., p. 423.
113 Ibid., p. 424.
many philanthropic bestowals from friends in the North, as well as continued support from the John F. Slater Fund - which other schools directed by the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education society lost. 115 The South Carolina Conference, furthermore, always seemed able to rise to the demands and needs of its child. The predicament in which the school found itself as a result of separation was soon resolved and the era of the combination of Church and State was looked back upon as detrimental to the development of the college. This attitude was expressed by the President of Claflin who, in giving his annual report to the Conference, said:

For many years we were entangled with the State. The funds for the support of the school were received very largely from the State and from the United States, and so long as that was the case, the school had to be run more like a State school than a denominational school. Good fortune finally overtook us and we were divorced from the State and since that time we have enjoyed almost marvellous prosperity. We have more students, more teachers, more buildings, more peace, more success and a better school in every way than we had before the separation. What seemed to be a calamity was really a great blessing. 116

Morris College

The agitation of the Negro Baptists of South Carolina, which was instrumental in bringing about the separation of Claflin and the

115 Claflin University, President's 14th Annual Report, April 27, 1898, pp. 423-424.

State College, did not cease with the opening of the latter. They now turned towards the acquisition of a greater voice in the affairs and administration of their own institution, Benedict College. In retrospect, it appeared that Baptist demands for either the disbursement of public funds to several denominational schools, or the establishment of a separate State school, had results contrary to those for which they hoped. There was a slight indication that the Baptists would have preferred the former. This idea was insinuated by a resolution passed in the Baptist State Convention the year after the State College was opened. It said:

Resolved: That this State Convention most earnestly recommends that all Baptists of the State send their sons and daughters for education to Benedict College, and not to schools of other denominations, or the schools which, under the control and patronage of the State, must necessarily separate education from religion and ignore all denominational lines. Our youth should be educated under strong religious influences, in Baptist surroundings, for life in our Baptist fellowship, and for service in our Baptist churches. 117

An analysis of this resolution suggests several things: first, that the Baptists were envious of the apparent financial security and growth of the Methodist Episcopal institution; second, that they were not so concerned with the establishment of an independent State College - inasmuch as they would decline to enroll their children in it, and third, the conclusion that their agitation for separation was not motivated by a desire for actual separation, but

117 N.B.C.S.C., Minutes of the 21st Anniversary, 1897, p. 22.
rather was to acquire a share of the public funds with which they could better support their own schools.\textsuperscript{118}

Support to Benedict had always been rendered by the Negro Baptists from whose ranks came the majority of the students of this school; but it was not until 1904-1905 that any substantial financial contribution was made to it. As early as 1897, the American Baptist Home Mission Society had approached the Negro Baptists for assistance in erecting a $25,000 building on the campus, of which cost the Baptists promised to assume one-half.\textsuperscript{119} The structure was not completed until 1904, and even though the Negro Baptists in the State numbered some 130,000, their contribution to the undertaking was only $5,650.06. The building was named Convention Hall, presumably in honor of the State organization of the Negro Baptists.\textsuperscript{120} This evidently brought them

\textsuperscript{118} The Negro Baptists at this time owned two schools exclusive of Benedict (which they did not own). One was the Friendship Institute, Rock Hill, founded in 1891. It was valued at $6500, had 300 students, received $1500 from local Baptists for the year, and was supported by the Baptist Conventions of York and Chester counties. The other was Bettis Academy, Warrick, founded in 1881. Property value was $6000, and seven teachers, 300 students, received for the year $1500, and was supported by the Mt. Canaan Association. Another school, Seneca Institute, was founded in 1899 by the Sunday School Convention of Oconee county. N.B.C.S.C., Minutes of the 13th Annual Session, 1906, pp. 18-19.

\textsuperscript{119} N.B.C.S.C., Minutes of the 20th and 21st Anniversaries, 1897, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{120} N.B.C.S.C., Minutes of the 28th Annual Session, 1905, p. 22.
closer to the institution and because their investment ran into a
four-figure amount, they believed that they should have some voice in
its administration. Throughout the years the Baptists had kept a
watchful eye on Benedict in hopes that it would become a Negro college
instead of a college for Negroes. In all of their conventions resolu-
tions were passed which bespoke the fact that they took especial joy
in the appointment of Negroes to the Benedict faculty. Their opinion
seems to have been that the college, because of the absence of large
numbers of Negroes in responsible administrative and teaching positions,
was not allied and working in the best interest of the Negro people.
This was indicated by a resolution which said that:

We hail with special satisfaction the addition of another
highly competent and thoroughly qualified colored man to the
faculty of the College, that thus by another tie the College
may be brought to be more closely identified with the colored
race.121

While this may have been a long-range goal of the Founders and
supporters of Benedict, they did not consider that the time had yet
come when the Negro was ready to assume the leadership and direction
of those institutions which had been provided for his educational ad-
vancement. Therefore they were somewhat nonplussed by the effrontery
of the requests and demands which the Baptists made after the incident
of their contribution to the erection of Convention Hall. The policies
and plans of the American Baptists' Home Mission Society would not allow

121 N.B.C.S.C., Minutes of the 21st Anniversary, 1897, p. 22.
acquiescence to these demands. As a result, there developed, instead of mutual cooperation for the growth of Benedict, a feeling of antagonism which led to a movement for the establishment of a denominational school, owned and operated by the colored Baptists of South Carolina.

The unfortunate aspect of this development was the fact that the Baptists, both Negro and Northern, were divided on what otherwise should have been a united effort to improve and promote the existing Baptist College to a position of greater strength. Certainly Benedict had an adequate foundation which could have been vastly and fastly expanded had the energies and resources of the two groups been united in a common effort. In the beginning, the Negro Baptists did not have, as did the American Baptist Home Mission Society, access to the coffers of national philanthropy which would support an educational venture. Furthermore, the Negro Baptists were too prone to exercise what appears to have been excessive individualism - an apparent characteristic of the Baptist Church - as was exemplified by the fact that in 1900, there had been established three institutions supported by various county Baptist conventions and associations, all of which consumed money that might have been devoted to the development of a single but strong institution. When it is considered that it took seven years for 130,000 Baptists to raise $5650 of a projected $12,000, this argument becomes clear. On the other hand, the officers of the American Baptist Home

\[122\] Supra., p. 155, n.120.
Mission Society totally denied the requests of the Negroes. Since their financial support of Benedict was solicited, and since the price of this support was a voice in the administration of the college, it might have been proper to create an administrative position to which a Negro could have been appointed to act as a liaison agent between the school and the Negro Baptists, thus, perhaps, satisfying the aspirations of the latter.

This was a period of extreme race-consciousness when barriers against the Negro people were being erected on all sides. They had been eliminated from politics, the "separate but equal" doctrine had become law, and they were slowly shunted from the mainstream of life where Emancipation and Reconstruction had placed them. The possession and control of a first-rate college was one of the few avenues through which their creative and administrative abilities could be expressed. Furthermore, in light of the times, it would not appear untenable to assume that the operation of those forces which sought a lessening of influence of the Northern Methodists upon Negroes, was also at work in the instance of the Northern Baptists. This was suggested by the fact that the Southern Baptist Convention and the White Baptist State Convention, some years after its founding, donated thousands of dollars to Morris College, a thing which did not occur at Benedict until a later period. 123

123 In Washington, D. C., in 1909, a conference was held between representatives of the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist
As soon as it was discovered that they would not be allowed a controlling voice in the operation of Benedict, the Negro Baptists initiated proceedings for the founding of their own college. The report of the Secretary of the Education Committee, during the annual convention, alluded to the three schools owned by local associations and said that:

This shows what the people are ready and waiting to do when some worthy definite object is set before them. After twelve months of experience and observation, on the field and among the people and after careful study of the thought, feeling, hopes and aspirations of the people, I come to you with the firm conviction that the time has fully come and the people are ready and willing to carry out the original object of our convention as set forth in its constitution; which reads as follows: "The object of this Convention shall be to promote the cause of Christ, especially in South Carolina by establishing a Theological and Literary Institution for the training of young men in the ministry and also for the education of our sons and daughters." I do therefore in the fear of the Almighty God and for the highest interest of my denomination, recommend that a committee of twenty-four, the most wise and judicious brethren among us be appointed with full power to act for and in the name of this convention to secure a suitable location, to elect a Board of

Convention and the American Baptist Home Mission Society. The latter appealed to the former for financial cooperation in the work of educating Negroes of the South and offered to them the educational plants and a large degree of control and direction of the work. The southerners expressed their willingness to cooperate as individuals, but in their official capacity were adverse to the proposal, feeling that a large element of their constituency would not sustain them in such action. A.B.H.M.S., 77th Annual Report, 1909, p. 46. Benedict College had the support of white southern Baptist individuals as exampled by the Reverend W. R. Sanders, pastor of the Florence Baptist Church and President of the White State Baptist Convention, who believed "that he could do much toward helping his 'brother in black.'" A.B.H.M.S., 64th Annual Report, 1896, p. 117.
Trustees, and do all other things necessary to begin a denominational college to be owned and operated by the Negro Baptists of South Carolina. 124

This committee was appointed and forthwith set about its duties. An attempt was made to secure a site at Anerson, but the whites threatened to burn the school if it were established in that city. A similar situation was confronted in Belton when negotiations were entered into there. Some Baptist members residing in Sumter offered a tract of land if the school would be located in this city, but again there was opposition from the whites. The matter was resolved when a white realtor, N. R. Ligon, of Sumter, offered to exchange the Baptist-held land which lay inside the city, for a tract which he owned on the outskirts of the town. 125 Through this maneuver, which was acceptable to the whites, the Baptists came to possess an eight-acre land-site for their college. Its establishment and organization commenced in 1907-1908, with its opening occurring in the latter year. The circumstances under which Morris College received its name were unusual and


125 Information gained through personal interview, July 5, 1956, with the Reverend Edward M. Booker, Sr., Dean of the Faculty and Science, Morris College, and Historian of the State Baptist Educational and Missionary Convention of South Carolina. Reverend Booker attended Morris from 1911 through 1919, and has been a faculty member since 1920.
may be best understood by reading a summary account of the action by a participant who later became a president of Morris and Benedict as well. He wrote:

In 1900 and the immediate years following, there were stormy days among the Negro Baptists of South Carolina. Things grew from bad to worse. At one time it seemed that the State Baptist Convention would divide into two almost evenly divided factions. Many strong men were inclined toward the "new convention." The "up country" gave to this convention the first president in the person of the Reverend E. V. Cassoway. During this time, Anderson County, the home of the Reverend Gassoway, was somewhat undecided as to what faction to follow. The old convention met in the city of Anderson. At this convention in 1907 the College was born. The old convention, the mother of this newly-born child, was anxious to hold Anderson County and the Rocky River Association. Therefore, a good deal of trading was done. First, the Reverend H. Watkins, one of the strongest men in the Rocky River Association, was made the recording secretary of the convention. In the second place, to doubly secure the keeping of the Rocky River Association in the old convention, this young college had not been named; so it was decided to name the college for the Reverend Frank Morris, an old pioneer preacher of the Rocky River Association. Otherwise, or under normal conditions, the college would have been named Granthan, Brockington, or some other name coming from the lower section of the State.126

The college was some years in securing an adequate plant, and for a long time, the only two buildings on the campus were "Phyllis Wheatley and Brockenton, one painted white, the other unpainted, standing in the middle of a ninety acre grain field, with straw which was four, five, and six feet in height."127

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of Morris did not serve - as he was both a physician and a minister.
The second, E. M. Branley, held office from 1908 until 1912. But
Morris College did not begin to grow until after the coming of J. J.
Starks who assumed the presidency, as either the second or third pres-
ident, in 1912. The condition of the school was depicted in one of
his reports in which he said:

When I came to Morris College sixteen years ago, I found
things here, as the people of South Carolina know, in a de-
plorable condition. Our records show that the amount of in-
debtedness was a little over $11,000. In order to partially
appease the many creditors, I spent my own hard-earned cash
.... with faith in the people .... to repay this money
when they could. I went all over Sumter everywhere there
was an account and gave notes for the debt. In addition to
that I got in touch with twenty-four teachers who had worked
at Morris College during the 4 years of its existence, found
out what claims they had against the college and adjusted
these claims to their satisfaction and got their receipts in
full.

When we think of the buildings that we found here with a
small campus of eight acres, infested with weed and snakes
.... Our records show that there were eight acres when
I came here sixteen years ago. Since that time we bought
seven or eight different plots of land. The first purchase
was made in 1917 for twenty-seven and forty-one one-hundredths
acres. These were bought with our own personal cash and sub-
sequently deeded to the State Convention at the very same
price as purchased by us. So today we own not eight acres
but right around forty acres.128

Starks, who had been President of Seneca Institute before
coming to Morris, threw boundless energy into the creation of a stan-
dard college for the Negro Baptists. The calibre of man was indicated
in a letter from Dr. A. C. Osborne who, for fifteen years, had been

president of Benedict and was serving when the rupture occurred between the school and the Negro Baptists. He therefore had in his heart some malice for Morris College and considered the institution to have been "conceived in sin and brought forth by the iniquity of J.R.W."129 Having learned that Starks had been offered the presidency, but not knowing of his acceptance, Osborne tendered his congratulations if Stark did not accept, and offered his condolences in the event that he did. Still, he showed awareness of the man's capabilities inasmuch as he said that "knowing you as I do, if you do accept you will succeed."130 And succeed is just what Starks did. A study of the growth and development of Morris College for the next twenty years was almost a study of the growth and development of J. J. Starks.

After the matter of the $11,000 indebtedness had been settled, the organization of the school on both an adequate high school and college level was undertaken. A curriculum and catalogue were devised, both making a first public appearance in 1915. There were three curricula, an Academic course, a College course, and a Teacher's course, the first two years of which were the same as those of the Academic course. In addition, there was special work in Dressmaking, Truck-farming, and Domestic Science. 131 The curriculum was not dissimilar

129 J. J. Starks, Lo,These Many Years, p. 75.

130 Ibid.

131 Morris College, Announcements, 1915-1916, pp. 21-23.
from other schools during their first years, with the exception that there were in the Morris course of studies a class in Bible during each semester of all years. Expenses, including board, tuition, rent, fuel, and lights, amounted to eight dollars a month plus an admission fee of fifty cents and a matriculation fee to day-students of ten cents. 132

The acquisition of funds was the pressing occupation of Morris's new president and he forthwith set about his duties. The white Baptist State Convention came to his aid in the fall of 1915. He was invited to address this group which twenty-five years earlier had aided him in acquiring an education. After his speech, the chairman of the convention said: "Well, brethren, that's our product that we helped twenty-five years ago. How do you like him?" The body indicated its disposition by donating a thousand dollars to Starks. This in turn led to contributions by a Woman's Auxiliary in the Convention, and a personal donation for one-half of a teacher's salary, which was to continue for twelve years, by Doctor B. D. Gray, who was then the Secretary of the Baptist Home Mission Board in Atlanta. 133 These contacts led Starks to correspond with the General Education Board, and the Slater and Jeannes Funds, all of which came to the financial aid of Morris College. 134


133 Starks, Lo, These Many Years, p. 93.

134 Ibid., p. 94.
The development of a physical plant was the second important task confronting Starks. In most instances he found himself in or assumed the roles of architect, contractor, and laborer as well as "fund-raiser." Within ten years a substantial plant had been established. The first or these was the Dobbins-Keith Hall, a wooden frame building erected in 1913. The first brick structure on the campus was sponsored by the State Baptist Convention (Negro) and erected in 1916 at a cost of over $10,000. It was named McGowan Hall in honor of Henry McGowan of Anderson, South Carolina, who contributed $500 towards the construction. The President's home was erected at the same time by using surplus materials from McGowan Hall. The inconvenience of walking two miles to a church for Commencement and other services motivated the construction of the E. D. White Memorial Chapel in 1920. This commodious chapel, utilized later by the Convention during its summer meetings, was built almost entirely by student labor directed by the President, at a cost of $14,000. Through a cooperative plan with the General Education Board in which the costs were equally shared by the Board and the College, an academic building, valued at $50,000 was constructed in the year 1925. When fire destroyed LeGare

136 Starks, Lo, These Many Years, pp. 90-91.
137 Ibid., p. 95.
138 Ibid., pp. 96-97.
139 Booker, "Seventeen Years," p.12.
140 Starks, Lo, These Many Years, pp. 98-99.
Hall, a wooden structure which served as a boy's dormitory, it was replaced just one year after its loss by a three-storied brick edifice which cost $40,000. This physical expansion was financed through the aid of the aforementioned philanthropic agencies and the Negro Baptist State Convention and its auxiliaries - the Women's Convention, the Men's Convention, and, the Baptist Young Peoples Union Convention. In addition, there were donations from various individuals who gave not only money but labor services as well. With these additions and replacements, Morris College took its place among the family of institutions of permanence offering higher education to Negroes of South Carolina.

The founding and stabilizing of Morris College brought to five the number of institutions which developed into senior colleges for Negroes in the State of South Carolina. All of these were planted and grew up in either an atmosphere of emergency or an attitude of reaction. The imperative need of preparing the ex-slave for his new life of freedom accounted for the origin and growth of Claflin, Benedict, and Allen. The successful reassertion of white supremacy gave life to the new State College, whereas a reaction to white control of Benedict led to the establishment of Morris. Each one of these, throughout the early decades of its existence, underwent constant stress and strain and suffered various growing pains. Each managed, nevertheless, to maintain itself and gain more than a modicum of support and recognition. Their worth is seen in their provision of leadership for and vision of full application and extension of the American Democracy.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sponsor</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African Methodist Episcopal Church Missionary Society</td>
<td>Allen University&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>1880</td>
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<td>African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church</td>
<td>Lancaster Normal &amp; Industrial College&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Lancaster</td>
<td>1897</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Clinton College&lt;sup&gt;g&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>York</td>
<td>1893</td>
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<tr>
<td>American Baptist Home Mission Society</td>
<td>Benedict College&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>1870</td>
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<td>American Missionary Association</td>
<td>Avery Institute&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>1865</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Brewer Normal Institute&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Greenwood</td>
<td>1872</td>
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<td>Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>Andrew Robertson Institute&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Aiken</td>
<td>1868</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brainerd Institute&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Chester</td>
<td>1868</td>
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<td>Coulter Memorial School&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Chesterfield</td>
<td>1881</td>
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<td>Goodwill Parochial School&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Sumter</td>
<td>1868</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Harbison College&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Abbeville</td>
<td>1886</td>
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<td>Kendall Institute&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Sumter</td>
<td>1868</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Wallingford Academy&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>1865</td>
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<tr>
<td>Educational Missionary &amp; Sunday School Convention of the Colored Baptists of South Carolina</td>
<td>Bettis Academy&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Edgefield</td>
<td>1881</td>
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<td>Friendship Normal &amp; Industrial College&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Rock Hill</td>
<td>1891</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Morris College&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Sumter</td>
<td>1908</td>
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<td>Seneca Institute&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church</td>
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<td>Orangeburg</td>
<td>1869</td>
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<td>Society of Friends (Quakers)</td>
<td>Laing School&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>1865</td>
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<td>Schofield Academy&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Aiken</td>
<td>1868</td>
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### APPENDIX I—Continued

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<th>School</th>
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<tr>
<td>Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church</td>
<td>Browning Industrial Home &amp; Mather Academy&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Camden</td>
<td>1864</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independent Boards of Trustees</td>
<td>Mayesville Institute&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt; Penn School&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt; Port Royal Agricultural School&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt; Voorhees Industrial Institute&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Sumter Beaufort Beaufort Denmark</td>
<td>1886 1862 1865 1897</td>
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</table>

<sup>a</sup>Survived  
<sup>b</sup>Discontinued  
<sup>c</sup>Public school  
<sup>d</sup>Junior college  
<sup>e</sup>Private elementary and secondary school
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U.S. Congressional Globe. 37th Congress, 1st Session, 1861.


Most applicable to this study were: Series I, Vols. II, III, IV, VI; Series 2, Vol. I; Series 3, Vol. II.

A high official of the Freedmen's Bureau reports his observations during a tour of the South.


Valuable reference for Baptist entry into South Carolina when the Sea Islands were captured and opened.


An award-winning study which replaces Pierce as the classic for this subject.


The story of an early participant in the Port Royal Experiment.


The man the South called "Beast" rather egotistically accounts his experiences in life and the Civil War.


A popularly written account of this subject.


A scholarly study of this subject.

French, A.M. (Mrs.). *Slavery in South Carolina and the Ex-Slaves; or the Port Royal Mission.* New York: Winchell M. French, 1862.

Provoking observations of slavery's horror and freedom's joy.


Holland, Rupert S. (ed.). *Letters and Diary of Laura M. Towne, Written From the Sea Islands of South Carolina, 1862-1884*. Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1912. Valuable accounts of the progress of the Port Royal Experiment and subsequent educational developments by one of the original "Gideonites."


Hughes, Sarah Forbes (ed.). *Letters and Recollections of John Murray Forbes*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1899. John Murray Forbes was in the Sea Islands at the beginning of the Port Royal Experiment. His observations were important to this work.


Describes some religious and educational activity of Negroes in the immediate post-Civil War period.


A pioneer work which discusses the contributions of major and some minor foundations to the education of Negroes.


This work has only small application to Negro educational institutions which are Baptist supported.

M'Kim, J.M. *The Freedmen of South Carolina: An Address Delivered by the Author In Sansom Hall, July 9, 1862.* Philadelphia: Willis P. Hazard, 1862.

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McMillan, Lewis K. *Negro Higher Education in the State of South Carolina.* Published by the Author: Orangeburg, 1952.

A critique of the contemporary operation of Negro colleges in South Carolina.


The second president of Benedict evaluates the efforts and the effects of the institution.


A bishop of the A.M.E. Church, a founder and first president of the first college for Negroes, a participant in the
educational activities of Negroes in South Carolina before and after emancipation, Payne's work gives illuminating sidelights to the mainstream of history.

A brief historical survey of educational institutions maintained by Baptists.


A classic study of the Democratic resurgence during the closing decades of the nineteenth century.

The third president of Morris College and the fifth of Benedict gives invaluable information about these two schools.

Brigadier General Stevens was with the Union Army in South Carolina at the beginning of the Port Royal Experiment. In this biography his son has given some illuminating incidents.


An account of the early "Gideonites" with some detail of the relief associations and the Port Royal Experiment.

An early study by one of the prolific writers of the Reconstruction period.

Taylor, Susie King. Reminiscences of My Life in Camp With the 33rd United States Colored Troops Late 1st South Carolina Volunteers. Published by the Author: Boston, 1902.

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