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CAROLINA FROM 1700 TO 1900

East Tennessee State University

Ed.D. 1986

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AN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF THE GULLAHS
OF COASTAL SOUTH CAROLINA FROM 1700 TO 1900

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Supervision and Administration
East Tennessee State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

by
Elizabeth Hoyt-Thetford
August, 1986

APPROVAL

This is to certify that the Advanced Graduate Committee of

ELIZABETH HOIT-THETFORD

met on the

30th day of June, 1986.

The committee read and examined her dissertation, supervised her defense of it in an oral examination, and decided to recommend that her study be submitted to the Graduate Council and the Associate Vice-President for Research and Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Education.

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Signed on behalf of
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Research and Graduate Studies

ABSTRACT

AN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF THE GULLAHS OF COASTAL SOUTH CAROLINA FROM 1700 TO 1900

by

Elizabeth Hoyt-Thetford

The educational efforts of the first fifty years of the 1700s for the Gullahs, black slaves brought to South Carolina's low country, were a by-product of the Church of England's concern for the souls of heathens. Through the Church's offspring, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, missionaries were sent to South Carolina beginning in 1702. By 1704, Samuel Thomas, the Society's first missionary there, reported that he had taught about twenty blacks to read, and by 1743 the Society opened a school for blacks in Charleston despite a 1740 law prohibiting slave education. Using two black slaves as teachers, the Society's school continued until 1764, "graduating" about twenty students a year.

After the Revolutionary War, the free person of color population grew in numbers and influence, establishing the Brown Fellowship Society, the first non-white benevolent society in Charleston. One of its activities was the education of members' children. Other societies followed suit, and by 1834 there were dozens of private schools in Charleston for free persons of color. While an 1834 law created additional restrictions on the education of the free persons of color, many private schools continued to operate.

As early as 1861, teachers from the North, under the auspices of freedmen aid societies, arrived in the sea islands to help the blacks adjust to their new status. In 1865, their efforts were coordinated by the federal government under the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. With a new state constitution in 1868, the public schools of South Carolina were reorganized. Although tremendous gains were made, by 1870, the majority of black students were still studying only spelling and reading. After the 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson decision which created a "separate but equal" school system, the actual situation was anything but equal, with black schools in session a shorter term and a higher pupil-teacher ratio for black students.

The education of the Gullahs from 1700 to 1900 was the result of compromise, and the blacks suffered from a lack of educational opportunities, not a lack of intellectual abilities.

DEDICATION

This work is lovingly dedicated to family:

J. Hamilton Hoit

Geraldine G. Hoit

Richard R. Thetford

James D. Campbell

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As we go through life, I believe that we are changed by the people we encounter, and the people I've come to know in the course of researching and writing this study have been, each one, very special. A mere acknowledgement would not begin to cover the debt I owe to them, for they have given selflessly and from the heart, but this thank you is at least a start.

To Sharon Hundley and Madaline Jenkins, for keeping me sane; to Dr. Larry Brown (Chairman), Dr. Charles Beseda, Dr. Floyd Edwards, Dr. Jack Higgs, and Dr. Ralph Kimbrough, for suffering through all this as only committee members can; to Dr. Gem Kate Greninger, for establishing the "Good Old Girl Network"; to Dr. William Acuff, for giving me the freedom to write what I wanted; to Peter H. Wood, for taking the time to talk with me; to the night crew of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History (Steve Tuttle, Pride Carson, Robert S. C. Brown, Robin Copp, and Tom Price), for not throwing me out; to Marie Berry and Cal Sims of the South Caroliniana Library, for lugging around all those superintendents' reports; to David Moltke-Hanson and Susan Walker of the South Carolina Historical Society, for their patience; to the ladies of the Charleston Library Society, for all the smiles; to Martha Littleford, for being an angel; to P. D., Sandy, and R. C., for keeping their paws off my papers; to Richard, for thinking I'm almost smart; to Jimmy, for staying out of my hair; and especially to Jerry and Hamilton Hoyt for the countless hours of help and all the encouragement; to all of you--
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

As the cultural blending of black slaves who were brought to South Carolina's low country created the Gullahs, the social blending of white interests created the Gullahs' educational opportunities. From 1700 to 1900 the education of the Gullahs became not so much an event in itself but rather the result of the interplay and dominance of outside forces. Those forces that controlled the education of the Gullahs were numerous and complex, ranging from racial (personal conviction in Caucasian supremacy) to economic (reliance on a docile slave labor force) to religious (belief that entry into Christendom required a working knowledge of God via the Bible) to humanitarian (insistence that God created all men equal). The cause and progress of Gullah education waxed and waned as did the forces themselves. After the Stono rebellion of 1739, for instance, a more stringent slave law was passed in 1740 in answer partly to the economic forces and in spite of the strong religious forces that were still prevalent in the state at that time.

Through the efforts of the plantation owners who formed a powerful political bloc, the Gullah slaves found that all aspects of their lives were regulated. Their educational opportunities, at least outwardly, were tied to the whims of their owners. Stories such as the one told by Clinkscales of his sisters teaching one of their slaves to read¹ were,

¹ J. G. Clinkscales, On the Old Plantation: Reminiscences of His Childhood (1916; reprint, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 43-47.

unfortunately, the exception rather than the norm, and the few who did dare to teach their slaves did not do so publicly after 1740.

The slaves represented a substantial investment in money to the low country planters, and the free persons of color, as the free blacks were called, were seen by the planters as a threat to that investment. Not wanting their slaves to see the free persons of color as potential role models, the owners saw to it that the opportunities for interaction between the two groups were limited, and over the years the restrictions on free persons of color were increased until their lives were nearly as regulated as those of the slaves.

Although Lincoln's proclamation brought freedom and the end of the Civil War brought federal control, education for the Gullahs, as education throughout the state, suffered for lack of money and organization. With the return of state control, efforts continued to increase sporadically, spurred perhaps by the humanitarian forces that equated education with equality. These views were best expressed by the then mayor of Charleston, William Courtenay, when he wrote, "It is the educated mind that rules, whether in the cotton factory, the cotton field, the machine shop, the counting house, the senate, or the pulpit; it is brain-power which makes a people."²

Unfortunately, the sentiments represented by Courtenay in 1881 did not last to the end of the century. A growing number of people throughout the state, as well as the nation, felt that the blacks had a definite place in the overall scheme of life and that that place was not on a par

² William A. Courtenay, Education in Charleston, S.C. (Charleston: News and Courier Book Presses, 1881), 1.

with whites. By 1899 the controlling belief in South Carolina was that education beyond a certain point did blacks no good and in some cases might actually harm them:

In this State there is no opening for the negro in the learned professions. If the cravings of intellectual tastes could be awakened there is little opportunity to gratify them. . . .

The argument often advanced that book-learning carries a negro to the penitentiary may have in it some element of truth. If his faculties of ambition and desire are stimulated along lines in which they cannot obtain their legitimate gratification, he has been educated out of harmony with the requirements of his life and in his inevitable circumstances will suffer from his abnormal inclinations and aspirations.

Though legally free, the Gullahs and other blacks were by this time also legally separated from the mainstream of America.⁴ They had progressed but had not attained equality by 1900, and the two hundred year course of Gullah education gave life to the observation, "The cause of education is the cause of humanity."⁵

The Problem

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study was to describe the education of the Gullahs of coastal South Carolina from 1700 to 1900.

³ S.C., Thirty-first Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education of the State of South Carolina, 1898-1899 [by John McMahan] (Columbia: Bryan Printing, 1900), 14.

⁴ Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

⁵ S.C., Twentieth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education of the State of South Carolina, 1887-1888 [by James H. Rice] (Columbia: James H. Woodrow, 1888), 20.

Significance of the Study

History is a record of people—their dreams, their hopes, their fears—and how they succeeded or failed in bringing about what they wanted to accomplish. When historians study the past, they do so not only to gain a better understanding of people and events as they were but also to gain insights into people and events as they are now; for, as Carlyle observed, "The Present is the living sum-total of the whole Past."⁶ The present is understood, then, in direct proportion to the extent of one's knowledge about the past.

In order to fully appreciate present institutions, practices, and problems in education, past discoveries and mistakes need to be examined thoroughly. Once an educational history has been compiled and studied, the researcher can then identify needs for educational reform as well as attempt to predict future trends.⁷

The difficulty with the educational history of the Gullahs of coastal South Carolina is that a written record does not exist as a collected whole. Pieces of it lie scattered throughout thousands of documents, from the 1700s letters of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Thomas to the state superintendents' reports of the late 1800s. This study provides a more complete account of that history in the hope that a better understanding of the Gullahs' present educational situation can be achieved.

⁶ Bergen Evans, ed., Dictionary of Quotations (New York: Delacorte Press, 1968), 150.

⁷ Walter R. Borg and Meredith D. Gall, Educational Research, 4th ed. (New York: Longman, 1983), 799-800.

Assumption of the Study

The history of the education of any people is subject to the same vagaries as any human history; i.e., the resulting story is actually a patchwork of people and events with each person adding a slightly different view, a distinct perspective of what happened. As the separate views are pieced together, a pattern emerges that overshadows the individuals themselves and allows the historian to see the period being studied from a reasonably balanced perspective. For the purposes of this study, therefore, the following assumption was made: Historical documents, taken collectively and in sufficient number, will present a reasonably accurate record of events as they occurred.

Limitations of the Study

The following limitations were applicable to this study:

1. The population examined in this study included only that portion of the Negro race identified as Gullah (as defined in the Definitions of Terms).
2. Geographically, this study was concerned with the area of coastal South Carolina which extends from the Little PeeDee River westward to the Savannah River and includes the urban area of Charleston. (Because the names and boundaries within these limits changed several times over the two hundred year period under study, a set of maps has been included in Appendix A.)
3. This study included only those years between 1700 and 1900.
4. Although the earliest education of the Gullahs was conducted by missionaries, religious instruction was not included as a specific topic except as it pertained to the teaching of reading or writing.

5. This study did not include the post-secondary education of the Gullahs.

6. Vocational education, i.e., "of, relating to, or being in training in a skill or trade to be pursued as a career,"⁸ was not included as a specific area of concern of this study.

7. Resources for this study were limited to those available from the Sherrod Library at East Tennessee State University, the Perkins Library at Duke University, the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the Robert Scott Small Library at the College of Charleston, the South Caroliniana Library and the Cooper Library at the University of South Carolina, the Charleston Library Society, the South Carolina Historical Society, the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, and the South Carolina State Library; those available through inter-library loan, and those available from private libraries and collections.

8. Materials for this study were gathered, examined, and compiled from June 1983 to June 1986.

Definitions of Terms

Barrier Islands

Barrier islands lie "next to the sea" and consist of "strips of hard sandy beach and of shifting dunes and, behind the dunes, a thick and almost impenetrable jungle-like growth." These islands are "separated from one another by inlets and bays" and are usually "small,

⁸ "Vocational," Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary.

unfit for agriculture, [and] sparsely inhabited or not inhabited at all."⁹

Education

The term "education" is defined as "the action or process of educating or of being educated,"¹⁰ that is, "to develop mentally or morally esp. by instruction."¹¹ For the purposes of this study, "education" was also taken to include the specific areas of reading and writing.

Freedmen's Aid Societies

These groups were "Benevolent societies [that] sprang up in quick succession to form a complex of freedmen associations that reached such cities as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Chicago in 1862-63." They provided "clothing, food, money, religious leaders, and teachers" for the emancipated Negroes of the South.¹²

Freedmen's Bureau

One month before the end of the Civil War, Congress passed an act that created the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. "[C]ommonly called the Freedmen's Bureau," this agency was within the

⁹ Herbert Ravenel Sass, "The Low-Country," The Carolina Low-Country, ed. Augustine T. Smythe (New York: Macmillan, 1931), 7.

¹⁰ "Education," Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary.

¹¹ "Educate," Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary.

¹² Henry Allen Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969), 19.

War Department and was given "the responsibility of supervising all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen of the rebel states."¹³

Glebe

A glebe is a parcel of "land belonging or yielding revenue to a parish church or ecclesiastical benefice."¹⁴ In the colonial South Carolina parishes, glebes varied "in size from twenty-six acres in St. Andrew's Parish to 600 acres in St. Paul's."¹⁵

Gullah

In a very general sense, the term "Gullah" simply means "a member of a group of Negroes inhabiting the sea islands and coastal districts of So. Carolina, Georgia, and Northeastern Florida,"¹⁶ but that definition does not fully explain the amalgamation of blacks covered by the term, nor does it impart the cultural overtones inherent in the term.

Although the term itself is believed to be derived from either a shortened form of Angola or a corrupted form of Gola, the dominant influence in the slave sub-culture was clearly Angolan, as 69.5 percent of the total number of slaves imported from 1735-1740¹⁷ and nearly 40

¹³ Bullock, 22.

¹⁴ "Glebe," Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary.

¹⁵ M. Eugene Sirmans, Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663-1763 (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1966), 98.

¹⁶ "Gullah," Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary.

¹⁷ Peter H. Wood, Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 340-41.

percent from 1733-1807¹⁸ were from the Angola region of Africa. This influence was cultural rather than physical in nature and soon spread geographically outward from Charleston as the slaves were taken to the various low country plantations. Once on the plantations, the majority of the slaves became field hands, thus forming communities within themselves where they often had infrequent or no contact with the whites. In these relatively isolated pockets or communities the traits of Gullah, particularly those in their speech, were molded and strengthened.

Today, all native blacks along the South Carolina coast are generally referred to as Gullahs, set apart not only by their shared cultural background but also by their distinctive speech which persists in spite of the standardization inroads made by radio, television, and English teachers.

Low Country

Used in both the geographic and the socio-economic senses, the term "low country" refers to the "swampy coastal areas" where the "large rice and sea-island cotton plantations existed."¹⁹

Sea Islands

Sea islands are those "larger islands [that] lie behind the narrow barrier isles. On these the woods growth is forest rather than jungle [and] the soil is fertile." On these islands "indigo culture flourished

¹⁸ Robert M. Weir, Colonial South Carolina—A History (Millwood: KTO Press, 1983), 179.

¹⁹ William W. Freehling, Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina, 1816-1836 (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 7.

during the provincial period, [and] the sea island cotton plantations reached their highest development."²⁰

Methods and Procedures

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to provide a description of the education of the Gullahs in coastal South Carolina from 1700 to 1900.

Procedures for Gathering Data

After several preliminary discussions with David Moltke-Hanson, Director of the South Carolina Historical Society, to determine the feasibility of the study, an examination was made of the shelf materials of the Historical Society as well as those of the Charleston Library Society. Following those investigations, geographical, time, and depth limitations were placed on the study.

The Gullahs have lived along the coastal portions of three states since those areas were actively settled in the 1600s. Although a geographically comprehensive study of the education of the Gullahs would be invaluable, such a work was considered to be too broad for the purposes of a dissertation. It was decided, therefore, to limit the area to be studied to the coastal area of South Carolina, to the years between 1700 and 1900, and to an overview of the educational history.

In order to determine the scope of the available published literature pertaining to the Gullahs and their education in South Carolina, a computer search was conducted through the facilities of the Sherrod Library at East Tennessee State University. The data banks consulted

²⁰ Sass, 8.

were as follows: America: History & Life (1963 to issue #22B1 1985), Art Biographies Modern (1974 to 1985), Dissertation Abstracts (1861 to May 1985), Educational Resources Information Center (1966 to April 1985), Government Publications Office Monthly Catalog (July 1976 to May 1985), Historical Abstracts (1973 to issue #36B1 1984), Language and Language Behavior Abstracts (1973 to May 1985), Library of Congress (REMARC pre-1900 to January 1985 and LC MARC 1968 to April 1985), Magazine Index (1959 to March 1970 and 1973 to May 1985), Modern Language Association International Bibliography (1969 to 1983), National Newspaper Index (1979 to April 1985), Newspaper Index (monthlies 1973 to December 1984 and quarterlies 1973 to March 1984), Psychological Abstracts (1967 to March 1985), Public Affairs Information Service International (1976 to May 1985), Religion Index (1949 to 1985), and Sociological Abstracts (1963 to issue #1 1985). A working bibliography was then compiled from the data bank searches and the previous examination of shelf materials.

In addition to those from the South Carolina Historical Society and the Charleston Library Society, materials were gathered from the Sherrod Library at East Tennessee State University, the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the Robert Scott Small Library at the College of Charleston, the South Caroliniana Library and the Cooper Library at the University of South Carolina, the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, and the South Carolina State Library. Sources for the data included maps, newspapers, magazines and journals, diaries and personal journals, letters, plantation records, pamphlets, government reports, church records, and

scholarly works dealing with Negro education and Negro history in South Carolina.

Methods for Presenting the Data

In determining the best arrangement for presentation of the data, the following factors were taken into account: The two hundred year time span of the study, the historical events that influenced the educational efforts, the rural/urban location of the efforts, the slave/free person of color status of those being taught, and the private/public nature of the educational efforts. It was decided that the best way to present the material was to arrange the data chronologically and to break it into four time periods for better manageability with regard to summation. The time periods selected were as follows: 1700-1750, 1750-1800, 1800-1850, and 1850-1900. Common beginning and ending dates for the various segments allowed for the overlapping of months within a year.

Organization of the Study

This study was organized into five chapters. Chapter 1 contained an introduction to the problem, a statement of the problem, the significance of the study, the assumption of the study, the limitations of the study, the definitions of terms, the purpose of the study, the procedures for gathering data, the methods for presenting the data, and the organization of the study.

The history of the Gullahs exclusive of education was presented in Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 included the educational efforts from 1700-1750 and from 1750-1900.

Chapter 4 included the educational efforts from 1800-1850 and from 1850-1900.

A summary of the study, conclusions drawn from the study, and recommendations resulting from the study comprised Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 2

Slavery and the Gullahs

The Search for Labor

Although Negroes were brought to Virginia as early as 1619, it was not until the eighteenth century that they were viewed as the primary source of labor in the English colonies.²¹ The labor needs of the New World colonists increased with the expansion of the land they settled, and those needs called for a reliable, economically feasible source for that labor. The colonists' first attempt to ensure this labor source developed from the long-established apprentice system and led them to rely mainly on the efforts of white indentured servants who worked for a set period of time to repay the costs of their passage to the colonies. Though the masters benefited greatly in terms of land acquisition and power of control, the use of indentured whites was far from satisfactory because of the discipline problems brought on by the restraining nature of the rights the indentured servants held by custom and practice,²² the insufficient quantity, the unpredictable supply,²³ the "seasoning fever"

Portions of the material presented in this chapter appeared in Elizabeth Hoyt Thetford, "The Gullah Dialect: Its Origin, Development, Characteristics, and Implications for the Teacher of Standard English in Coastal South Carolina" (Ed.S. field study, William Carey College, 1984).

²¹ C. Duncan Rice, The Rise and Fall of Black Slavery (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 52.

²² David Duncan Wallace, South Carolina: A Short History, 1520-1948 (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1951), 187.

²³ Carter G. Woodson, The African Background Outlined (1936; reprint, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968), 258.

which killed thousands before they could adjust to the New World, the tendency of many to run away and establish themselves in other settlements, the inevitable expiration of the terms of service (generally about five years or until the age of twenty-four), and the threat of vocational competition by the freed servants.²⁴ In spite of the drawbacks, however, white indentured servants comprised a substantial portion of the population in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania; but the use of the servants in South Carolina was augmented immediately by Negro slaves from the West Indies, thus decreasing the indentured percentage in that colony almost from the beginning.²⁵

While discovering the inadequacies of the indentured servant system, the colonists experimented with native labor when they enslaved Indians, beginning with those they captured in the Pequot War of 1637.²⁶ In spite of fears of uprisings and massacres from within, the colonists acquired Indian slaves from Indian allies induced to raid enemy tribes and occasionally from slave raids of their own. Most of the Indians thus enslaved were exported to the West Indies; but many, particularly in South Carolina, found their way into the colonial labor force.²⁷ The colonists soon learned, though, that the Indians did not meet their needs any better than did the indentured whites. The supply was

²⁴ Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South (Boston: Little, Brown, 1930). 23-24.

²⁵ Wallace, 35, 186-87.

²⁶ George H. Moore, Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts (New York, 1866), 1; cited by William Sumner Jenkins, Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South (1935; reprint, Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1960), 3.

²⁷ Sirmans, 24-25.

unstable and inadequate, and the Indians did not adjust well to captivity; many either managed to escape or died within a short span of time.²⁸ Although Indian slaves continued to be held by a few individuals throughout the colonial period, the unsatisfactory qualities, the fear of reprisal, and increased governmental pressure due partly to the obvious risk to the lucrative deerskin trade and the threat of antagonizing the neighboring Spanish and their Indian allies prompted the colonists to look elsewhere for their main body of labor.²⁹

The idea of Negroes as slaves was not a new one; in fact, the Arabs began a slave trade from northern Africa as early as the eighth century, and their trade routes took the Negro slaves from Mozambique where they were then sent on to Arabia, Persia, and western India.³⁰ As for African slaves to Europe, the Portuguese had established a viable black slave trade from West Africa to Europe as much as fifty years before Columbus' voyages and had considered the undertaking so noteworthy that the (Lisbon) court chronicler Azurara was given the task of recording the beginnings of the trade.³¹ Not until the black as a slave laborer appeared to be economically feasible, however, did the English colonists intensify their efforts to develop the trade.

To the colonists, the Negro seemed to be the ideal candidate to

²⁸ Rice, 23, 44.

²⁹ Wood, 38-40.

³⁰ Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, American Negro Slavery (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1918), 9.

³¹ Gomez Eannes de Azurara, Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea, trans. C. R. Beazley and E. P. Prestage, in the Hakluyt Society Publications 95: 85; cited by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, American Negro Slavery, 1.

fill the gap left by the unsatisfactory results of using indentured white and enslaved Indian labor. In the eyes of the colonists, the advantages of black slave labor were obvious and numerous. Unlike the indentured white, the Negro was easily identifiable as a member of the slave class, and he had no racial, birth, or contractual rights to protect him. Unlike the Indian, the Negro was an alien to both white society and the country in which he was enslaved. If the Negro did try to escape, his ignorance of his surroundings coupled with his skin color served to make his recapture all the more likely. Too, an organized slave trade was already an established actuality, providing the colonists with an easy access to a guaranteed, steady supply.³² And the final argument, if the colonists really needed one, was the justification for slavery, Negro slavery in particular, as found in their interpretation of the Bible.³³

Origin of the Black Slaves

Of the trading areas along the African coast, the English dominated Gambia and shared the Gold Coast with the Dutch. The first major English trading company was chartered in 1618, but it did not deal in slaves and was short lived. Several other companies followed, and finally the Royal African Company, chartered by Charles II in 1672, began a virtual monopoly of the English slave trade to the colonies that lasted twenty-five years. Opposition from independent traders in both

³² Rice, 55-61, *passim*.

³³ William Sumner Jenkins, Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South (1935; reprint, Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1960), 6.

the colonies and England led Parliament in 1697 to open the trade to all English vessels, subject to a fee payment system based on a percentage of the value of the cargoes.³⁴ The opening of the trade was like the opening of a dam.

Black slaves brought to the colonies were from many parts of Africa, although most of them were purchased by independent slavers or company factors from tribal chiefs or kings along the western coast of Africa. The usual pattern was for a company to set up a defensible post on the African coast and barter with the chief or king for the slaves.³⁵ This pattern was subject to many uncertainties affecting the trade. Permission to trade was often at the mercy of the chief's or king's disposition; prices fluctuated according to the demand for the European goods offered for barter and the bargaining skills of the independent slaver or the company factor; in addition, the supply of slaves from the interior was by no means assured.³⁶ Not all tribes were reported as industrious as the Whydahs who, a Dutch factor asserted, could deliver a thousand slaves a month.³⁷

The destination of the slaves, whether final or intermediate, depended upon the nationality of the slaver, the section of the African coast that the slaves had been sold from, and the market demand for

³⁴ Phillips, American Negro Slavery, 23-25.

³⁵ R. R. Sellman, An Outline Atlas of World History (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970), 50.

³⁶ Rice, 106-08.

³⁷ William Bosman, Guinea (London, 1705); cited by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, American Negro Slavery, 26.

slaves in given areas. Definite trade routes had long been established by various countries between points along the African coast and colonized areas of the Antilles and the eastern coasts of North and South America. The first black slaves brought to the Carolinas did not come directly from Africa; they were Africans who had been broken into slavery by colonizers in the West Indies. After a demand was created in the Carolinas for the black slaves, they were then brought directly from Africa in ever-increasing numbers.³⁸

Judging from the records of the Charleston slave markets, the black slaves brought directly from Africa were from many tribes or regions, with the Angola Negroes the most highly prized of all. Described as "of a gentle and affectionate nature and faithful to a trust . . . of a rather low mentality . . . gullible and easily swayed by others,"³⁹ the Angolans formed 69.5 percent of the total number of slaves imported to South Carolina from 1735-1740⁴⁰ and nearly 40 percent from 1733-1807.⁴¹

South Carolina Slavery

Founded with Charles Town in 1670, South Carolina grew from an isolated settlement, caused by swamps and forests on its northern border and the Indians and the Spanish to the south, to groups of isolated plantations with large black populations which extended outward from the urban area of Charles Town. Just as the extent of the black-white contact in the mixed economy of the northern colonies shaped the Negro

³⁸ Reed Smith, Gullah (Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina, 1926), 8.

³⁹ Dubose Heyward, "The Negro in the Low-Country." The Carolina Low-Country ed. Augustine T. Smythe (New York: Macmillan, 1931), 173.

⁴⁰ Wood, 340-41.

⁴¹ Weir, 179.

there, so too the confines of his situation shaped the plantation Negro in South Carolina.⁴²

On a plantation, a definite caste system existed among the slaves, and their exposure to whites ranged accordingly. Only the house servants were in frequent contact with their masters, and those who had served in the houses for an extended period of time took on more and more mannerisms of the whites and were given some privileges.⁴³ At the other end of the scale were the field slaves. These slaves seldom came in contact with whites; they were housed separately and went only to and from the field where they were often separated by age and strength⁴⁴ into gangs supervised by black foremen.⁴⁵

Faced with the prospect of managing an ever-increasing number of black slaves for their ever-expanding plantations, the South Carolina colonists turned to Barbados for their role model.⁴⁶ Barbados was the first English colony to use blacks as its main labor force, and as the number of slaves grew there, so did the colonists' fears of a black rebellion.⁴⁷ Their fears were justified in 1675 when Barbados became

⁴² Rice, 90-91.

⁴³ Ambrose E. Gonzales, The Black Border (Columbia: State, 1922), 11.

⁴⁴ Rice, 93.

⁴⁵ Lorenzo Dow Turner, Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1949), 1.

⁴⁶ Rice, 70.

⁴⁷ Phillips, American Negro Slavery, 490.

the site of the first major black uprising in the West Indies.⁴⁸ In 1688, to ensure that a re-occurrence of an uprising would be remote, if not impossible, the Barbadians enacted a general statute designed to strengthen control over the slaves.⁴⁹ It was this legislation that the mainland colonists looked to when they began to establish legal rights for themselves as slaveholders.

Settled by former Barbadian businessmen and planters, South Carolina was begun with the premise that black slaves would be the main source of labor.⁵⁰ A substantial labor force was needed for the production of rice (introduced in 1694), indigo (introduced in 1741), and cotton (introduced in 1790). As the plantations expanded in size, the labor force grew proportionately. Although slave trade was prohibited briefly following the American Revolution, slavers resumed the trade in 1804. By the time the ban was lifted, demand for slaves was so great that from then until January 1, 1808, when the final ban was enacted by Congress, 39,075 slaves passed through the port at Charles Town.⁵¹

In enacting laws to restrict the slaves, South Carolina began with the 1688 general statute from Barbados. That law sufficed until the Stono rebellion of 1739 brought fears that freedom, physical or mental, would lead to additional uprisings. As a result, a more restrictive law was passed by the legislature in 1740. Among other things, this law stated

⁴⁸ Rice, 74.

⁴⁹ Phillips, American Negro Slavery, 491.

⁵⁰ Rice, 70, 93.

⁵¹ Heyward, 177-78.

. . . That no men slaves exceeding seven in number, shall hereafter be permitted to travel together in any high road in this province, without some white person with them . . . [and] . . . That all and every person and persons whatsoever, who shall hereafter teach, or cause any slave or slaves to be taught to write, or shall use or employ any slave as a scribe in any manner of writing whatsoever, hereafter taught to write, every such person and persons, shall, for every such offense, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds current money.⁵²

For over fifty years the 1740 law was continued in force with substantially the same wording.

Fearful of the influence of unseasoned slaves from Africa, the legislature closed the borders of South Carolina in 1792 by prohibiting the importation of slaves from without the country.⁵³ Although this prohibition was continued by subsequent acts⁵⁴ until the ban was finally lifted and the importation of slaves from the West Indies and Africa was resumed, the legislature clearly recognized the dangers of allowing the slaves to congregate for the supposed purposes of "mental instruction or religious worship." As a result, before the ban was lifted, an act was passed in 1800 that signaled the white citizens' awareness of the growing problem. In part this act decreed

. . . That from and after the passing this law, all assemblies and congregations of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes, whether composed of all or any of the above description of persons, or of all or any of the above described persons and of a proportion of white persons, assembled or met together for the purpose of mental instruction, in a confined or secret place of meeting, or with the gates or doors of such place of meeting barred, bolted or locked, so as to prevent

⁵² South Carolina, Statutes at Large, No. 670 (1740).

⁵³ South Carolina, Statutes at Large, No. 1544 (1792).

⁵⁴ South Carolina, Statutes at Large, No. 1605 (1794); South Carolina, Statutes at Large, No. 1696 (1798); South Carolina, Statutes at Large, No. 1740 (1800).

the free ingress and egress to and from the same, shall be, and the same is hereby declared to be, an unlawful meeting . . . [and]

. . . That from [and] after the passing of this Act, it shall not be lawful for any number of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes, even in company with white persons, to meet together and assemble for the purpose of mental instruction or religious worship, either before the rising of the sun or after the going down of the same. . . .⁵⁵

In 1820 to further restrict influence from free persons of color both inside and outside the state, the legislature ordered

. . . That no slave shall hereafter be emancipated but by act of the Legislature.

. . . That from and after the first day of March next, it shall not be lawful for any free negro or mulatto to migrate into this State . . . [and]

. . . That every master of a vessel or other person, who shall bring into this State, by water or by land, in any vessel or land carriage, or otherwise, any free negro or mulatto so brought, the penalty of five hundred dollars. . . . Provided, that this Act shall not extend to any masters of vessels bringing into this State any free negro or mulatto employed on board or belonging to such vessel, and who shall therewith depart; nor to any white person travelling into the State, having any free negro or mulatto as a servant. . . .⁵⁶

The most restrictive legislation, however, came into being as a reaction to the aborted uprising by Denmark Vesey. Vesey had long resented his status as a slave, and when he won a lottery, he immediately purchased his freedom with part of the money. In late 1821 and early 1822 he began a conspiracy with five Negro slaves: Gullah Jack, Monday, Rolly, Ned, and Peter. As a master strategist, Vesey's intention was to have all the slaves of Charleston and the outlying areas rise up against their owners, kill all of the whites, and assume control of that part of the state. Discovered almost on the eve of the event, the insurrection

⁵⁵ South Carolina, Statutes at Large, No. 1745 (1800).

⁵⁶ South Carolina, Statutes at Large, No. 2236 (1820).

never materialized, but the nearness of the intended massacre was enough to send many white citizens into a state bordering on panic.⁵⁷ The immediate result was an 1822 act that required, among other things,

. . . That from and after the passing of this Act, no free negro or person of color, who shall leave this State, shall be suffered to return. . . .

. . . That if any vessel shall come into any port or harbour of this State, from any other state or foreign port, having on board any free negroes or persons of color, as cooks, stewards, mariners, or in any other employment on board of said vessel, such free negroes or persons of color shall be liable to be seized and confined in jail until said vessel shall clear out and depart from this State. . . .

. . . [I]t shall be altogether unlawful for any person or persons to hire to any male slave or slaves, his or their time . . . [and]

. . . [E]very free male negro, mulatto or mestizo in this State, above the age of fifteen years, shall be compelled to have a guardian, who shall be a respectable freeholder of the district in which said free negro, mulatto or mestizo shall reside.⁵⁸

The legislature further restricted the movements of the free persons of color with an act in 1823 that stated, in part,

. . . That . . . it shall not be lawful for any free negro or person of colour to migrate into this State, or be brought or introduced into its limits, under any pretext whatever, by land or by water [and]

. . . That it shall not be lawful for any free negro or person of color, who has left the State at any time previous to the passing of this Act, or for those who may hereafter leave the State, ever return again into same.⁵⁹

Recognizing the danger of educated slaves and free persons of color

⁵⁷ Lionel H. Kennedy and Thomas Parker, An Official Report of the Trials of Sundry Negroes, Charged with an Attempt to Raise an Insurrection in the State of South-Carolina: Preceded by an Introduction and Narrative; and in an Appendix, A Report of the Trials of Four White Persons, on Indictments for Attempting to Excite the Slaves to Insurrection (Charleston: James R. Schneck, 1822), 17-20.

⁵⁸ South Carolina, Statutes at Large, No. 2277 (1822).

⁵⁹ South Carolina, Statutes at Large, No. 2319 (1823).

(Denmark Vesey could both read and write) and noting the schools for free persons of color that existed in Charleston, the legislature moved to end the source of potential risk. Its 1834 law was the most far-reaching educationally and included in its provisions the following:

. . . If any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write, or shall aid or assist in teaching any slave to read or write, or cause or procure any slave to be taught to read or write, such person, if a free white person, upon conviction thereof, shall, for each and every offence against this Act, be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars, and imprisoned not more than six months; or if a free person of color, shall be whipped, not exceeding fifty lashes, and fined not exceeding fifty dollars, at the discretion of the court of magistrates and freeholders before which such free person of color is tried; and if a slave, to be whipped at the discretion of the court, not exceeding fifty lashes; the informer to be entitled to one half of the fine, and to be a competent witness. And if any free person of color or slave shall keep any school, or other place of instruction, for teaching any slave or free person of color to read or write, such free person of color or slave shall be liable to the same fine, imprisonment and corporal punishment as are by this Act imposed and inflicted on free persons of color and slaves for teaching slaves to read or write [and]

If any person shall employ, or keep as a clerk, any slave or free person of color, or shall permit any slave or free person of color to act as a clerk or salesman, in or about any shop, store, or house used for trading, such person shall be liable to be indicted. . . .⁶⁰

The status of the slaves and the free persons of color remained restricted geographically and legislatively until after the Civil War. With the end of the war and the abolition of slavery, the whole structure of the South was transformed, and the black-white relationship ceased to exist as a relationship. What evolved was a separate existence for both

⁶⁰ South Carolina, Statutes at Large, No. 2639 (1834).

that culminated in the Plessy v. Ferguson decision of 1896 that legally paved the way for a "separate but equal" societal structure.⁶¹

⁶¹ Plessy v. Ferguson, 163, U.S. 537 (1896).

CHAPTER 3

Educational Efforts of the Eighteenth Century

1700-1750

In the colony of South Carolina, the first half of the eighteenth century was marked by a growing concern for the religious welfare of the inhabitants. Directly responsible for the educational instruction received by the slaves during this period, this concern was especially seen in the missionary efforts of the Church of England's offspring, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.⁶²

Not to be confused with its 1661 predecessor (For the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Heathen Natives of New England, and the Parts adjacent in America),⁶³ the SPGFP evolved from a plan for spreading Christian knowledge in both England and England's possessions. In 1697 Dr. Thomas Bray presented his proposal to the Bishop of London, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was born shortly thereafter. The foreign mission of this organization was soon seen as an entity within itself, and in 1701 Dr. Bray petitioned William III for a separate charter. The king was quick to grant the charter which created the SPGFP.⁶⁴

⁶² The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts is subsequently referred to as the SPGFP or the Society.

⁶³ David Humphreys, An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1730; reprint, London: SPGFP Church Review, 1851-52), 10.

⁶⁴ C. F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.: An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1900, 2 vols. (London: SPGFP, 1901), 1: 3-6.

Although the charter showed that the primary concern of the SPGFP was the provision for "Ministers to instruct Our said Loveing Subjects in the Principles of true Religion,"⁶⁵ the wording of the second section was sufficient to promote the religious instruction of the Indians and the slaves:

And Whereas Wee think it Our Duty as much as in Us lyes, to promote the Glory of God, by the Instruccion of Our People in the Christian Religion And that it will be highly conducive for accomplishing those Ends, that a sufficient Maintenance be provided for an Orthodox Clergy to live amongst them, and that such other Provision be made, as may be necessary for the Propagation of the Gospell in those Parts.⁶⁶

The third SPGFP missionary sent to America and the first one sent to South Carolina was the Rev. Mr. Samuel Thomas. He arrived in Charleston in 1702 after a particularly difficult voyage and informed the Society in a letter⁶⁷ dated January 20, 1702/3,⁶⁸ ". . . I arrived

⁶⁵ C. F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.: An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1900, 2 vols. (London: SPGFP, 1901), 2: 932.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ The original letters of the SPGFP missionaries were hand copied into letterbooks upon their arrival at the Society's headquarters in London, thus the spelling and abbreviations in the copied letters vary with the abilities/inclinations of those making the copies. The originals themselves, for the most part, did not survive. Microfilm copies of the complete set of letters exist in this country at the Library of Congress and the University of California. Other institutions, libraries, and societies have partial holdings on microfilm and in typescript form.

The SPGFP letters that are cited in this chapter have come from several sources. Those marked SCDAH are from the microfilmed copies at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History; SCL denotes the microfilmed Minutes held by the South Caroliniana Library, and the ones from the South Carolina Historical Society (SCHS) are from either their microfilm holdings or their typescript (TS) copies. In the few instances when the "original" of a letter could not be located, a secondary citation is used. Those sources are also noted after the letter entry in the footnote.

Safe att Charlestown Town on Christmas Day having been 12 weeks & 2 days at Sea. . . ."⁶⁹

Originally, Thomas was to have instructed and ministered to the Yamasee Indians⁷⁰ as part of his duties, but the Yamasees were involved in a war with the Spanish and did not have the time or the inclination to be instructed.⁷¹ Realizing the futility of trying to work among the Yamasees at that time and acting on the advice of Gov. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Thomas turned his attentions to a safer and equally deserving audience, the Negro and Indian slaves in the Cooper River district of Goose Creek.⁷²

In preparing to instruct the slaves, Thomas (as well as the other SPGFP missionaries) followed the guidelines as set forth by the Society

The spelling, even of the missionaries' names, varies widely throughout the letters and other writings of the time. As far as possible, the original spelling, capitalization, and punctuation are used; where not practical, however, the notation modernized appears following the quotation. For the missionaries' names appearing in the text, a standardized spelling is used throughout the chapter.

⁶⁸ A letter dated with double dates, as in 1702/3, was written in the latter year. Before the Gregorian calendar was adopted in 1752, March 25 was commonly used as the beginning of the new year, and the system of double dating was widely practiced until the change in calendars rendered it unnecessary.

⁶⁹ Samuel Thomas, Letter to Dr. Bray, 20 Jan. 1702/3, SCDAH.

⁷⁰ The word Yamasee appears in scholarly works in many forms, Yammasee, Yamasee, Yamassee, Yamasee, Yemassee, to name a few. For this paper, the spelling follows that used by Peter H. Wood, Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion and M. Eugene Sirmans, Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663-1763.

⁷¹ Samuel Thomas, Letter to Dr. Bray, 20 Jan. 1702/3, SCDAH.

⁷² Humphreys, 37.

in "DIRECTIONS TO THE CATECHISTS FOR INSTRUCTING INDIANS, NEGROES, &c.," which were step-by-step instructions for the SPGFP clergy. Included in these instructions were the requisite qualifications for salvation ("Repentance, Faith, and a good Life") and the means by which the slaves could become worthy:

By exercising their own Reason; by carefully reading and considering the Bible; by praying earnestly to God, that He will, for Jesus Christ's sake, afford them his assistance; and lastly, by entering themselves into the Church of Christ, or Society of Christians.⁷³

Thus, the missionaries were to teach the slaves to read so that they could understand the Bible and the principles of Christianity. The instructions to the SPGFP schoolmasters, many of whom included Negroes in their pupils, were much the same because the Society believed that "The end of education is, not only to fit the young for the business of life, but, to make them moral and religious beings."⁷⁴

With the instructions in mind, Thomas wrote to the Society about a month after his arrival that "If the Corporation would be pleased to send a few Bibles & Common Prayer Books to give to the poor Negroes I think it would be a most laudable Charity."⁷⁵ Thomas worked tirelessly among his parishioners, and after working with the slaves for a little over a year, he was able to report that

. . . by My Encouragem^t ab^t: 20 Negroes have Learn'd to read, &

⁷³ Frederick Dalcho, An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South-Carolina, from the First Settlement of the Province, to the War of the Revolution (Charleston: E. Thayer, 1820), 47-50.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁷⁵ Samuel Thomas, Letter to Dr. Woodward, 29 Jan. 1702/3, SCDAH.

I am Acquainting them as I have opportunity wth the Principles of the Christian Religion & have Lately Baptiz'd one Negro Man, & hope in some time to find more fitted for that Holy Institution.

Except for time taken up by a trip to England in 1705, Thomas worked diligently with the slaves⁷⁷ until his death in 1706 from "the pestilential fever"⁷⁸ or "Distemper."⁷⁹

Thomas' place in Goose Creek was filled by the Rev. Dr. Francis Le Jau, who approached the matter of slave conversion much more cautiously than had Thomas. While he wrote to the Society that ". . . when my house is finished I will appoint some convenient time in the week for instructing the poor and ignorant from among the white, black & Indians,"⁸⁰ he nevertheless felt that "The Negroes are generally very bad men, chiefly those that are Scholars," and he determined to ". . . baptise none but such as lead a Christian life and of whom I have a good testimony."⁸¹ For the next two and a half years, Le Jau stood firm and refused to baptize any blacks. Finally, he wrote that "on Sunday next I design God Willing to baptize two very sensible and honest Negro Men . . ." but as for the other slaves he had been instructing, "I do nothing too hastily in that respect."⁸²

⁷⁶ Samuel Thomas, Letter to Dr. Woodward, TS, 10 Mar. 1703/4, SCHS.

⁷⁷ Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, 1: 13-15.

⁷⁸ Francis Le Jau, Letter to the Secretary, 2 Dec. 1706, SCDAAH.

⁷⁹ Thomas Hasell, Letter to the Secretary, TS, 6 Sept. 1707, SCHS.

⁸⁰ Francis Le Jau, Letter to the Society, 15 Apr. 1707, SCDAAH.

⁸¹ Francis Le Jau, Letter to Mr. Stubs, 15 Apr. 1707, SCDAAH.

⁸² Francis Le Jau, Letter to the Secretary, TS, 20 Oct. 1709, SCHS.

Until he died in 1717, Le Jau continued to underscore the danger he saw inherent in slave education. He feared that "those Men have not judgement enough to make a good use of their Learning,"⁸³ and that the "bad use some Slaves make of their reading . . . [serves] to discompose their heads, and do some harm to their fellow Slaves. . . ."⁸⁴

Fortunately, not all of the SPGFP missionaries were as hesitant to teach the slaves as was Le Jau, but they were confronted with two major obstacles: Difficulty of travel and increasing opposition from the slave owners. Even when the missionaries were well situated, they had to deal with the problem of the great distance between plantations. They all had regular church duties, and their schedules did not allow much time for extensive visitations even if their pocketbooks enabled them to purchase horses to shorten the travel time. Too, some like the Rev. Mr. William Dunn of St. Paul's Parish were not well situated to begin with. As he explained to the Society, "I cannot so conveniently as the rest of my fellow Missionaries perform that part of my ministry, the visiting [of] my Parishioners, for I am settled in a place where I can see but very few of them without going by water. . . ."⁸⁵ Most of the missionaries, however, managed to make the best of their situations and included instruction of the slaves as a regular component of their duties.

The protests of the owners were not as easily overcome. Among the

⁸³ Francis Le Jau, Letter to the Secretary, TS, 1 Feb. 1709/10, SCHS.

⁸⁴ Francis Le Jau, Letter to the Secretary, TS, 3 June 1710, SCHS.

⁸⁵ William Dun, Letter to the Secretary, 24 Nov. 1707, SCDAAH.

objections were three principal ones, the first of which stemmed from the way some of the owners perceived the slaves. Partly because they had purchased the slaves and partly because the slaves seemed less intelligent than whites due to their lack of experience with the language, some of the owners saw the slaves as property, no more and no less. To them, the slaves were beasts of burden, to be used in the fields or in the houses simply to serve their owners. Le Jau repeatedly remonstrated with these owners but was forced to admit to the Society,

Many Masters can't be persuaded that Negroes and Indians are otherwise than Beasts, and use them like such. I endeavour to let them know better things, I thank God many honest men keep them in good Order; but not all to my great Sorrow, on the Contrary what I do out of Charity is not well received.⁸⁶

The argument over whether the Negro was beast or human was not resolved to everyone's satisfaction by Le Jau or even in the eighteenth century; indeed, the debate was continued into the twentieth century.⁸⁷

The second objection was on the grounds that baptism (and thereby entrance into Christianity) would free the slaves or in some way lessen the hold of the owners. As early as 1707, Dunn wrote to the Society of this problem:

There is in the said Parish a great Number of Negro and Indian slaves but tis extreme difficult to persuade their Masters to have them taught in the Christian Religion for which they give very frivolous reasons not worth mentioning; one of them is

⁸⁶ Francis Le Jau, Letter to the Secretary, TS, 22 Mar. 1708/9, SCHS.

⁸⁷ Charles Carroll, "The Negro a Beast" . . . or . . . "In the Image of God" (St. Louis: American Book and Bible House, 1900).

this, that after their Slaves are baptised they are no longer Servants, say they, but free. . . .⁸⁸

Over the next few years other missionaries reported the same problem.

As the Rev. Mr. Robert Maule explained,

. . . I cannot but take notice how strangely unwilling the Planters generally are to have their slaves made Christians out of a mistaken notion that they are free after they are baptized. I have therefore frequently made it my business among them to represent the Groundlessness of such an opinion⁸⁹

Even Le Jau, in spite of his own reservations, tried to reason with the slave owners, not the least of whom was "a lady; considerable enough in any other respect but in that of sound knowledge;" who said, "Is it possible that any of my slaves could go to heaven, and must I see them there?"⁹⁰ In the end, as he wrote to the Society,

To remove all pretence from the Adult Slaves I shall baptise of their being free upon that Account, I have thought fit to require first their consent to this following declaration You declare in the Presence of God and before this Congregation that you do not ask for the holy baptism out of any design to free yourself from the Duty and Obedience you owe to your Master while you live, but merely for the good of Your Soul and to partake of the Graces and Blessings promised to the Members of the Church of Jesus Christ.

Finally, under pressure from the planters, the missionaries, and the Society, the legislature passed "an Act for the better ordering and governing of Negroes and Slaves" on June 7, 1712. Section thirty-four

⁸⁸ William Dunn, Letter to the Secretary, 21 Apr. 1707, SCDAB.

⁸⁹ Robert Maule, Letter to John Chamberlayne, 3 June 1710, quoted by Frank J. Klingberg, An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina (Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1975), 28-29.

⁹⁰ Francis Le Jau, Letter to the Society, 18 Aug. 1711, quoted by Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, 1: 15.

⁹¹ Francis Le Jau, Letter to the Society, TS, 20 Oct. 1709, SCHS.

of the act was designed to end the baptism-equates-freedom controversy and read,

Since charity and the Christian Religion which we profess obliges us to wish well to the souls of all men, and that religion may not be made a pretence, to alter any man's property and right, and that no persons may neglect to baptise their negroes or slaves, or suffer them to be baptised, for fear that thereby they should be manumitted and set free: Be it therefore Enacted, that it shall be, and is hereby declared, lawful for any negro or Indian slave, or any other slave or slaves whatsoever, to receive and profess the Christian faith, and be thereunto baptised. But that notwithstanding such slave or slaves shall receive and profess the Christian religion, and be baptised, he or they shall not thereby be manumitted or set free, or his or their owner, master or mistress lost his or their civil right, property and authority over such slave or slaves, but that the slave or slaves, with respect to his or their servitude, shall remain and continue in the same state and condition, that he or they was in before the making of this Act.⁹²

The missionaries discovered, however, that the passage of legislation, no matter how reassuringly written, did not change the basic feelings and resultant actions of the owners. Hoping, therefore, to exert enough influence through a collective appeal in order that the Society might better understand the slave conversion situation and further act upon it, the South Carolina SPGFP clergy met on March 4, 1713, and drew up a list of "impediments":

- 1st The slaves have no time to be instructed by the Minister but on the Lord's day; and then he has work enough from the White folk on his hands. . . .
- 2ndly The Plantations are so many and so remote and distant from one another that the Slaves can't be well Assembled together for their Instruction. . . .
- 3rdly The masters of Slaves are generally of Opinion that a Slave grows worse by being a Christian. . . .
- 4thly The Legislature do's not countenance or Encourage a work of this Importance as much as it should and could. . . .
- 5thly There are many Planters who to free themselves from

⁹² Dalcho, 94-95.

the trouble of feeding and cloathing their Slaves allow them one day in the week to clear ground, & plant for themselves as much as will cloath and Subsist them and their familys. In order to [do] this some Masters give their Slaves Saturday, some half that day, & others Sunday only. . . .⁹³

Commissary Gideon Johnston presented the list to the Society on behalf of the missionaries, but the situation remained unchanged.

The slave owners' third objection, one to which there was no answer within the Church, was that education of the slaves would lead to insurrections. This view became more prevalent among the planters as the years passed, fueled by runaway slaves who wrote passes for themselves and by the slave uprisings of 1720 and 1739.⁹⁴ As the Rev. Mr. Francis Varnod of St. George's Parish explained the reason for his Jack of success among the slaves,

. . . I wish I could entertain any tolerable hope of converting our negros. But their masters are entirely against it. The most prevailing reason they pretend to have being that thereby their Slaves would have an opportunity of gathering together on the Lord's Day to make insurrections.⁹⁵

Still, there were successes, however modest, despite the opposition (overt or covert) from the owners. Benjamin Dennis, for example, the SPGFP schoolmaster for the white children of Goose Creek, reported four blacks among his pupils when he began the school in 1712, and from that time until the Indian uprising that began in 1715, he kept at least one

⁹³ Frank J. Klingberg, ed., Carolina Chronicle: The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, 1707-1716 (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1946), 123.

⁹⁴ Phillips, American Negro Slavery, 473.

⁹⁵ Francis Varnod, Letter to David Humphreys, 1 Apr. 1724, SCHS.

black student in his school.⁹⁶ And in spite of that Indian uprising (often referred to as the Yamasee War) that included "the Indians from the border of Fort St. Augustino to Cape Fear"⁹⁷ and resulted in the destruction of all but three parishes, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Hasell was able to report a steady increase of Negro baptisms from 1720 to 1727.⁹⁸ Of his own slaves, he wrote that "among y^m I have several young Ones born in y^e Country two of w^{ch} are instructed; one of y^m is Baptized & can read. . . ."⁹⁹ A few people from the lay sector, too, contributed to slave instruction. Noteworthy among these were Mrs. Haigue and Mrs. Edwards of St. Andrew's Parish who, between them, instructed twenty-seven slaves and were formally thanked for their efforts by the Society.¹⁰⁰

By 1727, however, the moderate successes were noticeably small in proportion to the total number of slaves in the parishes. In response to this situation and spurred by the numerous letters from the missionaries lamenting the owners' lack of assistance, the Bishop of London published "An address to serious Christians in England, to assist the Society for Propagating the Gospel, in carrying on the Work of Instructing the Negroes in the Plantations abroad," and he issued a

⁹⁶ Benjamin Dennis, Letter to the Secretary, 26 Feb. 1711/12, SCHS; Benjamin Dennis, Letter to John Chamberlain, 24 July 1712, SCHS; Benjamin Dennis, Letter to William Taylor, 20 Mar. 1712/13, SCHS; Benjamin Dennis, Letter to William Taylor, 22 Apr. 1714, SCHS.

⁹⁷ Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, 1: 17.

⁹⁸ Thomas Hasell, Letters to David Humphreys, 16 Feb. 1720, 15 Apr. 1724, 12 Sept. 1726, 16 Aug. 1727, SCHS.

⁹⁹ Thomas Hasell, Letter to David Humphreys, 12 May 1726, SCDAAH.

¹⁰⁰ Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, 1: 15-16.

Pastoral Letter entitled "To the Masters and Mistresses of Families in the English Plantations abroad; Exhorting them to encourage and promote the Instruction of their Negroes in the Christian faith." In the Pastoral Letter, he acknowledged and addressed the problems cited in the clergy's "list" of 1713, and he relied heavily on the owners' Christian consciences in his final arguments:

That these things may make the greater Impression upon you, let me beseech you to consider yourselves not only as Masters, but as Christian Masters, who stand obliged by your Profession to do all that your Station and Condition enable you to do, towards breaking the Power of Satan, and enlarging the Kingdom of Christ. . . . In the Next Place, let me beseech you to consider Them, not barely as Slaves, and upon the same Level with labouring Beasts, but as Men-Slaves and Women-Slaves, who have the same Frame and Faculties with yourselves, and have Souls capable of being made eternally happy, and Reason and Understanding to receive Instruction in order to [do] it. ¹⁰¹

The Society printed ten thousand copies of the Pastoral Letter and distributed them throughout the colonies.

One of the most innovative approaches to slave instruction and one that was supported by many other ministers was proposed by the Rev. Mr. Brian Hunt of St. John's Parish. He believed that the only way to ensure slave instruction was to force the owners to accept and abet it. Accordingly, he felt that the Society should ask the governor and the governing body of South Carolina to pass a law that required slave owners who had at least ten slaves "to have one of them taught to read the Bible and learn the Catechism. . . ." These instructed slaves would, in turn, teach the rest. ¹⁰² Unfortunately, Hunt's plan and appeal came

¹⁰¹ Dalcho, 104-112.

¹⁰² Brian Hunt, Letter to David Humphreys, 5 Nov. 1725, SCMS.

to nothing, and by 1728 he returned to England with his enthusiasm gone, his spirit broken, and none of the fifteen hundred Negro slaves in his parish instructed or baptized.¹⁰³ Along these same lines, another missionary, the Rev. Mr. Alexander Garden, even went so far as to consult members of the Assembly about a similar plan involving owners of eighty to one hundred slaves. He was told "that as it would touch Men's Properties, they could pass no such law or rather would not do it, being most of them parties concerned. . . ."¹⁰⁴

Successes continued to be small and sporadic until the slave uprising of 1739 renewed the planters' fears of the blacks who, by this time, vastly outnumbered the whites everywhere in South Carolina except Charleston. As it happened, a number of blacks broke into a warehouse near Stono River, killing two men and taking guns and ammunition. They then proceeded southwest (toward St. Augustine where the Spaniards offered freedom to runaway black slaves), killing all of the whites in the houses in their path. Governor Bull happened to be returning to Charleston and saw them without himself being seen. Fortunately for the whites, many of them were gathered nearby at a Presbyterian church and were able to respond immediately to Bull's summons. Meanwhile, the blacks had collected additional slaves from the houses that they had attacked, but they stopped after about twelve miles to celebrate with a little singing, dancing, and confiscated rum. There, the militia caught up with them and quelled the uprising. Even though the danger was past,

¹⁰³ Brian Hunt, Letter to David Humphreys, 6 May 1728, SCHS.

¹⁰⁴ SPCFP, Minutes 1740-1744, 19 Sept. 1740, SCL.

"All Carolina was struck with terror and consternation by this insurrection" [spelling modernized], and the colonists determined to take steps against another attempt.¹⁰⁵

Ultimately, the colonists' fears led them to push for the restrictive legislation that was passed in 1740.¹⁰⁶ For the SPGFP missionaries and others endeavoring to instruct blacks, the prohibition on slave education, specifically the teaching of reading and writing, could have proven the most damaging to their work. Strangely enough, though, the law did not seem to affect the Society's efforts in the least, for in that same year Commissary Alexander Garden¹⁰⁷ outlined his plan for a school for Negroes in Charleston.

Although some scholars give Hugh Bryan, a religious fanatic, credit for opening the first school for Negroes in Charleston in 1740, no evidence was found to support that assertion.¹⁰⁸ The credit for the first Negro school in Charleston belongs entirely to the SPGFP.

¹⁰⁵ Alexander Hewatt, An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, 2 vols. (1779; reprint, Spartanburg: Reprint, 1971), 1: 72-74.

¹⁰⁶ South Carolina, Statutes at Large, No. 670 (1740).

¹⁰⁷ The Rev. Mr. Alexander Garden came to South Carolina in 1719 and served in St. Philip's Parish. In 1726 he was made Commissary, retaining that title and position until ill health forced him to resign in 1749. (Klingberg gives this date as 1755.) He continued his positions as rector for St. Philip's and as administrator for the Negro school until he resigned those in 1755. He died in 1756. He is not to be confused with his nephew, the Rev. Mr. Alexander Garden, missionary to St. Thomas' Parish from 1744 to 1765, or his son Alexander Garden, a botanist who sided with England in the Revolutionary War, or his grandson Alexander Garden, who remained loyal to the colonies during the war. (See Klingberg, Appraisal, 103, 118.)

¹⁰⁸ The statement, "Hugh Bryan, a wealthy and deeply pious Presbyterian, opened a school for Negroes in Charleston in 1740,"

The Society's efforts at organized Negro education were, from the first, both structured and well planned. As early as 1704 a SPGFP school for Negroes opened in New York, but the circumstances in South

appeared nearly word-for-word in several works; however, while many facts came to light during subsequent research, none of them tied Bryan to Negro education. Bryan, along with his brothers Jonathan and Joseph, left the Church of England in 1740 over a dispute about the treatment of a Rev. George Whitefield. It was then they became Presbyterians, organizing the Stony Creek Independent Presbyterian Church in 1742 with the assistance of Stephen Bull (Redding). Bryan had been captured in the Indian war of 1715 and was held for about a year (Living Christianity). A conservative description of him in later years pictured him as "a man full of emotion [whose] . . . religious feeling often led him into rhapsodies" (Redding).

While he and his brother Jonathan did feel strongly about saving the Negroes spiritually and preached to them, often using private homes as well as Jonathan's barn for their meetings (Redding), Hugh Bryan let his religious zeal get the better of him. After prophesying that "Charles Town and the Country as far as Ponpon Bridge should be destroyed by fire and sword, to be executed by the Negroes before the first of next Month [April 1742]," he then "lived for several days in the woods barefooted and alone and with his pen and Ink to write down his prophecies till at length he went with a wan[d] to divide the waters and predicted he should die that night. But upon finding both fail—the water continued as it was, and himself a living Instance of the fality of his own predictions—was convinced he was not guided by the infalible spirit but that of delusion . . ." (Lucas). The matter was brought before the Commons House early in March of 1742 (Easterly and Green), and the Grand Jury heard of it later that same month (South-Carolina Gazette). The Grand Jury noted that "great Bodies of Negroes have assembled together" in defiance of the law, and they recommended that "effectual and speedy Measures be taken to prevent and suppress the same," while enjoining "Hugh Bryan, Jonathan Bryan, William Gilbert, Robert Ogle and all other Persons" from again "preaching [to Negroes in] private Houses" [spelling modernized] (South-Carolina Gazette).

For a more complete account of Hugh Bryan, see the following: J. H. Easterby and Ruth S. Green, eds., The Colonial Records of South Carolina, Series I: The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, 1736-1750 (Columbia: South Carolina Historical Commission, 1953), Commons Journal 1741-42, 461-62; Alexander Garden, Letter to the Bishop of London, 28 Jan. 1741; Living Christianity Delineated, in the Diaries and Letters of Two Eminent Pious Persons Lately Deceased (London: J. Buckland, 1760); Eliza Lucas, Memdram [memorandum of a letter to George Lucas], 11 Mar. 1741/2, SCHS, Pinckney Papers, Letterbook 40; Mrs. J. H. Redding, Life . . . and . . . Times . . . of . . . Jonathan Bryan, 1708-1788 (Savannah: Morning News Print, 1901); and South-Carolina Gazette, 27 Mar. 1742.

Carolina were far different. Garden analyzed the attitudes of the colonists in South Carolina and reported his recommendations for the most effective method of approaching black education there. In his letter of May 6, 1740, as reported in the Society's Minutes, he gave his reasoning and conclusion:

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 and Languages, for in this view it always has, and ever, will appear insuperable. But,

2nd It must commence and be carried on among such of them only, as are Home Born, and under the age of 10 years.

3rd Neither will the work thus limited even turn out to any tolerable effect in the hands of the Masters and Mistresses of Slaves, much less in the hands of any White Schoolmasters or Mistresses that may be sent from England, or otherwise employed in it. And therefore,

4th His conclusion is, that the above effectual method of proceeding in the work as above limited, must be by Negroes Schoolmasters Home Born and equally property as other Slaves, but educated for this service, and employed in it during life, as the others are in any other Services whatsoever.

Garden additionally anticipated a strong positive response on the part of the colonists and felt that the school could eventually be run "wholly on the bottom of charity."¹⁰⁹

To begin the school, he asked that the Society authorize the purchase of "3, 4, or 5 [Negro boys] more or less not under the age of 12, nor exceeding that of 16 years" who would be taught over the span of two years. At the end of that time, Garden believed, the boys would be ready to act as schoolmasters. The eventual outcome of this venture, Garden maintained, would be that

. . . but for the space of 20 years, the knowledge of the Gospel among those other slaves of such Colony in General,

¹⁰⁹ SPGFP, Minutes 1740-1744, 19 Sept. 1740, SCL.

excepting those newly imported, would not be much inferior to that of the lowest sort of white people, Servants & Day Labourers (especially in the country) either in England or elsewhere.¹¹⁰

In less than a month the committee appointed to look into Garden's proposal reported its findings to the Society. The Society as a whole then "Agreed [with] the opinion of the Committee . . . that so much Encouragement be given to M^r Commissary Gardens' Proposal, as to empower him, together with M^r Hassel and M^r Guy . . . to buy two male Negro Children. . ." [spelling modernized].¹¹¹

Finding that his proposal for the use of the Negro schoolteachers had not been clearly understood, Garden clarified and enlarged upon his plan:

I would propose that one of them be appointed a School Master for the Instruction of the Negro or Slave Children of Charlestown, under the Care & Inspection of myself & two more such Persons. . . . The other Slave to be employed in like Manner in one or other of the best Settled Country Parishes under the Care & Inspection of the Missionary & two other proper Persons who will provide also that a School house be erected in such place, as the greatest number of children for 2 miles round may attend. And so on in this Method, as the Society may increase their Number of such Schoolmasters till the Several Parishes be all supplied.¹¹²

After receiving permission to proceed with his plan and to purchase two slaves, Garden then began to search for boys that were suitable, finally purchasing Andrew and Harry from William Cattell for 366 pounds early in 1742.¹¹³ By the summer the Society noted in its Minutes that

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ SPGFP, Minutes 1740-1744, 17 Oct. 1740, SCL.

¹¹² Alexander Garden, Letter to Philip Bearcroft, 20 May 1741, SCDAH.

¹¹³ William Cattell, Bill of Sale, 4 Apr. 1742, SCDAH.

Garden had bought the boys,

. . . the one named Harry of 14, and the other Andrew of 15 Years of Age, who had both been Baptized in their Infancy, and could say the Church Catechism but knew not a Letter of the Alphabet, and that they have been ever since under his Roof, and go daily to School, and shall continue to do so till qualified for their intended Service, which he doubts not but they will be in 18 or 20 Months time. . . .¹¹⁴

And by the fall Garden informed the Society: "One of the s^d Boys [Harry] proves of an excellent Genius, & can now . . . read the N. Testament exceeding well. In six Months more he will be thröly qualified. . . . As to the other Boy [Andrew], he is of a somewhat slower Genius. . . ."¹¹⁵

Enough progress had been made by Harry that by January 1743, Garden was prompted to write, "The Negro school succeeds to my hart's desire"¹¹⁶ Accordingly, he placed an advertisement in the South-Carolina Gazette to inform the public of the school in Charleston and to solicit contributions toward the building of a schoolhouse. In the advertisement, he summarized the undertaking and announced that ". . . all the Negro and Indian Children of this Parish may be sent for education, without any Charge to their Masters or Owners" [spelling modernized]. He further expressed "hope that the Inhabitants thereof will voluntarily contribute . . . for building a . . . School-House . . .

¹¹⁴ SPGFP, Minutes 1740-1744, 16 July 1742, SCL.

¹¹⁵ Alexander Garden, Letter to Philip Bearcroft, 24 Sept. 1742, SCDAH.

¹¹⁶ Alexander Garden, Letter to Philip Bearcroft, 31 Jan. 1743, SCDAH.

which [would be built] on a corner Piece of the Glebe Land near the Parsonage" [spelling modernized].¹¹⁷

The school duly opened on September 12, 1743, but the schoolhouse was not finished until the next month. At that time, Garden gave a status report:

The N^o is already (a Month's time) increased to About 30, & is daily increasing, so as I soon expect more than one Master can well manage. And therefore as the other youth . . . is not yet sufficiently qualified to teach by himself, I shall employ him as an Assistant in this School for his Improvement, & till some other Parish shall provide proper Accommodations for him.

In the same letter, he predicted that "After the first two years, the School will annually turn out 30 or 40 young ones. . . ."¹¹⁸

At the Society's annual meeting in London in 1744, the Secretary, the Rev. Mr. Philip Bearcroft, addressed the group and praised the efforts of the South Carolinians because they "have built and endowed many Churches, with Glebes Manses and Salaries for the Incumbents. . . ." Further, he commended Garden and reported that "Upwards of 60 children" were enrolled in the Negro school, "18 of whom read in the Testament, well; 20 in the Psalter, and the rest were in the Spelling-Book."¹¹⁹

Back in Charleston, however, Andrew was still not living up to expectations. Finally accepting the fact that Andrew would never be able to teach by himself, Garden wrote to the Society, asking permission

¹¹⁷ South-Carolina Gazette, 14 Mar. 1743, 21 Mar. 1743, 28 Mar. 1743, 4 Apr. 1743, 11 Apr. 1743, 18 Apr. 1743.

¹¹⁸ Alexander Garden, Letter to Philip Bearcroft, 10 Oct. 1743, SCDAH.

¹¹⁹ Dalcho, 156-57.

to sell him and to purchase another potential schoolteacher.¹²⁰ In spite of the problems with Andrew, though, the school continued to do well, enabling Garden to report, "The school still continues of upwards of 60 children, & 3 or 6 have been already discharged, as sufficiently instructed."¹²¹

By 1746, the state of Garden's health had declined to the point where he felt that a trip to England would help. Arriving there on the 24th of June, he gave a first-hand account of the school to the Society. He reported that there were fifty-five children enrolled in the day classes and fifteen adults taught in the evening. The accomplishments of the school induced him to recommend that the Society expand its educational efforts along similar lines in other mission fields. Feeling better (no doubt mentally as well as physically), he returned to South Carolina, arriving in the fall¹²² and there found a letter from Bearcroft awaiting him. In the letter, Bearcroft wrote on behalf of the Society that "The success of the Negroe School is most acceptable. . . ."¹²³

The school continued to flourish. In his reports of 1747, Garden cited forty children who had successfully finished and who had been

¹²⁰ Alexander Garden, Letter to Philip Bearcroft, 18 Oct. 1744, Klingberg, Appraisal, 114-15.

¹²¹ Alexander Garden, Letter to Philip Bearcroft, 23 Apr. 1745, SCDAH.

¹²² Dalcho, 159.

¹²³ Philip Bearcroft, Letter to Alexander Garden, 2 July 1746, SCDAH.

discharged within the two previous years;¹²⁴ during 1748 fifteen more finished, with "5 or 6 more . . . on the point of being discharged as equally qualified;"¹²⁵ and in 1750 Garden recorded, "I have only to add that the Soc^{ys} Negroe School at Cha^s Town continues to go on with all desirable Success, and last Year discharg'd about 17 Scholars, duly qualified as propos'd."¹²⁶

1750-1800

While the first fifty years of the eighteenth century were notable for the gradual increase in the efforts for Negro education in coastal South Carolina, the second half of the century saw those gains fade after the Society closed its Charleston school. The end of the school did not come about immediately, though, and many more blacks received their basic education there before the closing.

Even though Garden had resigned as Commissary in 1749,¹²⁷ he continued as rector of St. Philip's Parish and as the administrator of the Charleston school. Despite the setback suffered from the lack of results from Andrew, Garden was enjoying the success of the school in 1750. Although the Society had granted permission for Andrew's sale and the purchase of another slave in 1745, it was not until 1750 that Andrew was actually sold. The delay was caused by an injury Andrew sustained

¹²⁴ Dalcho, 161.

¹²⁵ Alexander Garden, Letter to Philip Bearcroft, 22 Nov. 1748, SCDAH.

¹²⁶ Alexander Garden, Letter to Philip Bearcroft, 9 Sept. 1750, SCDAH.

¹²⁷ Dalcho, 162.

and by Garden's concern that he be in good health before being sold. By September of that year, however, the bruise was gone and so was Andrew.¹²⁸

Throughout the next year the school prospered, as Garden noted in his letters of February:

I sincerely wish that the Society were eyewitnesses of the Success of their negro-School in Charlestown. & how serviceable it proves for spreading the Sight of the Blessed Gospel among those poor heathens, & how much they rejoice on it [.]¹²⁹

and November: "The Society's negro school continues to go on with all desirable success,"¹³⁰ with twenty children that year completing their studies and being discharged.¹³¹

Garden was able to meet most difficulties with the same calmness that was characterized by his recital of the effects of a devastating hurricane that hit Charleston in 1752. In a post script to a letter, he mentioned, almost as an afterthought, "About a Month after the late Hurricane, which destroy^d the Negro School House, I had another ready prepar'd for that Service; & the said School goes on with the usual success."¹³² One thing that he could not overcome, however, was his declining health. The state of his health worsened to such an extent

¹²⁸ Alexander Garden, Letter to Philip Bearcroft, 9 Sept. 1750, SCDAH.

¹²⁹ Alexander Garden, Letter to Philip Bearcroft, 4 Feb. 1750/1, SCDAH.

¹³⁰ Alexander Garden, Letter to Philip Bearcroft, 20 Nov. 1751, SCDAH.

¹³¹ Dalcho, 164.

¹³² Alexander Garden, Letter to Philip Bearcroft, 29 Dec. 1752, SCDAH.

that by 1755, he felt compelled to resign his duties as pastor of St. Philip's as well as those as administrator of the school.¹³³

Garden's place at St. Philip's and at the school was filled by the Rev. Mr. Richard Clarke, who noted that the school had nearly seventy children (both male and female) enrolled when he took over.¹³⁴ In 1757, he reported the continuing success of the school,¹³⁵ but Clarke's tenure did not last long enough for him to take the same all-encompassing interest in the school as had Garden. After only four years' service, Clarke resigned, and his position was filled by his assistant, the Rev. Mr. Robert Smith.¹³⁶

Smith "examined the proficiency of the children twice a week, and the School was deemed a flourishing and useful institution"¹³⁷ until 1764 when it was closed. Several circumstances probably led to the closing, including the resignation and death of its mentor (Garden), the death of Harry in 1764, the failure on anyone's part to carry out the rest of Garden's plan by purchasing another teacher-slave, and the Society's gradual withdrawal from financial participation in the mission field in the American colonies. As for the latter, the Society withdrew its assistance from the parishes as they began to be supported by colonial funds. By 1763, all but four missionaries in South Carolina

¹³³ DaIcho, 165-66.

¹³⁴ Klingberg, Appraisal, 119.

¹³⁵ DaIcho, 178.

¹³⁶ Klingberg, Appraisal, 120.

¹³⁷ DaIcho, 193.

received support from other sources,¹³⁸ and by the time of the American Revolution the Society supported only one missionary.¹³⁹ In 1785 the Society withdrew entirely from the mission field in the United States.¹⁴⁰

By 1765, too, the colonists found that other concerns had begun to occupy their thoughts. Relations with England were becoming strained and the seeds of revolt were beginning to take shape:

The Stamp duty begins to make a noise in Town [Charleston] Our Stamp officer is just arrived; a day or two before his arrival they burnt him and lord Bute in effigy with great parade, as soon as the vessel appeared which he was on board of. The mob assembled to receive him and would I suppose have torn him in pieces but he was so wise as to declare he would not act in that office till his Majesty's further pleasure was known. The mob soon changed their threats and menaces into shouts of Joy and conducted him to his house with loud acclamations¹⁴¹ of applause amid the mingled Concert of Drums, Bells &c. &c.

With the war an actuality and economic trade with England suspended, there was "a greater Demand for men than for Rice just now in Charles Town. . . . [and] they press every Negro that they meet in the Streets by Day Light in order to work upon an Additional Battery. . . ." ¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Klingberg, Appraisal, 99.

¹³⁹ Klingberg, Carolina Chronicle, 170.

¹⁴⁰ Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, 1: 79.

¹⁴¹ Rich^d [Richard] Hutson, Letter to Joel Benedict, 30 Oct. 1765, Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Southern Historical Collection, Charles Woodward Hutson Papers No. 362.

¹⁴² Rich^d [Richard] Hutson, Letter to Thomas Hutson, 7 June 1776, Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Southern Historical Collection, Charles Woodward Hutson Papers No. 362.

Additionally, the lack of markets for products caused a financial depression that lasted throughout the war.¹⁴³

Nothing lasts forever, however, and by 1777 the white residents of South Carolina had cause to rejoice and to believe that life would soon return to normal. As a resident of Charleston wrote, "Our first Parents could not have quitted Paradise with more reluctance than the Tories do Carolina's happy shores. . . . Rice is down to 55/ again, but I think it will soon be up again."¹⁴⁴

The war ended, prosperity returned, and people again concerned themselves with the ordinary routine of their lives. By 1790 life along the South Carolina coast had stabilized enough to permit the first comprehensive census and the establishment of the Brown Fellowship Society, a benevolent society for free (male) persons of color, organized as the brainchild of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Frost, minister of St. Philip's Church in Charleston.¹⁴⁵

The position of the blacks in Charleston was a little different from that of their plantation counterparts. Although abuse by slave owners was still a problem, many slaves enjoyed a greater measure of freedom because Charleston itself was a fairly liberal city. Of the 107,860 people living in the three coastal districts in 1790, 78,000 of

¹⁴³ Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, The Slave Labor Problem in the Charleston District (n.d.; reprint, Boston: Ginn, 1907), 425.

¹⁴⁴ Rich^d [Richard] Hutson, Letter to Issac Hayne, 22 Mar. 1777, Univ. of North Carolina Chapel Hill Southern Historical Collection, Charles Woodward Hutson Papers No. 362.

¹⁴⁵ C. W. Birnie, "Education of the Negro in Charleston, South Carolina, Prior to the Civil War," Journal of Negro History 12 (Jan. 1927): 15.

them were slaves, and 1,216 were in the category "All other free persons" that was composed mainly of free blacks. The combined parishes of St. Philip's and St. Michael's that constituted the city of Charleston were the smallest by far of all the parishes in land mass; however, they surpassed the rest in the number of "other free persons" and total population, and they were second only to St. Bartholomew's (the largest parish) in the number of slaves.¹⁴⁶ In order to manage 586 "other free persons" and 7,684 slaves, the people of Charleston had to allow some give and take to occur. The group to derive the most benefit from the white Charlestonians' attitude was that of the free persons of color.

Organized in 1790 as the city's first non-white benevolent society, the Brown Fellowship Society "was formed by 'free brown men who were natives of Charleston . . . to promote the welfare and happiness of one another.'"¹⁴⁷ According to the society's rules, there could not be more than fifty or less than five members at any given time, all of whom had to be at least twenty-one years of age.¹⁴⁸ Although the society began as a "mutual benefit burial association"¹⁴⁹ with the motto "'Charity and Benevolence,' the society educated children, supported orphans, helped

¹⁴⁶ U.S., Bureau of the Census, Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790 (Washington: GPO, 1908), 9.

¹⁴⁷ Robert P. Stockton, "Black Benevolent Society Minutes Go to College," The [Charleston] News and Courier, 15 Dec. 1972: A8.

¹⁴⁸ Brown Fellowship (Century) File, Untitled TS report, SCHS.

¹⁴⁹ Stockton, A8.

widows and the needy, and showed other kindnesses."¹⁵⁰ As the old century turned into the new, it began to seem as if change for the better would be in store, at least for Charleston's free persons of color.

¹⁵⁰ Brown Fellowship (Century) File, Untitled TS report, SCHS.

CHAPTER 4

Educational Efforts of the Nineteenth Century

1800-1850

For the white inhabitants of coastal South Carolina, the new century brought with it a feeling of well-being bordering on complacency. The war with England was far enough in the past for the residents to minimize the sordid portions and to remember only those parts from which patriotic songs and legends are made. Trade and relations with the rest of the world had long been resumed; rice was doing well, and the market for short-staple cotton created by Whitney's invention was offset for the planters of sea island (long-staple) cotton by the increase in the demand for (and thus the value of) black slaves.¹⁵¹ The slave trade, closed since 1792, was reopened, and nearly 40,000 blacks were processed through Charleston's slave markets by 1807. Many of those slaves found themselves taken to the outlying rice plantations where they "formed a significant percentage of the tidewater labor force."¹⁵²

The blacks thus situated had little time in their lives for luxuries like education. Theirs was a world of work and work only:

The horn is blown soon after the dawn of the day, when all the hands destined for the field must be 'on the march.' If the field is far from their huts, they take their breakfast with them. They toil till about ten o'clock, when they eat it.

¹⁵¹ Phillips, Slave Labor, 426.

¹⁵² Freehling, 11.

They then continue their toil till the sun is set.¹⁵³

Though a few slaves taught themselves to read, this was a rare occurrence, and when it did happen, it was almost always the accomplishment of a "house" slave, one who was exposed to the owner's family to a large extent. While "The few slaves who learned to read gained immeasurable status in the quarters because they had a secret mirror on the outside world and could keep the others informed of events which were transpiring there,"¹⁵⁴ the 1740 law discouraged all but "A Few well-disposed white young persons . . . [who] ventured to teach them, but they dare[d] not let it be known. . . ."¹⁵⁵

The free persons of color, however, banded together as never before to provide mutual support and educational opportunities for their children. The Brown Fellowship Society continued to prosper, purchasing a lot in 1803 from the College of Charleston and erecting a building on it in 1804.¹⁵⁶ Many other societies were formed about which little is known but the names: The Humane and Friendly Society, established in 1802 and composed of "free brown men";¹⁵⁷ the Friendly Union Society,

¹⁵³ Theodore D. Weld, ed., "Narrative and Testimony of Rev. Francis Hawley," American Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1839), 95.

¹⁵⁴ John W. Blassingame, The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1979), 312.

¹⁵⁵ Narrative of the Life of Moses Grandy, Late a Slave in the United States of America (Boston: Oliver Johnson, 1844), 36; reprinted in Five Slave Narratives: A Compendium, ed. William Loren Katz (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1968), 36.

¹⁵⁶ Stockton, A8.

¹⁵⁷ William C. Nell, The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution (1855; reprint, New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1963), 246.

established in 1813; the Brotherly Society, established sometime after 1813; and the Unity and Friendship Society, established sometime after 1813.¹⁵⁸

One of the societies of the time that was dedicated entirely to the education of "orphan or indigent colored children" and to the provision "for their necessary wants" was the Minors' Moralists Society, begun in 1803 by seven "free colored men."¹⁵⁹ More is known about the Minors' Moralists Society than about most of the other societies due to the later accomplishments of one of its pupils, the Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Payne.¹⁶⁰ In his autobiography, Payne devoted several pages to the Society and to his educational experiences as a student. The Society, he wrote,

consisted of fifty members, who contributed five dollars each at first, and paid thereafter the monthly sum of twenty-five cents each. As many as six children were at one time receiving its care and attention.¹⁶¹

Entering the school at about eight years of age (1819), Payne studied there for two years. After leaving the Society's school, he was instructed by Thomas S. Bonneau, whom he described as "the most

¹⁵⁸ Birnie, 15.

¹⁵⁹ Daniel Alexander Payne, Recollections of Seventy Years (1888; reprint, New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1968), 14.

¹⁶⁰ After his teaching experiences in Charleston, Payne studied at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Gettysburg, PA. Joining the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1841, he was elected a bishop in 1852. When he was chosen to be the first president of Wilberforce University, he became the first black college president in the United States. He received the LL.D. degree from Lincoln University in 1880 and the D.D. from Wilberforce (after his thirteen-year tenure as president). In 1881 he became the first black to preside over the Universal Methodist family at the Ecumenical conference in London, England. For a brief but fairly comprehensive biography, see William J. Simmons, Men of Mark: Eminent, Progressive and Rising.

¹⁶¹ Payne, 14.

popular school-master in the city," for the next three years. During those five years, he

learned to spell, read, and write, and "cipher" as far as the "Rule of Three." The chief books used for reading were monographs of the histories of Greece, Rome, and England; while the "Columbian Orator"¹⁶² was the book used for training in the art of speaking.

As for "geography and map-drawing, English grammar and composition," Payne continued, "I knew nothing, because they were not taught in any of the colored schools."¹⁶³ After about a year with a shoe merchant, four and a half years as a carpenter, and nine months as a tailor, Payne joined the ranks of the city's private teachers.¹⁶⁴

At that time and until the Civil War, there were many private teachers in Charleston who taught the children of free persons of color and occasionally slaves whose masters wanted them to handle certain business matters for them. (The 1740 law was still in effect but was not enforced vigorously in the city.) By 1820 there were over three thousand free persons of color living and working in Charleston, and by 1830 that number nearly doubled. They worked as contractors, merchants, coal and wood dealers, and artisans; and some of them became extremely wealthy men, worth from \$15,000 to \$125,000.¹⁶⁵

Among the teachers who kept private schools for black children were those whose names have been lost; others left nothing behind but their names and sometimes the location of their schools: Mr. Munns (or Munz); Simeon Beard, Wall Street; Edward Beard, Coming Street near Duncan

¹⁶² Ibid., 15.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 21.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 15.

¹⁶⁵ Birnie.

Street; William Feerette, Market Street; Mr. Mood, Beaufain Street; Mr. Seymour, George Street; Fannie Bonneau, Coming Street; Amelia Barnett, Mary Street; and Henry Frost, Magazine Street. Occasionally, an additional odd fact or two was left behind: Andrew Miller's school was established about 1830; Mr. Wallace was a white man whose school was on Beaufain Street; Mary Witzell was a white woman who kept a school on Anson Street; Mr. Kegney, whose school was at the corner of Radcliffe and St. Philip Streets, was a white Roman Catholic; and Kittie Soloman was believed to be a refugee from Haiti.¹⁶⁶

Of four teachers, however, a little more is known. Mrs. Stoner, a free woman of color, began a school in 1820 which stayed in existence until the Civil War. After emancipation and the establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau, she became one of the first teachers in the schools organized under the auspices of the Bureau. Mr. W. W. Wilburn, a white man whose school was on Coming Street opposite Bull Street, "was paid a regular salary," and the "financial affairs of this school were managed by a board of Trustees elected by the patrons."¹⁶⁷ Payne's Thomas S. Bonneau taught from 1803 until 1828 or 1829, and his school was large enough to warrant the employment of two assistants, William McKinney and F. K. Sasportas.¹⁶⁸

The fourth teacher was Daniel A. Payne, who began his first school in 1829 in a house on Tradd Street. He taught three children during the day and three adult slaves at night, all of whom paid him fifty cents a

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 19.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 18.

month tuition. Finding his monthly teaching income of three dollars discouraging, he left the teaching profession briefly at the end of the year but returned and reopened his school in 1830. His second attempt was so successful that he had to move the school three times between then and 1835 to accommodate the number of students.¹⁶⁹

Payne's own education, although good for the time, still consisted of the fundamentals of reading, writing, arithmetic, history, and elocution. For everything else, he taught himself. He purchased an atlas "and in about six months was able to construct maps of the Mercator's and globular projection." He then introduced geography and "map-drawing" to his students. For English grammar, he memorized Murray's Primary Grammar and later worked with Playfair's Euclid. He used Barrett's Geography of the Heavens to learn "descriptive chemistry, natural philosophy, and descriptive anatomy." One of the last areas he attempted was that of foreign languages:

Then, on a Thursday morning, I bought a Greek grammar, a lexicon, and a Greek Testament. On the same day I mastered the Greek alphabet; on Friday I learned to write them; on Saturday morning I translated the first chapter of Matthew's Gospel from Greek into English. My very soul rejoiced and exulted, in this glorious triumph. Next came the Latin and the French.¹⁷⁰

Every area from which Payne learned was added to his school's curriculum.

Finally, as Payne recorded, "My school increased in popularity, and became the most popular of the five which then existed. It numbered about sixty children from most of the leading families of Charleston."¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Payne, 19-20.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 21-22.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 25.

His fees had doubled, and he also gave "private instruction to three ladies, the daughters of . . . Mr. Thomas S. Bonneau."¹⁷²

His good fortune was short-lived, however, as the 1822 ill-fated Charleston uprising of Denmark Vesey (who could read and write), the 1831 Virginia slave rebellion led by Nat Turner (who also could read and write), and the ever-increasing educated free person of color population throughout South Carolina prompted the white citizens to take a serious look at the educational freedoms of those free persons of color. The result was "an Act to Amend the Law Relating to Slaves and Free Persons of Color," drawn up by two lawyers from Charleston who were members of the legislature in December 1834 and effective April 1, 1835. Under the provisions of this law, a white person had to be present when free persons of color were taught.¹⁷³

Payne believed that the proficiency of his students had induced the action that brought about the law. In the course of his studies in zoology, he had contracted to purchase a particular snake from a slave belonging to Lionel Kennedy, a Charleston lawyer who was a member of the legislature. On a Saturday in the summer of 1834, Payne sent three students from his advanced class to Kennedy's plantation which was located about a mile outside the city. When they arrived, they found Kennedy and his son, who demanded to know why the boys were there. Upon hearing the story of and purpose for the snake,

. . . they asked the lads to tell them what were the different things taught them, and they also examined them in their

¹⁷² Ibid., 36.

¹⁷³ South Carolina, Statutes at Large, No. 2639 (1834).

studies. The boys answered every question put to them except one. Then said the young doctor, [Kennedy]: "why, pa, Payne is playing hell in Charleston."¹⁷⁴

Although Payne felt he could not continue under the new restrictions and closed his school at the end of March 1835,¹⁷⁵ not all teachers followed suit. Some were white and were thus unaffected by the law, and others worked under the sponsorship of friendly whites. The Minors' Moralists Society, begun in 1803, continued for twelve years after the passage of the law, finally closing its doors in 1847 "when, from the decrease of many useful members and other local causes . . ." it was impractical to continue.¹⁷⁶ The Brown Fellowship Society, too, continued through this period. Unlike the Minors' Moralists Society, however, it was still in existence at the middle of the century.

Of the black students in school after the passage of the 1834 law, at least two of them rose to prominence in later years. Samuel C. Watson, a native of St. James' Parish, began his education in about 1840 or before, subsequently continuing his studies in the North and becoming a pharmacist in Detroit.¹⁷⁷ Another, Francis L. Cardoza, was born in Charleston and went to school there from about 1842 to 1849. After saving money while working as a journeyman, he studied four years at the university at Galsgow, Scotland, and three years at the Presbyterian seminaries in Edinburgh and London. In 1868 he became the Secretary of

¹⁷⁴ Payne, 25-26.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁷⁷ William J. Simmons, Men of Mark: Eminent, Progressive and Rising (1887; reprint, New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1968), 860-65.

State of South Carolina and later a professor of Latin at Howard University.¹⁷⁸

As the century neared the midpoint, the educational progress made by the blacks, particularly by free persons of color, in the early part of the century was threatened but certainly not halted by the 1834 law and increasing distrust and suspicion on the part of the whites. Blacks continued to gain in numbers in the South and in influence in the North, and many blacks saw education as the key to freedom. As a wealthy slave owner told Daniel Payne, "'Do you know what makes the difference between the master and the slave? Nothing but superior knowledge."¹⁷⁹

1850-1900

The 1850s was a time when the Southern whites and the Northern whites squared off while the free persons of color in coastal South Carolina quietly went about the business of living, working, and obtaining an education. The slaves continued to be the greater part of the labor force and were kept in ignorance as much as possible so as to keep them submissive.

Of these blacks who attended school in coastal South Carolina despite the increasingly repressive climate, several stand out. The Rev. Dr. E. M. Brawley, born in Charleston of free parents, began his formal education in 1856 when he was four years old. At that time,

. . . he was placed in a private school taught by an old lady. Here he remained several years and learned to read. Later he went to a school of a higher grade until the troubles occurred incidental to the uprising of John Brown, when the school was closed.

¹⁷⁸ Simmons, 428-31.

¹⁷⁹ Payne, 19-20.

After continuing his education in Philadelphia after 1861, Brawley became the first black to enter Bucknell University. In 1883, he was named president of the Alabama Baptist Normal and Theological School.¹⁸⁰ J. W. Morris, who was a year younger than Brawley, attended Simeon Beard's school in Charleston. After the war he resumed his education by entering the public school system there. Upon graduation from Howard University, he obtained a degree in law from the University of South Carolina, ultimately leaving law for teaching and becoming a professor of mathematics, ancient languages, and law at Allen University.¹⁸¹ T. McCants Stewart, also born in Charleston of free parents, began school there in 1857, later attending Howard University and graduating from the University of South Carolina with both bachelor and law degrees. After further study at Princeton, he accepted a position with Liberia College in Africa but eventually returned to the United States and resumed his law practice.¹⁸²

The slaves, of course, were far from idle during this period. Even though the white inhabitants tried to keep them in a state of total dependence, the slaves refused to give up hope.

In the earliest days they had their societies, their leaders and earnest advisers. Long before anti-slavery societies were recognized at the North, or abolitionists became the bugbear of the South, the slaves met at midnight and planned and plotted to break their chains. Freedom was the North Star, towards which their faces were constantly turned.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ Simmons, 908-12.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 162-64.

¹⁸² Ibid., 1052-54.

¹⁸³ Elizabeth Hyde Botume, First Days Amongst the Contrabands (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1893), 5.

Information and the gathering of it became of prime importance. The few who could read provided the main bridge, as they surreptitiously read newspapers and handbills and imparted the news to the others. Oftentimes, they would be called upon to interpret phrases or discussions other slaves overheard while in the presence of whites. As the wife of a planter observed in 1861:

People talk before them [the slaves] as if they were chairs and tables. They make no sign. Are they stolidly stupid² or wiser than we are; silent and strong, biding their time?¹⁸⁴

A few of the slaves resorted to highly unusual schemes to find out what was happening. One who could not read later told others,

I couldn't read, but my uncle could. . . . I was waiting-
maid an' used to help missis to dress in the morning. If
massa wanted to tell her something he didn't want me to know,
he used to spell it out. I could remember the letters, an'
as soon as I could get away I ran to uncle an' spelled them
over to him an' he told me what they meant.

After hearing the story, a freedmen teacher challenged her to repeat the feat. The teacher "spelled a long sentence as rapidly as possible, without stopping between the words." The black woman then "immediately repeated it after me, without missing a letter."¹⁸⁵

The ones who could read also tried to teach others. Laura Towne, one of the first freedmen teachers on St. Helena Island, wrote of meeting one such person:

This man is a cabinet-maker and schoolmaster among them, and says he reads all the papers. He is named Will Capers. He is

¹⁸⁴ Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, ed. Isabella D. Martin and Myrta Lockett Avery (New York: D. Appleton, 1906), 38.

¹⁸⁵ *Botume*, 6-7.

very intelligent and self-respecting. . . . While his master was here he had a secret night-school for men.¹⁸⁶

1861 marked the beginning of sweeping educational change for the slaves of coastal South Carolina when "The successful bombardment by [the federal] fleet, under Com. Dupont, of the two rebel forts at Port Royal, on the 7th of November, put [the] forces in possession of all, or nearly all, that rich and fertile portion of the Palmetto State known as the Sea Islands."¹⁸⁷ As the federal troops advanced, the planters fled, taking with them only what they could carry and only those slaves they could persuade to leave. The vast majority of the slaves stayed behind and were thus freed instantly. Instant freedom, however, had its price as thousands of slaves were suddenly left to fend for themselves with no experience in self-reliance upon which to draw.¹⁸⁸

The problem fell to Treasury Secretary Salmon P. Chase, under whose jurisdiction the "abandoned lands" came. He sent Edward L. Pierce on an inspection tour of the area to find out, primarily, what could be done about the collection and sale of the cotton. In his findings, Pierce collaborated with General W. T. Sherman, and together they appealed to the people of the North for assistance for the "abandoned" slaves. Sherman's General Order No. 9 of February 1862 read, in part,

The helpless condition of the blacks inhabiting the vast

¹⁸⁶ Rupert Sargent Holland, ed., Letters and Diary of Laura M. Towne (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1912), 27.

¹⁸⁷ J. Miller McKim, An Address Delivered by J. Miller McKim, in Sanson Hall, July 9th, 1862 (Philadelphia: Willis P. Hazard, 1862), 1.

¹⁸⁸ Luther P. Jackson, "The Educational Efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau and Freedmen's Aid Societies in South Carolina, 1862-1872," Journal of Negro History 8 (Jan. 1923): 5.

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, ignorant and improvident blacks have been abandoned. . . . 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. . . . To relieve the Government of a burden that may hereafter become insupportable . . . a suitable system of culture and instruction must be combined with one providing for their physical wants. In the meanwhile . . . 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.¹⁸⁹

The response was immediate, for as one teacher wrote, "This seemed like a divine call. 'Opportunities are God's Providenc.' This was our opportunity; the way was opened, and we entered in, not as an enemy, but as friend to humanity."¹⁹⁰ Before the week was out, the Boston Education Commission (later called the New England Freedmen's Aid Society or the New England Society) was organized. In two more weeks, the New York National Freedmen's Relief Association was formed. The Port Royal Relief Committee (later called the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association or the Pennsylvania Society) follow suit. Other societies that were later formed included the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian Committee of Missions for Freedmen, the Friends Association of Philadelphia for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen, the Protestant Episcopal Freedmen's Commission, the London Freedmen's Aid Society, and the Michigan Freedmen's Relief Association.¹⁹¹ Of them all, however, the one best equipped to handle the situation, at least at first, was the American Missionary Association. Begun in 1846 to do

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 5-6.

¹⁹⁰ Botume, 18.

¹⁹¹ Jackson, 6, 15.

mission work both in the United States and abroad, the group had 353 teachers placed in the South by 1866.¹⁹²

Calling the project the "Sea Island Experiment," Pierce left New York on March 3, 1862, with fifty-three teachers and two superintendents¹⁹³ to "organize their [the blacks'] labor on the plantations and establish schools for their education." The money made with the cotton would, he believed, be enough "to repay the Federal Treasury for whatever expense it had incurred in supporting the enterprise."¹⁹⁴ Once there, he joined the efforts of the Rev. Mr. Solomon Peck and Barnard K. Lee who had anticipated his actions by establishing schools in Beaufort and on Hilton Head in January.¹⁹⁵

By the summer, the project involved nine thousand blacks and had been turned over to the War Department for administration under General Rufus Saxton.¹⁹⁶ As for the "ninety odd" teachers who went to the sea island area over the course of the spring, an observer of the time noted,

. . . quite a number proved incompetent. These had not gone from the right motive, nor were they of the right spirit. . . . As a consequence, they soon got tired; or their coadjutors got tired of them. There was a great deal of work to be done; and to them the life was of dull, monotonous drudgery. They have, therefore, come home. Those that remain have a heart for the work.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹² William Preston Vaughn, Schools for All: The Blacks & Public Education in the South, 1865-1877 (Lexington: Univ. Press of Kentucky, 1974), 4.

¹⁹³ Jackson, 6.

¹⁹⁴ Martin Abbott, The Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina, 1865-1872 (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1967), 5.

¹⁹⁵ Jackson, 8.

¹⁹⁶ Abbott, 5.

¹⁹⁷ McKin, 17.

They did indeed have "a heart for the work." They came from Massachusetts like Mary Ames and Emily Bliss (Springfield) and Elizabeth Hyde Botume (Wyoming); from Connecticut, as did Francis L. Cardoza and his wife (New Haven) who returned home to Charleston to help; from Pennsylvania like Charlotte S. Forten (Philadelphia) herself a black woman, Martha Schofield (Darby), and Laura M. Towne (Shoemakertown); and other states such as Maine, Ohio, New York, New Hampshire, Michigan, Wisconsin, Vermont, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Iowa, and Illinois. Some never left: Samuel D. Phillips and William S. Clark of Boston died in 1862 and 1863 respectively;¹⁹⁸ Ellen S. Kempton, Elmira Stanton, and James P. Blake drowned on Edisto Island on Christmas Eve in 1865 and were buried there in a corner of the Presbyterian Church graveyard.¹⁹⁹

Many of the teachers, trained with the classics and advanced subjects, were unprepared for the educational destitution they found among their new scholars. One teacher wrote, "None of the children could count beyond twenty,"²⁰⁰ while another found that one or two knew their letters but none could read.²⁰¹ But they persevered, as did the blacks.

Although the teachers' salaries continued to be paid by their societies, their efforts and those of their parent organizations were coordinated by the federal government in 1865 with the creation of the

¹⁹⁸ Henry Lee Swint, The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870 (New York: Octagon Books, 1967), 175-200.

¹⁹⁹ Clara Childs Puckette, Edisto: A Sea Island Principality (Cleveland: Seaforth Publications, 1978), 38.

²⁰⁰ Botume, 50.

²⁰¹ Mary Ames, A New England Woman's Diary in Dixie in 1865 (Springfield: Plimpton Press, 1906), 23.

Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. For South Carolina, the educational efforts were placed in the hands of Reuben Tomlinson as the state's superintendent of education.²⁰²

As the white Southerners were "beginning to realize that [they were] a conquered people,"²⁰³ the business of educating the black Southerners to prepare them for their new role of equality went on. The schools were classified as primary and higher, with classes conducted for various groups during the day and evening and on Sunday.²⁰⁴ Despite the individuality of the teachers and the situations, a

. . . typical freedmen's school opened with prayer, scripture reading, and the singing of hymns and patriotic airs. . . . The school was usually in session from four to six hours, divided equally between morning and afternoon. . . . In some cases the morning session included a "regular sermon," and the afternoon was spent in visiting the²⁰⁵ homes of the pupils, and there teaching the entire family.

Through it all, the teachers tried to impart a sense of the importance of education. As Martha Schofield told a group, "Your enemies & your friends are looking on to see the result of emancipation and education is the only thing that can raise you to a position worthy of that freedom. . . ."²⁰⁶ As time went on, however, some teachers reported a decline in enthusiasm, "Many things conspired to check their zeal, the

²⁰² Abbott, 85.

²⁰³ John Berkley Grimball, Diary, 1 May 1865, Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Southern Historical Collection, John Berkley Grimball Diary No. 970.

²⁰⁴ Jackson, 18. ²⁰⁵ Swint, 80.

²⁰⁶ Martha Schofield, Diary, TS, 22 Apr. 1866, Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Southern Historical Collection, Martha Schofield Papers No. 999.

chief of which was the little importance placed upon education throughout the country."²⁰⁷

When all went well, ". . . the curriculum included geography, physical and political; spelling, with definitions; [and] oral and written arithmetic." The textbooks included

. . . "The National Series," Smith's Arithmetic and Grammar, Mitchell's Geography, Webster's Speller, Monteith's Geography, Davis and Hutton's Arithmetic, Quackenbois' Primary Arithmetic and Primary Grammar. The famous McGuffey readers and the Hilliard series were also used. Higher texts included Martindale's United States History, Tate's First Book in Philosophy and Natural Philosophy, and Rolfe and Gillet's Philosophy.²⁰⁸

The schools themselves ranged from mediocre to excellent, with several in the latter category deserving special recognition. One of the first teachers to arrive in the sea islands was also one of the best: Laura M. Towne. Sent by the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Association, she arrived on St. Helena Island on April 15, 1852, where she was later joined by Ellen Murray. Using the front room of a plantation house, she began what became Penn School, which was soon moved to a nearby church to accommodate the growing number of students. By September of the first year, the school included eighty students, both adults and children. Towne guided Penn School for over thirty-five years, and the school continued into the twentieth century as the Penn Normal and Industrial School.²⁰⁹

In Charleston, the schools were reopened on March 4, 1865, and the

²⁰⁷ Botume, 274.

²⁰⁸ Swint, 81.

²⁰⁹ Rossa B. Cooley, School Acres: An Adventure in Rural Education (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1930), 10.

first school to open was the Morris Street School, with an initial enrollment of one thousand blacks and two hundred whites. The school was turned over to the city commissioners in the fall of 1866 and became Charleston's first black public school.²¹⁰ Charleston's second black public school began in 1865 as Shaw Memorial, named for the late Colonel Robert Gould Shaw who led a regiment of black troops during the Civil War. Until 1874, the school was supported through the efforts of Shaw's widow and the New England Education Association; at that time, the school was merged with the city system.²¹¹

Two other 1865 Charleston schools were the Avery Institute and the Wallingford Academy. The Avery Institute was founded on October 1, 1865, by the American Missionary Association. Under the direction of Francis L. Cardoza, the native-born Charlestonian who had returned from the North to help, this school was named for Charles Avery, a Pittsburg minister who donated \$10,000 toward the construction of the school's building. By 1880, the school employed "a Principal and eight assistants, three of whom had been trained there. . . . [and its enrollment was] 488 pupils of whom nearly one-third were in the normal department."²¹² Wallingford Academy was organized by the Rev. Mr. Jonathan C. Gibbs of the Zion Presbyterian Church. By 1880, the school's enrollment

²¹⁰ Bernard Edward Powers, Jr., "Black Charleston: A Social History, 1822-1825" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern Univ., 1982), 237-38.

²¹¹ Powers, 240; Alrutheus Ambush Taylor, The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction (Washington: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1924), 88-89.

²¹² Taylor, 87-88.

was over five hundred,²¹³ and there were a principal and six assistants, two of whom had graduated from the school.²¹⁴

The Protestant Episcopal Church, the Americanized result of the SPGFP, was active in freedmen education also, organizing the Franklin Street School in 1866 under the guidance of its Home Missionary Society. Begun by the Rev. Mr. A. Toomer Porter, the school and orphan home for black children was located in Charleston's Marine Hospital building, which the Society had purchased.²¹⁵ By 1868, the school's enrollment had increased to 621²¹⁶ and 13 teachers were employed.²¹⁷

The year 1868 marked a turning point in education in South Carolina. Although "free" schools had existed in the state since the early 1700s, they were free white schools. With the adoption of the constitution in 1868, all that changed forever. Under Article X, universal free education came into being. Regardless of race or nationality, the state's children were to be educated at state expense. In order to pay for that education, the state also enacted a system of property and poll taxes with the money going directly to education. Additionally, compulsory attendance of twenty-four months, at either public or private schools, was required of all children who were physically or mentally able to

²¹³ Powers, 241.

²¹⁴ Taylor, 89.

²¹⁵ Laura Josephine Webster, "The Operation of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina," Smith College Studies in History 1 (Apr. 1916): 132.

²¹⁶ Powers, 242.

²¹⁷ Jackson, 27.

attend school.²¹⁸ The system was further defined and organized by a legislative act in 1870²¹⁹ and an amendment in 1871.²²⁰

Meanwhile, the Bureau continued, although a shortage of funds and dwindling assistance from aid societies led to a curtailing of efforts. By 1868, the situation was so critical that the Bureau "adopted a policy of restricting aid to primary schools," and the Bureau stopped its educational efforts entirely in April of 1870.²²¹ Many of the schools coordinated by the Bureau, however, were continued by the societies (as was Penn School, for example) or were taken over by the state.

To try to obtain some valid idea of the condition of education in the state, Justus K. Jillson, the first Superintendent of Education under the new constitution, devised teacher report forms for the teachers in the various schools. (See Appendix B for examples.) Unfortunately, not all teachers were prompt about filling out the forms, and not all county school commissioners took their jobs seriously enough to compile or forward the forms. Thus, the returns were not always complete. In his first report (for the school year 1868-69), Jillson attempted to describe as much about the schools, the enrollments, and the teachers as possible. He began with tables, showing by county, the number of children in the county, the number of public schools, the number and types of teachers, and the number and types of students. (See

²¹⁸ South Carolina, Constitution, Article X (1868).

²¹⁹ South Carolina, Laws of South Carolina, No. 238 (1870).

²²⁰ South Carolina, Laws of South Carolina, No. 346 (1871).

²²¹ Vaughn, 16.

Appendix C for compilation of figures for coastal counties and the city of Charleston for the school years ending 1869-99.) Jillson then listed and described all the public schools in the counties for which he had returns. Of the four coastal counties in this study's designated area, only two contained public schools. Colleton County had no schools,²²² and Georgetown County had only two private schools, one for blacks (Howard School) and one for whites (Winyah Indigo Society School).²²³

Beaufort County that year contained thirty-two public schools, thirty of which were for blacks. (Jillson noted, however, that five white children had attended black schools.) Two of the schools were supported by a private individual; five were self-sustaining through tuition payments; seven received aid from the United States Direct Tax Commission, and eighteen were supported by various freedmen aid societies, most notably the American Missionary Association. Table 1 shows the types, names and locations of the schools.

Table 1
Beaufort County Schools 1868-69

Number	Type	Name	Location
5	black	unknown	in county
6	black	unknown	town of Beaufort
1	white (males)	Liberty School	town of Beaufort
1	white (females)	unknown	town of Beaufort
1	black	Hooper School	Port Royal Island

²²² S.C., Report of the State Superintendent of Education, 1868-1869, [by Justus K. Jillson] (Columbia: n.p., 1870), 27.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 33-34.

1	black	Grey Hill School	in county
1	black	Perry Clair School	in county
1	black	Ederly School	in county
1	black	Clarendon School	in county
1	black	Hilton Head School	Hilton Head Island
1	black	Mitchelville School	Hilton Head Island
1	black	Brick Yard School	St. Helena Island
2	black	unknown	Frederick A. Eustis' plantation
1	black	Pine Grove School	St. Helena Island
3	black	unknown	St. Helena Island
2	black	St. Helena Village Schools	St. Helena Island
1	black	Beach Hill School	near Savannah River
1	black	Delta Plantation School	near Savannah River
1	black	Lawtonville School	Lawtonville

Thirty-seven teachers were employed in the schools, and there were 2,073 black students and 57 white students.²²⁴

The Charleston County returns for 1868-69 showed twelve schools, nine of which were for blacks. Seven of the schools were supported by freedmen aid societies; four received state aid, and one's source of support was not given. Table 2 shows the types, names and locations of the schools.

Table 2
Charleston County Schools 1868-69

Number	Type	Name	Location
1	black	Franklin Street School	city of Charleston
1	black	Wallingford School	city of Charleston
1	black	Avery School	city of Charleston
1	black	Shaw Memorial School	city of Charleston
1	black	Morris Street School	city of Charleston
1	white	Meeting Street School	city of Charleston
1	white	St. Philip Street School	city of Charleston
1	white	Normal School	city of Charleston

²²⁴ Ibid., 6, 22-24.

1	black	James' Island School	James' Island
1	black	John's Island School	John's Island
1	black	Mt. Pleasant School	Christ Church Parish
1	black	Cainhoy School	St. Thomas' and St. Dennis' Parish

Ninety-nine teachers were employed in the schools, and there were 2,055 black students and 1,026 white students.²²⁵

By the end of the next school year (1869-70), Jillson was able to give a progress report of sorts. He began it by writing,

No returns have been received from four Counties, and many of the reports received are incomplete. There are evidences, however, that some progress has been made in the educational work, although it is a source²²⁶ of anxiety and regret that so little has been accomplished.

The problems, as he saw them, stemmed from six areas including a "Scarcity of good teachers," "Apathy and impatience of the people," and "Opposition to the new system." With regard to the teachers, he believed that

Probably no State in the Union is so cursed with poor teachers as is South Carolina. . . . The idea that any ignoramus can render good and profitable service as a teacher of a primary district school smacks of barbarism and the dark ages. . . . The time has come when teaching is beginning to be regarded as a profession equal in dignity, honor and importance to that of theology, medicine or law.

The parents, too, came in for their share of the blame:

Many of the people are sadly indifferent concerning educational matters, not caring whether "school keeps or not." . . . Until the people attain true appreciation of how much their interests, duties and . . . responsibilities [are] involved in

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ S.C., Second Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education, 1869-1870, [by Justus K. Jillson] (Columbia: n.p., 1870), 24.

the cause of general education, the enterprise will lack life and spirit.²²⁷

In spite of the difficulties, however, school continued. For that year Beaufort County reported that 1,771 blacks had been enrolled, 950 of whom were male and 821 of whom were female. In Charleston County there were 4,068 black students, 2,011 of whom were male and 2,057 of whom were female. The returns for Georgetown County were incomplete, but a total black enrollment of 1,240 was given.²²⁸ Unfortunately, Colleton County was one of the four counties that did not send in any figures, so no information was available for the report. Jillson did make changes in both his report and the teacher report form for that year. In his report, he discontinued the separate listings of the counties' schools, and he did not include the types of schools in each county. For the individual teacher reports although he did not include the information in his overall report, he added a request for the following information:

1. No. of Scholars in Alphabet?
2. No. of Scholars in Spelling?
3. No. of Scholars in Reading?
4. No. of Scholars in Writing?
5. No. of Scholars in Mental Arithmetic?
6. No. of Scholars in Written Arithmetic?
7. No. of Scholars in Geography?
8. No. of Scholars in English Grammar?
9. No. of Scholars in History?
10. No. of Scholars in higher branches?
11. No. of Scholars not Absent?
12. No. of Scholars not Tardy?

(See Appendix D for a compilation of figures for the designated coastal counties and the city of Charleston for the school years ending 1872-1899.)

²²⁷ Ibid., 25-27.

²²⁸ Ibid., 20.

Quite a few individual reports survived from that year, more, in fact, than did from any other year in the 1800s. A study was made of those reports²²⁹ in order to draw a profile of the average black school of those whose reports survived. For Charleston County, reports survived for forty-three schools that were for black students. In the average school of those forty-three schools, one teacher taught fifty-seven students, five of whom were under six years of age, eight of whom were over sixteen years of age, and forty-four of whom were aged six to sixteen. As for the subject areas: Thirteen students were studying the alphabet; thirty-seven were in spelling; thirty-one were in reading; fourteen were in writing; fifteen were in mental arithmetic; five were in written arithmetic; six were in geography; one was in English grammar; one was in history, and none were studying in the higher branches.

Reports survived for thirty-three black schools in Beaufort County. In the average school of those thirty-three schools, one teacher instructed a total of fifty-six students, two of whom were under six, three of whom were over sixteen, and fifty-one of whom were aged six to sixteen. For the subject areas: Fifteen students were in the alphabet, thirty-one were in spelling; thirty-two were in reading; sixteen were in

²²⁹ These reports were obtained from the South Carolina Department of Archives and History (Education: III/23/1/2a-5a). For the school report figures, the following qualifications must be considered: 1. The reports are only those that survived, not necessarily those from all schools; 2. Two types of reports were in use for the school year 1869-70, yearly and monthly, and both types were included in the surviving reports; 3. The schools themselves were opened intermittently, some for a few months, others for separate fall and spring sessions; 4. A few schools in each county were for students of both races, but most of those schools were actually attended by black students only; 5. The reports for Charleston County did not include any from the four city schools; and 6. Figures given have been rounded off.

writing; sixteen were in mental arithmetic; seventeen were in written arithmetic; twelve were in geography; one was in English grammar, and none were in history or the higher branches.

Eighteen reports for black schools in Georgetown County survived. Of those schools, the average one had one teacher and a total of seventy-one students, with three under six years of age, three over sixteen years of age, and sixty-five aged six to sixteen. In the subject areas: Twelve were studying the alphabet; forty-seven were in spelling; thirty were in reading; ten were in writing; eight were in mental arithmetic; eight were in written arithmetic; five were in geography; two were in English grammar, and none were in history or the higher branches.

For Colleton County, reports for thirteen black schools survived. Of those thirteen, the average school had one teacher and a total of fifty students, of whom five were under six, four were over sixteen, and forty-one were aged six to sixteen. In the subject areas: Nine were in the alphabet; thirty-seven were in spelling; twenty-nine were in reading; twelve were in writing; twenty were in mental arithmetic; thirteen were in written arithmetic; six were in geography; four were in English grammar; three were in history, and two were in the higher branches.

Jillson continued as the head of the South Carolina schools through the school year 1875-76. At that time, Reconstruction was coming to an end, and the public school system had grown considerably. The city of Charleston had 5 public schools, with 89 teachers and 6,142 students, of whom 3,056 were black. The average number of months the schools were in session was 10. Charleston County's 121 public schools were in session an average of 5 months (down from 7 the previous year) and employed 231

teachers for 11,547 students, 7,622 of whom were black. Georgetown County had 31 public schools that were in session an average of 6.5 months. Thirty-four teachers were employed for 3,844 students, of whom 3,166 were black. In session an average of 4.5 months, Colleton County's 71 public schools had 73 teachers and 3,162 students, 2,134 of whom were black. Beaufort County's system had 113 public schools in session an average of 5.5 months. One hundred and thirteen teachers instructed 5,818 students, of whom 5,034 were black.²³⁰ As Jillson closed his last report, he noted that if "failure of accomplishment has been the result [of his efforts], such failure has come from lack of ability and experience rather than from want of good intentions."²³¹

In 1881 the city of Charleston issued a separate report on its schools. Of the five public schools, two were for blacks. Morris Street School had a total enrollment of 1,403 (646 males and 757 females), and Shaw Memorial school had 666 students (318 males and 348 females). The schools were in session from October through July, with two weeks off in April and one week off in December. The school day began at nine o'clock and lasted until two o'clock.

Among the private schools in Charleston in 1881 were several that were for blacks. A Catholic school "attached to St. Peter's Church, Wentworth Street" had an enrollment of 130 students and employed 2 teachers. The Avery Normal Institute included 448 students (167 males

²³⁰ S.C., Eighth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education, 1875-1876, [by Justus K. Jillson] (Columbia: n.p., 1876), 368, 370, 374.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 393.

and 281 females), of whom 148 were in the normal department, 154 were in the intermediate section, and 146 were on the primary level. Wallingford Academy's session was about 9 months in length, and the school's enrollment in the previous year was 548. The report concluded with the hope that "May the day come soon where . . . every child in the City and State and throughout the whole South, can find entrance into the school-house, where alone he may be made a freeman. . . ."232

Hugh S. Thompson, who assumed the post of state superintendent after Jillson in 1876, continued in that position through the school year 1881-82. In 1882 he noted that the total enrollment of both black and white students in the state (145,974) was the largest ever.²³³ For the designated coastal counties, Charleston County had the largest number of public schools (147) with a total enrollment of 14,129 students, of whom 10,657 were black. Colleton County followed with 111 public schools and a total enrollment of 4,050 students, 1,854 of whom were black. Beaufort County had 65 public schools with a total enrollment of 4,553 students, 4,262 of whom were black. There were 44 public schools in Georgetown County with a total enrollment of 2,197 students, of whom 1,785 were black. The city of Charleston, with 5 public schools (2 of which were for blacks, as previously noted), had a total enrollment of 5,904 students, of whom 3,554 were black.²³⁴

The school year 1882-83 brought several changes, not the least of

²³² Courtenay, 8-9, 12, 16-17, 32.

²³³ S.C., Fourteenth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education, 1881-82, [by Hugh S. Thompson] (Columbia: Charles A. Calvo, Jr., 1882), 7.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 66, Table 3 (n.p.).

which were a new state superintendent, A. Coward, and the creation of a new county, Berkeley, from a substantial portion of Charleston County and a resulting shifting of other county borders. In his opening notes, Coward recapitulated the enrollment figures from 1868-69 to 1882-83, and he cited a decrease for two of the school years. The 1876-77 drop of 20,689 students was "Manifestly due to the irregularities and excitement incident to the change in the administration of the State government during that year," and the 1880-81 drop of students was "Due to the general failure of crops in 1881." For the rest of the years, he noted overall increases ranging from 6,224 (1878-79) to 35,608 (1869-70).²³⁵

Coward remained in the office for three more years, and at the end of that time he wrote, "In no portion of [the field covered by the Department of Education] are the signs of progress more gratifying and striking than that occupied by the public schools." He noted, however, that everyone did not support the concept of public education. He found that the "objectors and opposers" could be put into three groups: Those who were against the system just on principle, those who were against the system as an inefficient "nuisance," and the "most dangerous. . . . [class which] contains those who are opposed to the education of the negro,—those who assert that he is a 'deadhead' in taxpaying, and that it is wrong to tax the white people to educate him. . . ." ²³⁶

²³⁵ S.C., Fifteenth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education, 1882-83, [by A. Coward] (Columbia: Charles A. Calvo, Jr., 1883), 7.

²³⁶ S.C., Eighteenth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education, 1885-86, [by A. Coward] (Columbia: Charles A. Calvo, Jr., 1886), 5-6.

As for the gains made in the designated coastal counties and the recently formed Berkeley County, Coward showed that Berkeley County led the others in the number of public schools (169), the overall enrollment (14,953), and the number of black students (12,426). Colleton County had 120 public schools at which 4,739 students were enrolled, 2,118 of whom were black. Beaufort County's 74 public schools had a total enrollment of 5,855 students, of whom 5,430 were black. The 55 public schools in Georgetown County included 3,389 students, 2,727 of whom were black. Charleston County, although reduced in size by the creation of Berkeley County, now (as of 1882-83) included statistics from the city of Charleston in its figures and reported 16 public schools that had a total enrollment of 8,277 students, of whom 4,437 were black.²³⁷

James H. Rice began as state superintendent in 1886. In his report of 1886-87, he noted a decrease in total enrollment of 8,949 students from the previous year. The decrease, he believed, was due to two factors:

For the year 1885-86 Berkeley County reported an enrollment of 14,953, while for the year 1886-87 the same County reports an enrollment of only 5,636. It is evident to this office that, in calculating the enrollment for 1885-86, the School Commissioner added together the enrollments for the several months during which the schools were in session, and reported the sum as the total enrollment for the year. In no other way can this extraordinary falling off be accounted for. . . . It should also be borne in mind, in this connection, that the

²³⁷ Ibid., 114.

schools of Georgetown County were closed by Act²³⁸ of the
Legislature during the scholastic year 1886-87.

By the end of Rice's last term (1889-90), he reported that Colleton County had 145 public schools with a total enrollment of 5,983 students, 2,917 of whom were black; however, the average length of the session had decreased to 2.5 months. Berkeley County followed with 127 public schools, a total enrollment of 5,636 students, a black enrollment of 4,639 students, and an average term of 3.3 months. The 82 public schools of Beaufort County had a total enrollment of 6,391 students, of whom 5,871 were black, and the average term was 4.5 months in length. Georgetown County's 59 schools included 2,826 students, all but 640 of whom were black, and the average number of months of the school term was 3.6. Charleston County still had 16 public schools, but the total enrollment had decreased to 6,405 students, 3,427 of whom were black. The average length of a term was the highest ever for that county at 10 months.²³⁹

The next state superintendent, W. D. Mayfield, held that post for eight years. In his report of 1893-94, he listed the following private schools for blacks in the designated counties: Beaufort County had Beaufort Public School (formerly the Beaufort Normal and Industrial School) with an enrollment of 312 and the Penn Normal and Industrial

²³⁸ S.C., Nineteenth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education, 1886-1887, [by James H. Rice] (Columbia: Charles A. Calvo, Jr., 1887), i3. The Georgetown County schools were in debt and they closed for one year in order to use the tax money collected to pay off the outstanding debts; the trustees planned to run the schools on a cash basis thereafter.

²³⁹ S.C., Twenty-second Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education, 1889-90, [by James H. Rice] (Columbia: James H. Woodrow, 1890), 34-35.

School (formerly Penn School) with no enrollment figures given; Berkeley County had none listed; Charleston County had the Avery Normal Institute in the city of Charleston which, by this time, had added a college preparatory department in which 25 students were enrolled; no schools were listed for Colleton County, and Georgetown County had Howard Graded School, for which no statistics or further information was given.²⁴⁰

During Mayfield's term of service, he guided the schools through the turbulent *Flessy v. Ferguson* decision²⁴¹ that separated the students by race. While a "separate but equal" existence may have been the mandate of the court, the true situation following the decision can be seen in the figures for the average number of months black schools were in session, the number of black students studying in the higher branches, and the amount of money paid to black teachers. By the end of the century, the (new) state superintendent, John McMahan reflected the belief of many whites when he wrote that "in most cases . . . [the black] receives only a useless smattering of what he supposes is learning, and suffers for want of substantial knowledge, and especially for want of industrial training and moral instruction." He proposed, therefore, that

there should be developed in them an aptitude and pleasure in skilful [sic] physical labor. . . . We might live to see, in consequence of this public education, more trustworthy and

²⁴⁰ S.C., Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education, 1893-94, [by W. D. Mayfield] (Columbia: Charles A. Calvo, Jr., 1894), 64, 66, 82, 88, 94.

²⁴¹ *Flessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

capable laborers on the farm, fewer vagabond loafers around country stores and railway depots, and fewer thieves in towns.²⁴²

Although a few enlightened individuals spoke against this narrow, racist view of the blacks' capabilities, to say nothing of their aspirations, the political majority held fast, and the nineteenth century ended with a separate and very unequal system of education for the Gullahs of coastal South Carolina whose ancestors had come so far for so little.

²⁴² S.C., Thirty-first Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education, 1898-1899, [by John McMahan] (Columbia: Bryan Printing, 1900), 14-15.

CHAPTER 5

Summary

1700-1750

Along the coast of South Carolina during the eighteenth century, life was easygoing and carefree only for the rich. The wealthy planters who first settled there had tested the plantation system in Barbados before coming to South Carolina, thus they knew there was money to be made from the labors of others, and if those "others" were slaves, even more money could come from the venture. It was in the slave owners' interests, then, to maintain a docile, pliant slave labor force.

Not necessarily in contrast to the owners' interests, but more as a tangential interest, was that of the Church of England. Religion, particularly that espoused by the Church of England, was a potent force in the lives of the low country planters, as the majority of them were from England. While the planters might not agree with all of the Church's aims and policies, trade with England was vital, and the Church of England wielded a strong influence over all segments of society there. Thus, to oppose the Church outright was out of the question if the planters wanted the continued sanction of the king.

The educational efforts of the first fifty years of the century were a by-product of the Church of England's concern for the souls of heathens. Through its offspring, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Church sent missionaries to the colonies to attend to the spiritual needs of the English colonists and to save the Indians and Negroes from damnation by converting them. As a means of

instructing the free Indians and slaves religiously, the missionaries catechized them and taught them to read the Bible in order that they might be better able to understand the tenets of Christianity.

The planters, meanwhile, saw the slaves not just as property, but as property with the potential to reason. Those owners, therefore, realizing the power of education, began to resist the missionaries' efforts with the slaves. To counter this resistance, the missionaries taught the slaves that they must obey their masters just as Christians had to obey Jesus Christ, the Master; and the SPGFP issued statements to the effect that religious and secular interests in the slaves were entirely different and separate as far as the Church was concerned. Finally, a law was passed in 1712 that declared that conversion did not equate freedom for the slaves.

After that, matters progressed slowly, with the missionaries still trying their best and many planters still resisting as much as they could. In 1739, however, a slave uprising led the politically powerful planters to enact legislation prohibiting the teaching of reading or writing to slaves. Despite this restrictive 1740 law, though, the SPGFP continued its mission, and in 1743 the Society opened a school for Negroes in Charleston with two Negro slaves as teachers.

1750-1800

Although tremendous gains in black education were made along the coast of South Carolina during the first half of the eighteenth century, the second half was marked by a decrease in efforts and a halt altogether before and during the Revolutionary War. As the 1750s began, though, educational efforts were much the same as they had been in the late 1740s.

The Society's school continued to prosper, with about twenty blacks sufficiently instructed each year to "graduate." The second slave schoolteacher, however, never lived up to the expectations of the Society and was eventually sold. The school itself was closed in 1764 due, most probably, to a combination of causes rather than to any one individual reason: The school's founder had died in 1756; the remaining slave teacher died in 1764; a second potential slave teacher was never purchased; the Society was gradually withdrawing its financial support from the parishes as the colonists became able to provide assistance, and relations with England were becoming strained, to say the least.

After the Revolutionary War, there was an increasing black population composed of both slave and free blacks. By 1790, prosperity had brought with it a sense of well-being that allowed the white Charlestonians, especially, to give wide latitude to the activities of the city's blacks.

Because of this complacent atmosphere, the free persons of color in Charleston were able to organize the Brown Fellowship Society, the city's first non-white benevolent society. Among its activities, the Society educated its members' children, supported orphans, and helped members' widows and the needy. It was but the first of many similar societies and the beginning of numerous educational opportunities for the growing class of people categorized as free persons of color.

1800-1850

The spirit that began near the end of the eighteenth century flowered during the early part of the nineteenth century. While a few black slaves taught themselves to read and write and some were taught so

they could perform specific duties for their owners, the vast majority of slaves remained uneducated. What educational opportunities there were for blacks at this time were for free persons of color, and they made the most of them.

Benevolent societies established by free persons of color sprang up all over Charleston, and private schools taught by blacks as well as by whites were prevalent during the first fifty years of the century. By 1820 there were over three thousand free persons of color living and working in Charleston, and that number was nearly doubled by 1830.

One of the teachers of the time was himself a product of a private school in Charleston. For his students, in addition to reading, writing, arithmetic, history, and elocution, he taught geography, "map-drawing," English grammar, descriptive chemistry, natural philosophy, descriptive anatomy, Greek, Latin, and French after he mastered the subjects through self-study.

The schools suffered a setback, however, when the 1822 aborted Charleston slave uprising led by a literate free person of color and the 1831 Virginia slave rebellion led by a literate slave prompted the white South Carolinians to ban education for free persons of color except when a white person was present during the instruction. As a result, many but not all of the private schools closed. That some schools remained open is attested to by the success stories of several free persons of color who received their basic education in Charleston in the 1840s.

1850-1900

The uneasiness over the institution of slavery caused the whites of South Carolina to focus their attention on their Northern counterparts.

During this time, the free persons of color quietly went about educating themselves and their children. It was not until after the Civil War began that education for both blacks and whites was halted.

In 1862 Northern freedmen aid societies were formed in response to a call for help for the freed blacks in the South. (One missionary society was already in existence and merely redirected its efforts.) One of the most important things the societies sent was teachers. Beginning with the freedmen of the sea islands of South Carolina, the teachers worked to teach blacks the basics to prepare them to become self-sufficient.

By 1865 the federal government had formed the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands to coordinate the private efforts and to oversee the management or return of Southern property. Early that same year, Charleston schools were reopened, with the first one, the Morris Street School, having an initial enrollment of one thousand blacks and two hundred whites. In the fall of 1866 the school was turned over to the city commissioners and became Charleston's first black public school. The state reorganization continued with the constitution of 1868, under which universal free education became a state concern. Two years later the Bureau ended its educational efforts.

The first state superintendent of education under the 1868 constitution issued his first report at the end of the 1868-69 school year. In the designated coastal area (covered by this study), he reported that only two of the four counties contained public schools. Colleton County had no schools whatsoever; Georgetown County had two private schools (one for blacks and one for whites); Charleston County operated twelve

schools, nine of which were for blacks; and Beaufort County contained thirty-two schools, thirty of which were for blacks.

From a study made of surviving teacher reports from the school year 1869-70, the average black school of those whose reports survived varied from county to county. For Charleston County, the school had one teacher and fifty-seven students. In Beaufort County, the school contained one teacher with fifty-six students. Colleton County's school had one teacher for fifty students. Georgetown County's school had the largest teacher-pupil ratio, with one teacher for seventy-one students. In all of the "profile" schools, the majority of students studied spelling and reading.

By the end of Reconstruction, the city of Charleston's 5 public schools were in session 10 months and were comprised of 89 teachers for 6,142 students, 3,056 of whom were black. The 121 public schools in Charleston County were in session an average of 5 months and had 231 teachers for 11,547 students, of whom 7,622 were black. Georgetown County had 31 public schools that were in session an average of 6.5 months and employed 34 teachers for 3,844 students, 3,166 of whom were black. In an average session of 4.5 months, Colleton County's 71 public schools had 73 teachers and 3,162 students, of whom 2,134 were black. With one teacher for each of its 113 public schools, Beaufort County's system served 5,818 students, of whom 5,034 were black, in a session that averaged 5.5 months. Black private schools also grew during this time. In 1881, for example, it was reported that the city of Charleston had three black private schools with a total enrollment of over 1,000 students.

Because of a reorganization of county lines and the creation of a new county in the early 1880s, it is impossible to compare county figures for an accurate view of the gains made after that time; however, by 1890 the designated area contained over four hundred schools that served over twenty-seven thousand students, of whom over nineteen thousand were black. A few black private schools continued to operate, and in 1894 a report indicated that there were two in Beaufort County, one in Georgetown County, and one in the city of Charleston.

The 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson decision brought an end to what little mixing of the races that had occurred in the public schools. A study of the school figures and teachers' salaries for the nineteenth century years following the decision revealed, however, that a disparity existed in the services to and education of the blacks of coastal South Carolina, and the century closed with no change in sight.

Conclusions

1. What education the Gullahs of coastal South Carolina received from 1700 to 1900 was the outcome of compromise. While no one social force controlled the educational efforts, the religious/humanitarian interests were stronger than the economic/racial interests, thus by the end of the nineteenth century, all black children were legally entitled to an education.

2. One of the often used arguments against educating blacks in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was that they were incapable of understanding complex ideas; i.e., they were uneducable. Based on the accomplishments of those who were taught during this period, one can

reasonably conclude that the blacks suffered from a lack of educational opportunities, not a lack of intellectual abilities.

Recommendations

1. One of the major articles used for information in this study was written in 1927 by C. W. Birnie for the Journal of Negro History. The material presented in his work came from "family records and papers" of a number of individuals. Rather than using footnotes for specific citations from this material, Birnie grouped the individuals' names together in an informational footnote at the beginning of the article. The footnote read:

I am greatly indebted to the following persons for information given and for access to family records and papers: Miss Kate Holloway; Miss Jennie Weston, a granddaughter of Thos. Bonneau; Mrs. Louise Bonneau Holmes; Mrs. Catherine Winslow, now deceased; Mrs. Rebecca Oliver; Mrs. Amelia Ellison, now deceased; Miss Rebecca Vanderhorst, a niece of Mr. Wm. Ferrette; Rev. Nathaniel Spencer; Rev. J. B. Middleton, now deceased; and Mr. Richard Birnie, Sr.
Mrs. Stomer was my maternal great-grandmother. Henry Frost was my maternal grandfather.

To date, Birnie has supplied more names and facts about the black private schools and the school teachers for free persons of color in Charleston from 1800 to 1860 than has anyone else; in fact, he is widely quoted and cited.

An attempt should be made to trace the individuals, their descendants, or their heirs to locate the "family records and papers" that were used by Birnie. If the documents can be found, a systematic study should be made of them and the documents themselves compiled for publication.

2. Much attention has been given in recent years to the state of

education in this country; however, an in-depth progress report based on data from the nineteenth century has not been made. It would be instructive for a comparison to be made based on education one hundred years apart, i.e., a study made of the educational situation in 1886 contrasted with that in the same place in 1986, for instance. Such a study might include number of teachers certified and their qualifications, percentage of the population aged six to eighteen years enrolled, school conditions, percentage of students completing elementary grades, percentage of students completing high school, average number of students to one teacher, average number of students to one school, and average number of months the schools were in session.

3. Within the last six months, a report surfaced that indicated that a predominantly black school in one of South Carolina's coastal counties had not received an equal share of funding over an extended period of time. While such a disparity was evident in 1898-99 in that same county, one would expect that an enlightened citizenry would ensure that such a situation did not happen today. A study should be made of South Carolina coastal school systems that include predominantly black schools to determine to what extent discrimination in educational services exists at this time and how that discrimination compares with that during the school year 1898-99.

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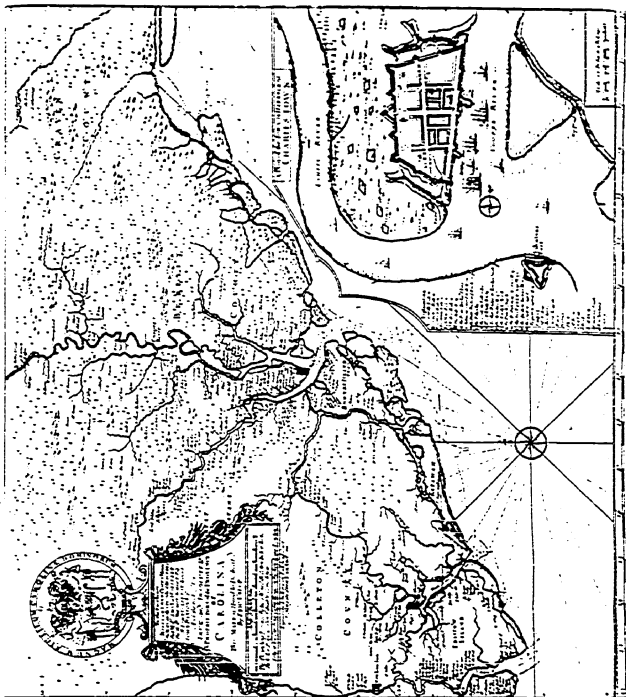
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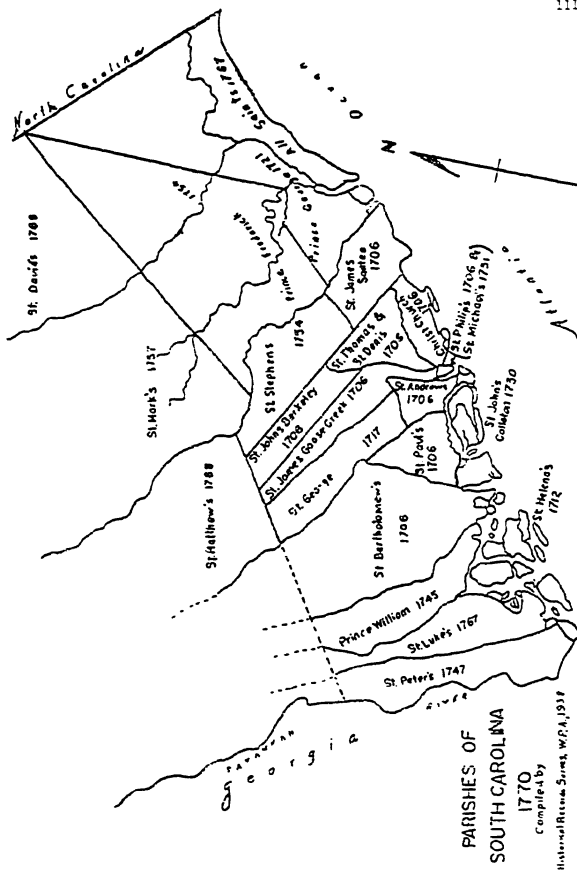
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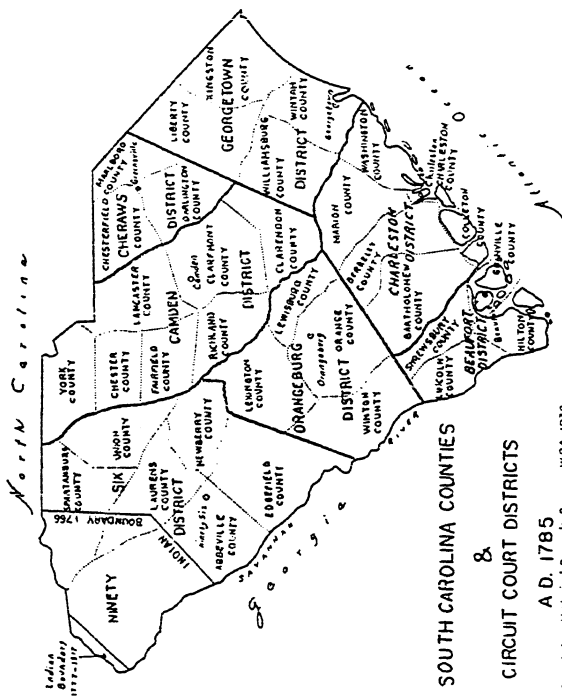
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
MAPS OF COASTAL SOUTH CAROLINA
1711-1825

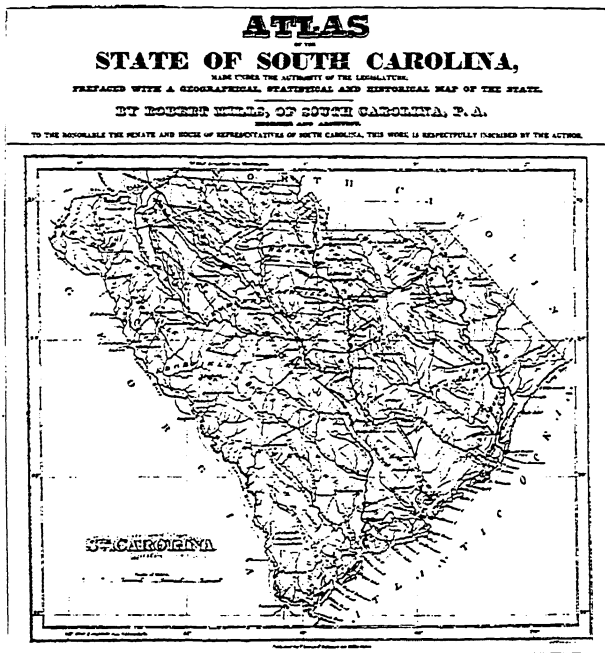


Edward Crisp. A Compleat Description of the Province of Carolina. 1711. From *The Southeast in Early Maps* by William P. Cumming. Copyright 1962 William P. Cumming. Reprinted with permission of the Univ. of North Carolina Press.





Compiled by Historical Records Survey, WPA, 1939.



Robert Mills. 1825.

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE TEACHER REPORT FORMS

1869-1870

Teacher's Report

115

To be filled out and to accompany Teacher's Account for services rendered during the Fiscal year, commencing November 1st, A. D. 1863, and ending October 31st, A. D. 1870.

Report of Class M. Givins Teacher of a Public School
 in Edisto District, Colleton County of Charleston State of
 South Carolina.

Class M. Givins Teacher.

<p>1. Name of school? 2. Location of school? 3. When did your term or school commence? 4. When did your term or school close? 5. Give the length of your school or term in months, (20 days to a month)? 6. Has your school received aid from any source or source other than the State, and if so, how much? 7. How many teachers? 8. Name of principal teacher? 9. Names of assistant teachers? 10. How many Northern white teachers? 11. How many Southern white teachers? 12. How many Northern colored teachers? 13. How many Southern colored teachers? 14. Does the account accompanying this report include the salaries or amount due to all the teachers of your school? 15. What number of scholars under 6 years of age? 16. What number of scholars over 16 years of age? 17. What number of scholars between 6 and 16 years of age? 18. Average attendance? 19. Was your school for white or colored children? 20. Who owns school house? 21. Of what material is school house constructed? 22. Condition of school house? 23. Who owns the land on which school house is located? 24. Are school house grounds enclosed? 25. Is rent paid for the use of school house, and if so, how much, and by whom? 26. Have you received tuition fees from any of your scholars, and if so, state the whole amount of tuition fees received?</p>	<p>Answers placed here. <u>Edisto, South part of Edisto District</u> <u>Edisto, C. W. & B. in amount of Edisto Co</u> <u>Nov. 1, 1868</u> <u>The term closed Jan 31, 1870</u> <u>This term of school was 60 days in session</u> <u>It has from the W. E. Church through</u> <u>Rev. W. S. Ross, this amount \$10.00 per mo.</u> Male: <u>ONE</u> Female: <u>Class M. Givins</u> None Male: <u>none</u> Female: Male: <u>none</u> Female: Male: <u>none</u> Female: Male: <u>none</u> Female: Yes. <u>116</u> <u>21</u> <u>68</u> <u>80</u> Colored <u>R. M. & Church</u> Frame Good <u>Donated to R. M. & Church</u> No <u>No rent charges, permission was given by</u> <u>Trustees To Mrs. Class M. Givins for school</u> <u>None received in Cash, Fruit, Meat, and Eggs</u> <u>Within the 60 days, from about 1/20 of 33</u></p>
--	--

* To find the average attendance, divide the total number of days attendance by the number of days of the month or term.

Note—Teachers must be particular to answer all the questions, and fill out all the blanks on this as well as all other pages of this form. See on order to accompany this report on the Edisto and give each locality the same advantage of a school for their children. Mrs. M. Givins taught the school in the localities as follows: Edisto Church (South part of Edisto) 3 months commencing Nov. 1, 1868 closing Jan 31, 1870. She also taught with Paul of Edisto. W. M. Givins (Edisto) 1st term commencing Oct. 1, 1869 closing Jan 31, 1870.

NUMBER	NAMES OF PUPILS	BOYS	GIRLS	DATE OF ENTERING SCHOOL	DATE OF LEAVING SCHOOL	TOTAL DAYS ATTENDANCE	116
1	Moses L. L. G. K. K. K.			Nov 1, 1869	Stair ten	50	
2	Thomas Brown			"	"	50	
3	Martha A. Clark			"	"	38	
4	John Weston			"	"	45	
5	Miss Alice Reid			"	"	45	
6	Alison Brown			"	"	45	
7	Geo. Ford			"	"	48	
8	Saml. Hayward			"	"	48	
9	Anna Fiddlin			"	"	48	
10	Saml. Grant			"	"	45	
11	John Elliott			"	"	48	
12	John Estlin			"	"	45	
13	Thomas Estlin			"	"	20	
14	John Robinson			"	"	60	
15	Thomas Brown			"	"	60	
16	Wm. Williams			"	"	60	
17	John Morgan			"	"	60	
18	Geo. Bailey			"	"	60	
19	Thomas Wright			"	"	60	
20	Thomas Brown			"	"	20	
21	Richd. Brown			"	"	20	
22	Richd. Ryall			"	"	20	
23	Jack Haines			"	"	20	
24	John Bias			"	"	60	
25	John Pinchney			"	"	20	
26	John Laddin			"	"	20	
27	John Pinchney			"	"	20	
28	John Brown			"	"	60	
29	John Wallace			"	"	20	
30	Thomas Scott			"	"	60	
31	Joseph Washington			"	"	60	
32	Thomas Brown			"	"	60	
33	Justice Bryan			Nov 2, 1869	"	40	
34	John Washington			"	"	40	
35	Abraham Burtin			"	"	40	
36	August Smith			"	"	40	
37	John Grant			"	"	40	
38	John Thompson			"	"	40	
39	John Brown			"	"	10	
40	Paul Johnson			"	"	10	
41	James L. L. L.			"	"	10	
42	John Brown			"	"	5	
43	Thomas Brown			"	"	5	
44	Thomas Brown			"	"	5	
Number and Amount carried forward						1696	

NUMBER	NAMES OF PUPILS	BOYS	GIRLS	DATE OF ENTERING SCHOOL	DATE OF LEAVING SCHOOL	TOTAL DAYS ATTENDANCE
	Number and Amount brought forward.	44		Nov - 2, 1879	June 1878	1075
45	Stephen Gadsden			"	"	60
46	Dick Richard			"	"	60
47	March Moultrie			"	"	60
48	Roman Oliver			"	"	60
49	Cha? Mason			"	"	60
50	Sam? 1879			"	"	35
51	Jos Hilliards			"	"	35
52	Joel Hart			"	"	40
53	Jeger Hains			"	"	40
54	Clavin Butler			"	"	55
55	Lynnson Wright			"	"	45
56	Thas. Gony	15		"	"	60
		56				
1	Bucy Singleton			Nov 1, 1879	June 1878	60
2	Maths Hedges			"	June 1878	60
3	Rose Sweetwood			"	"	50
4	Maggie Jenkins			"	"	55
5	Abelia Bennett			"	"	55
6	Phillis Truettins			"	"	55
7	Charlotte Forist			"	"	60
8	Mary Barber			"	"	60
9	Elizabeth Baker			"	"	55
10	Wager Stevenson			"	"	55
11	Walter Pinckney			"	"	60
12	Ray Williams			"	"	60
13	Offy Brown			"	"	60
14	Grace Williams			"	"	60
15	Milly Williams			"	"	60
16	Betty Pains			"	"	60
17	Solly Brown			"	"	60
18	Lucinda Turner			"	"	60
19	Offy P. as			"	"	60
20	Sarah Offite			Nov 3, 1879	"	60
21	Jane Benson			"	"	60
22	Mamma Hales			"	"	60
23	Helin Kennedy			"	"	60
24	Helin Jenkins			"	"	60
25	Lucy Turner			"	"	40
26	Phoe Anderson			Dec 5, 1879	"	40
27	Louise Kellogg			"	"	40
28	Jane Sady			"	"	40
29	Calcy Handerson			"	"	40
	TOTAL	56	29			3860
	Amount and amt. carried forward	56	29			3860

Number	Names of Pupils	Days	Class	Date of Entering School	Date of Leaving School	Months Attended	18
	Number and amt. Brought forward	56	29		Atana Uam	385	
30	Nickly Royal			Nov 2 1899	"	60	
31	Nickly Linnans			"	"	45	
32	Jelly Crawford			"	"	36	
33	Elly Holmes			"	"	50	
34	Meliodah Holmes			"	"	40	
35	Martha Livingston			"	"	48	
36	Fanny Small			"	"	60	
37	Hilly Brown			"	"	60	
38	Martha Butler			"	"	40	
39	Floa Barton			"	"	60	
40	Martha Francis			"	"	40	
41	Samuel Furell			"	"	55	
42	Reily Brown			"	"	45	
43	Emma Peltis			Dec 12, 1899	"	41	
44	Leagar Brown			Nov 2 1899	"	30	
45	Rehany Curtis			"	"	60	
46	Mary Landon			"	"	60	
47	Martha Council			"	"	60	
48	Orinal McLight		19	"	"	60	

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Edisto Charleston County, S. C. 1870.

Tax "FREE SCHOOL FUND" of *Charleston* County, for the Fiscal Year commencing December 1st, A. D. 1869, and ending October 31st, A. D. 1870.

To *Charles McQueen* Teacher, 119
 for services rendered in Teaching Free School at *Edisto Island* County of *Charleston*
 for the Term commencing *November 1* 1869, and ending *January 1* 1870.

Edisto Island, S. C., at 5 cents per day, or
 3 Months, at 2 _____ per month, \$ *240.00*
 Deduct amount of support received from source or sources other than the "FREE SCHOOL FUND" \$ *53.00*

Amount claimed from the "FREE SCHOOL FUND" \$ *187.00*

Amount allowed, \$ *53* per month.
Edisto - McQueen Teacher

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.)

Charleston County,)
 I, *Charles McQueen*, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that the foregoing account or claim
 of *Edisto Island* Dollars and _____ Cents, for the Fiscal Year commencing November 1st, A. D. 1869,
 and ending October 31st, A. D. 1870, is correct and just; that the same is truly due to me for services actually rendered in Teaching
 Free School at *Charleston* County, for the Term commencing *November 1*
 1869, and ending *January 1* 1870; that the said account, either in whole or in
 part, has never been paid, by direct or otherwise, directly or indirectly; and that I have, to the best of my knowledge and ability,
 correctly and truly filled out the Report accompanying the account aforesaid.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, at *Edisto Island*, S. C., on this *29* day of *January*, A. D. 1870.
John D. Hodges
Edisto Island

State of South Carolina,
 Charleston, S. C.,
 Account of *Charles McQueen*
 for services rendered as teacher dur-
 ing the fiscal year, commencing
 November 1st, 1869, and ending
 October 31st, 1870.
 Amount allowed, \$ *187.00*
Edisto Island, S. C.
Edisto Island, S. C.
 I hereby certify that the within
 account is correct and just.
W. H. Hodges
 School Officer of *Edisto Island*, S. C.
 Charleston, S. C.
 Approved and Order given for
 payment.
John D. Hodges
 School Officer of *Edisto Island*

TEACHERS WILL PLEASE BE PARTICULAR TO ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

1. No. of Scholars in Alphabet? - - - - - <i>24</i>	7. No. of Scholars in Geography? - - - - - <i>25</i>
2. No. of Scholars in Spelling? - - - - - <i>26</i>	8. No. of Scholars in English Grammar? - - - - - <i>25</i>
3. No. of Scholars in Reading? - - - - - <i>30</i>	9. No. of Scholars in History? - - - - - <i>30</i>
4. No. of Scholars in Writing? - - - - - <i>30</i>	10. No. of Scholars in higher branches? - - - - - <i>none</i>
5. No. of Scholars in Mental Arithmetic? - - - - - <i>40</i>	11. No. of Scholars not Absent? - - - - - <i>25</i>
6. No. of Scholars in Written Arithmetic? - - - - - <i>20</i>	12. No. of Scholars not Tardy? - - - - - <i>none</i>

*Note: The Teacher walked in the 60 days from residence to school, a nature ambitious to learn
 horse and travel 40 miles each way, making 8 miles per day in 60 days total 480 miles*

TEACHER'S MONTHLY SCHOOL REPORT

For the Month of March, 1876.

22- To obtain one entire calendar month, and to be forwarded as soon as possible after the close of the month.
 23- A School under the direct control of one Teacher, or a Teacher with one Assistant, to be reported on one Report.

Name of your School?	<u>Home P. S. School</u>	Location (town, county, or district)? <u>Edgemoor, York Co.</u>	
Is it a Day or Night School?	<u>Day</u>	Of what grade? <u>High School</u>	
When did your present session commence?	<u>Nov. 27</u>	When to close? <u>July 15</u>	
Is your School supported by an Educational Society?	<u>Yes</u>	What Faculty? <u>Miss A. T. Roberts</u>	
Is your School supported wholly by local School Board?	<u>Yes</u>	Name of Board or Com.? <u>Am't pd. this month?</u>	
Is your School supported in part by local School Board?	<u>Yes</u>	Name of Board or Com.? <u>Am't pd. this month?</u>	
Is your School supported wholly by Friends?	<u>Yes</u>	Amount paid this month?	
Is your School supported in part by Friends?	<u>Yes</u>	Amount paid this month?	
Have you had Bureau transportation this term?	<u>Yes</u>	How much per month? <u>0</u>	
Who owns the School-building?	<u>F. R. A. and U. S.</u>	White? <u>5</u> Colored? <u>10</u>	
Is rent paid by Friends or Bureau?	<u>Yes</u>	Male? <u>126</u> Female? <u>22</u>	
What number of Teachers and Assistants in your School?	<u>2</u>	Number enrolled last report, by adding new scholars and transferring those left at school, must equal one previous total enrollment.	
Total enrollment for the month?	<u>128</u>	Number who left school this month? <u>26</u>	
Number enrolled last report?	<u>102</u>	Number new Scholars this month? <u>26</u>	
Number left school this month?	<u>26</u>	What is the average attendance? <u>80.1</u>	
Number new Scholars this month?	<u>26</u>	Number of Pupils for whom tuition is paid? <u>102</u>	
What is the average attendance?	<u>80.1</u>	Number always present? <u>64</u>	
Number of Pupils for whom tuition is paid?	<u>102</u>	Number always present? <u>64</u>	
Number always present?	<u>64</u>	Number over 18 years of age? <u>83</u>	
Number always present?	<u>64</u>	Number in Alphabet? <u>102</u>	
Number over 18 years of age?	<u>83</u>	Number who read, and read any lessons? <u>162</u>	
Number in Alphabet?	<u>102</u>	Number in advanced readers? <u>234</u>	
Number who read, and read any lessons?	<u>162</u>	Number in Geography? <u>247</u>	
Number in advanced readers?	<u>234</u>	Number in Arithmetic? <u>247</u>	
Number in Geography?	<u>247</u>	Number in higher branches? <u>63</u>	
Number in Arithmetic?	<u>247</u>	Number in Writing? <u>332</u>	
Number in higher branches?	<u>63</u>	Number in Needle-work? <u>13</u>	
Number in Writing?	<u>332</u>	Number five below the year? <u>2</u>	
Number in Needle-work?	<u>13</u>	How many Teachers? <u>11</u> How many Pupils? <u>64</u>	
Number five below the year?	<u>2</u>	How many Teachers? <u>2</u> How many Pupils? <u>13</u>	
Is it a Sabbath School?	<u>Yes</u>	Name of the kind of work done? <u>None</u>	
Is it a District School?	<u>Yes</u>		
State the kind of work done?			

24- To the following questions give exact or approximate answers, prefixing to the letter the word "about."

1. Do you know of any Schools for Coloreds or Freedmen not reported to the State Superintendent? How many?
2. Give (estimated) whole number of pupils in all such Schools? No. of Teachers? White? Colored?
3. Do you know of Sabbath Schools not reported to the State Superintendent? How many? No. of Teachers? White? Colored?
4. Give (estimated) whole number of pupils in all such Schools? No. of Teachers? White? Colored?
5. State the public sentiment towards Colored Schools.
6. How many pupils in your School are members of a Temperance Society? 177 Name of the Society? The Holston Band of Hope

Remarks: Home P. S. School, Edgemoor, York Co., is supported by the U. S. B. for Col. as well as by the Friends of the U. S. B. in this territory. (The Holston Band of Hope) Home P. S. School is the only school in the neighborhood in which the colored children are taught.

Signed: Laura M. Jones Teacher, Edgemoor, York Co.

*Or School Committee, either District, Town, City, County, or State.

†A pupil is not to be counted as enrolled until after five days' attendance.

In the Report of the State Superintendent is not true with Home P. S. School in the Holston Village was not supported by the U. S. B. for Col. as stated above in Home P. S. School. In this territory (The Holston Band of Hope) Home P. S. School is the only school in the neighborhood in which the colored children are taught.

[Ed. Form, No. 2]

TEACHER'S MONTHLY

SCHOOL REPORT

For the month of March, 1870District or County, H. H. Township, Bradford Co.State, West CarolinaName of School, Reverend P. R. L. Schools

Name of Teacher _____

Presented _____

Received Apr. 13, 1870

EXPLANATION

If any of the within questions cannot be answered by the Teacher, they may be left for the Superintendent. If each answer to the questions of your knowledge, opposite the question, and he will fill the remainder of the report out as soon as possible. If the Superintendent has any remarks to make, he should write them in the space provided for that purpose. It is hoped that the Educational Societies will adopt this form of Report; if so, the Bureau can furnish the same at the rate of this. If should note extended forms be used, it would oblige the Commissioner in have them include at the terms of this.

BUREAU OF EDUCATION, D. C., October 1, 1868.

APPENDIX C

SELECTED STATISTICS FOR COASTAL SCHOOLS

1869-1899

Beaufort County

Year	No. of Public Schools	No. of Black Teachers	No. of White Teachers	No. of Black Pupils+	No. of White Pupils+	Average No. Months in Session
1869	32	1	36	2,075	57	N/R
1870	N/R	N/R	N/R	1,771	214	N/R
1871	55	44	29	3,317	117	7.0
1872	67	24	58	2,327	504	7.0
1873	116	57	67	4,460	740	6.9
1874	127	60	75	4,754	1,058	8.0
1875	108	56	51	5,290	572	5.9
1876	113	49	64	5,034	784	5.5
1877	73	43	31	4,359	551	4.0
1878	101	52	45	4,545	660	4.0
1879	59	45	21	3,893	166	3.5
1880	59	39	20	3,762	221	3.25
1881	62	47	16	4,021	157	4.5
1882	65	49	16	4,262	291	4.8
1883	69	51	18	4,593	338	5.0
1884	70	55	15	4,740	368	5.1
1885	76	63	13	5,229	446	4.8
1886	74	59	15	5,430	425	5.0
1887	88	67	16	5,762	437	4.9
1888	81	63	18	5,849	501	4.3
1889	81	64	18	5,859	512	4.3
1890	82	65	18	5,871	520	4.5
1891	85	67	18	6,776	530	4.5
1892	85	64	18	5,873	516	4.5
1893	85	64	18	5,868	527	4.5
1894	85	64	20	5,885	550	4.5
1895	85	69	18	3,114	302	3.5
1896	85	62	17	3,517	717	3.25
1897	85	83	20	3,874	451	4.0
1898	85	53	17	5,442	449	7/7.5*
1899	110	68	19	5,132	693	3.5/7.65*

+ From 1870 on Reports include students aged 6-18 years only.

N/R - No return

* Black/White

Berkeley County

Year	No. of Public Schools	No. of Black Teachers	No. of White Teachers	No. of Black Pupils+	No. of White Pupils+	Average No. Months in Session
1883	128	77	51	16,716	2,295	3.0
1884	122	72	47	12,302	1,735	2.2
1885	168	119	48	12,155	2,302	2.75
1886	169	115	54	12,426	2,527	3.0
1887	127	78	49	4,639	997	3.3
1888	131	80	51	4,708	1,086	4.0
1889	131	80	50	4,768	1,128	4.5
1890	127	78	49	4,639	997	3.3
1891	125	73	54	4,638	1,085	3.25
1892	134	95	46	5,540	1,286	4.75
1893	134	95	46	5,540	1,286	4.75
1894	134	95	46	5,615	1,515	4.0
1895	139	89	77	5,763	1,511	N/R
1896	139	58	66	3,090	1,448	1.85/2.03*
1897	139	66	56	3,328	1,370	2.08/2.25*
1898	139	66	53	3,595	1,364	4.0
1899	116	66	54	3,839	1,721	3.33/4.35*

+ From 1870 on Reports include students aged 6-18 years only.

N/R - No return

* Black/White

Charleston County

Year	No. of Public Schools	No. of Black Teachers	No. of White Teachers	No. of Black Pupils+	No. of White Pupils+	Average No. Months in Session
1869	12	6	93	2,055	2,026	N/R
1870	N/R	N/R	N/R	4,068	2,231	N/R
1871	65	29	111	4,965	3,526	7.0
1872	82	29	128	4,700	3,134	5.0
1873	79	36	115	5,917	3,633	4.0
1874	109	60	134	8,518	3,894	7.0
1875	127	80	144	7,638	3,432	7.0
1876	121	81	150	7,622	3,925	5.0
1877	96	78	114	7,270	3,795	4.5
1878	114	84	127	8,696	3,943	6.0
1879	111	69	131	7,800	3,882	3.66
1880	138	26	151	10,197	4,543	5.0
1881	145	91	148	9,165	4,000	5.25
1882	147	91	155	10,657	3,472	5.5
1883	15*	12	101	4,158	3,718	6.33
1884	16	12	104	4,181	3,625	7.6
1885	16	10	108	4,225	3,677	8.2
1886	16	13	115	4,437	3,840	8.6
1887	16	12	109	4,251	3,690	7.7
1888	16	13	110	2,925	2,140	7.5
1889	16	13	111	3,360	3,099	7.5
1890	16	13	111	3,427	2,978	10.0
1891	18	11	110	3,373	3,196	8.75
1892	18	12	110	3,633	3,506	8.75
1893	18	13	110	3,461	3,579	9.5
1894	18	7	106	2,953	2,545	9.0
1895	18	8	106	3,247	2,687	N/R
1896	18	28	127	5,362	3,459	2.85/4.33*
1897	18	42	133	7,807	3,590	4.5/5*
1898	18	44	121	7,612	4,525	6.5/7.25*
1899	65	44	121	7,111	4,625	6.65/7.54*

+ From 1870 on Reports include students aged 6-18 years only.

N/R - No return

* Charleston County split to form Charleston and Berkeley Counties.

* Black/White

City of Charleston

Year	No. of Public Schools	No. of Black Teachers	No. of White Teachers	No. of Black Pupils+	No. of White Pupils+	Average No. Months in Session
1869	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
1870	4	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
1871	4	N/R	N/R	1,746	3,322	9
1872	4	0	67	1,436	2,534	6
1873	4	0	72	1,930	3,236	10
1874	4	0	75	2,221	3,291	10
1875	5	8	79	3,062	3,008	10
1876	5	10	79	3,056	3,086	10
1877	5	10	79	3,233	3,480	10
1878	5	9	61	3,947	3,334	10
1879	5	9	81	3,586	3,189	10
1880	5	6	85	3,753	3,531	10
1881	5	5	86	3,280	3,056	10
1882	5	4	88	3,554	2,350	10

+ From 1870 on Reports include students aged 6-18 years only.

N/R - No return

Colleton County

Year	No. of Public Schools	No. of Black Teachers	No. of White Teachers	No. of Black Pupils+	No. of White Pupils+	Average No. Months in Session
1869	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
1870	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
1871	61	42	45	2,301	583	9.0
1872	51	21	32	1,756	565	7.0
1873	63	34	36	2,686	771	6.0
1874	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
1875	92	41	66	2,647	1,121	4.0
1876	71	29	44	2,134	1,028	4.5
1877	59	22	32	1,097	1,104	3.0
1878	89	21	71	1,851	1,227	3.0
1879	110	31	79	1,841	1,633	2.5
1880	109	31	79	1,981	1,709	3.0
1881	112	52	54	1,787	1,176	3.5
1882	111	50	63	1,854	2,196	4.5
1883	113	50	63	2,200	1,490	3.0
1884	113	58	55	2,278	1,384	3.5
1885	124	34	90	2,061	2,471	3.0
1886	120	42	61	2,118	2,621	3.5
1887	153	31	68	2,249	2,754	3.0
1888	127	34	62	2,249	2,776	3.0
1889	154	44	86	3,437	2,923	3.7
1890	145	44	86	2,917	3,066	2.5
1891	124	43	41	2,838	2,441	3.0
1892	128	55	60	3,072	2,681	3.0
1893	128	57	59	3,106	3,775	3.0
1894	128	57	57	3,137	2,780	5.0
1895	131	28	43	3,227	2,920	3.0
1896	131	48	116	3,394	3,443	3/5*
1897	131	64	114	3,292	3,241	2/4*
1898	131	17	69	2,388	2,385	2.3/3.35*
1899						

+ From 1870 on Reports include students aged 6-18 years only.

N/R - No return

* Black/White

Georgetown County

Year	No. of Public Schools	No. of Black Teachers	No. of White Teachers	No. of Black Pupils+	No. of White Pupils+	Average No. Months in Session
1869	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
1870	N/R	N/R	N/R	1,240	104	N/R
1871	45	11	13	855	160	6.0
1872	15	9	12	713	105	6.0
1873	18	9	11	1,092	178	6.0
1874	30	20	16	1,919	424	5.0
1875	34	21	15	1,963	522	6.0
1876	31	20	14	3,166	678	6.5
1877	40	29	14	1,920	251	4.5
1878	31	20	14	1,119	459	1.0
1879	52	30	26	1,802	620	4.66
1880	56	26	24	1,786	520	3.66
1881	53	35	17	1,773	428	4.0
1882	44	20	16	1,785	412	4.5
1883	50	37	17	1,946	367	4.33
1884	51	39	17	2,145	438	4.5
1885	53	40	17	2,549	582	4.0
1886	55	44	22	2,727	662	3.55
1887	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
1888	57	43	22	2,084	735	4.3
1889	57	44	21	2,119	622	4.4
1890	59	45	22	2,189	640	3.6
1891	60	26	23	2,376	772	4.8
1892	60	34	26	2,430	820	4.98
1893	60	31	26	2,372	755	5.0
1894	60	51	34	2,478	884	4.0
1895	60	47	28	2,609	973	4.22
1896	60	48	31	2,665	1,001	4.33
1897	60	55	31	2,715	1,040	5.11
1898	60	51	29	2,781	1,085	6.0
1899	75	50	36	3,073	1,167	4.86/5.19*

+ From 1870 on Reports include students aged 6-18 years only.

N/R - No return

* Black/White

APPENDIX D
NUMBER OF STUDENTS
STUDYING IN THE SUBJECT AREAS
1870-1899

Beaufort County

Year Ending	Alphabet	Spelling	Reading	Writing	Mental Arithmetic	Written Arithmetic	Geography	English Grammar	U.S. History	Higher Branches	S.C. History	Physiology and Hygiene
1870	788	1,187	1,197	566	488	215	391	67	9	0		
1871	742	2,692	2,712	899	3,439	380	3,434	275	19	0		
1872	412	2,071	2,063	1,417	1,413	849	1,035	328	303	32		
1873	1,489	3,173	3,173	2,668	5,200	2,604	2,398	1,089	567	278		
1874	1,655	3,391	3,497	2,893	5,724	2,783	2,498	1,473	590	293		
1875	1,461	3,926	3,531	2,036	2,187	1,356	1,157	436	402	35		
1876	1,161	3,971	3,580	2,135	2,067	1,329	1,406	468	376	80		
1877	720	2,531	2,367	1,605	1,423	939	954	320	306	40		
1878	974	3,542	3,104	2,518	1,764	1,364	1,174	479	391	86		
1879	998	2,518	2,266	1,844	1,298	999	899	233	270	71		
1880	1,125	2,628	2,247	1,678	1,369	1,131	1,028	562	278	21		
1881	1,047	2,631	2,310	1,803	1,476	1,340	1,126	619	376	24		
1882	1,271	3,382	2,920	2,379	2,006	1,700	1,371	955	822	39		
1883	1,351	3,580	3,051	2,547	2,369	1,836	1,498	1,124	1,022	49		
1884	1,462	3,646	3,304	2,953	2,710	2,441	2,247	1,836	1,601	56		
1885	1,492	4,183	3,661	3,349	3,147	2,843	2,641	2,183	1,981	67		
1886	1,460	4,395	3,914	3,512	3,318	3,046	2,727	2,432	2,170	79		
1887	1,717	4,428	3,907	3,507	3,130	2,803	2,519	2,100	2,131	46		
1888	1,976	4,374	3,962	3,630	3,253	2,936	2,680	2,259	2,109	58		
1889	1,984	4,386	3,979	3,652	3,261	2,942	2,691	2,269	2,112	72		
1890	1,986	4,387	3,980	3,654	3,262	2,943	2,692	2,269	2,114	74		

Year Ending	Alphabet	Spelling	Reading	Writing	Mental Arithmetic	Written Arithmetic	Geography	English Grammar	U.S. History	High School Branches	S. C. History	Physiology and Hygiene
1891	2,072	4,463	4,056	3,729	3,338	3,019	2,708	2,340	2,189	150	189	200
1892	1,980	4,382	3,980	3,656	3,262	2,946	2,692	2,270	2,118	89	296	2,421
1893	1,797	4,383	3,981	3,657	3,263	2,947	2,693	2,271	2,118	90	296	2,422
1894	1,780	4,400	3,991	3,667	3,268	2,949	2,695	2,273	2,120	97	299	2,424
1895	32	272	299	296	254	213	85	76	18	10	20	10
	751	2,771	2,689	2,632	2,094	1,728	1,087	756	340	12	422	111
1896	+	62	282	717	700	699	303	174	102	118	120	127
	909	3,348	3,364	3,019	3,025	2,257	1,276	765	482	100	459	298
1897	+	628	166	642	267	149	240	171	137	85	75	76
	880	2,866	3,022	1,710	1,719	1,590	1,338	910	466	35	471	223
1898	+	60	432	432	422	229	295	149	72	47	83	17
	1,060	4,209	4,097	3,589	3,196	2,589	1,568	995	838	45	723	49
1899	+	45	568	547	361	483	400	272	185	28	124	30
	689	3,773	3,142	4,798	3,023	2,647	2,422	1,449	955	26	483	194

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Berkeley County

Year Ending	Alphabet	Spelling	Reading	Writing	Mental Arithmetic	Written Arithmetic	Geography	English Grammar	History of the U.S.	Higher Branches	S.C. History	Physiology and Hygiene
1883	3,067	13,480	13,000	9,693	10,381	6,522	5,048	2,278	1,487	75		
1884	2,481	10,432	9,379	6,930	7,531	4,990	3,268	1,261	877	172		
1885	3,912	10,565	9,355	6,169	5,017	5,719	4,097	2,106	2,274	255		
1886	4,470	10,483	7,347	7,929	5,414	6,564	6,275	5,106	4,690	17		
1887	1,053	4,557	3,944	2,960	3,209	2,150	1,399	602	557	68		
1888	974	4,636	4,046	3,057	3,248	2,184	1,455	650	598	91		
1889	1,039	4,670	4,064	3,060	3,267	2,201	1,469	674	615	104		
1890	1,053	4,557	3,944	2,960	3,209	2,150	1,399	602	557	68		
1891	9,864	4,556	3,939	3,441	4,207	1,829	1,276	447	484	51	4	--
1892	906	4,709	4,200	3,507	3,374	2,192	1,435	862	528	170	679	146
1893	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
1894	992	6,095	5,349	4,681	3,727	3,289	2,440	892	627	275	625	384
1895	+ 118	1,393	1,278	1,142	872	922	625	513	472	178	471	273
	+ 1,078	4,126	3,834	3,125	3,057	2,158	1,108	479	372	129	486	270
1896	+ 80	1,281	848	1,135	770	774	642	454	366	77	284	161
	+ 447	2,643	2,078	1,759	1,659	1,535	948	443	238	10	284	139
1897	+ 80	1,250	1,129	1,145	832	801	577	292	219	92	131	50
	+ 491	2,837	2,617	2,175	1,984	1,525	667	264	207	43	223	138
1898	+ 121	1,098	1,000	2,062	940	913	659	420	237	84	223	148
	+ 574	2,712	2,597	2,253	2,166	1,589	973	627	586	44	602	475
1899*	+ 100	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	900	600	480	400	400	500	109
	+ 200	3,884	3,800	3,000	500	500	700	400	200	--	300	100

N/R - No Return

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* Estimated

Charleston County

Year Ending	Alphabet	Spelling	Reading	Writing	Mental Arithmetic	Written Arithmetic	Geography	English Grammar	U.S. History	Higher Branches	S.C. History	Physiology and Hygiene
1870	1,120	3,861	3,298	3,317	2,445	3,233	2,401	1,228	1,215	292		
1871	798	2,014	1,875	805	751	379	365	104	103	43		
1872	1,050	4,949	4,424	3,147	3,007	2,284	2,521	1,273	1,431	244		
1873	1,269	6,696	6,438	4,294	5,045	4,691	4,261	2,145	2,448	209		
1874	1,706	8,870	8,254	5,086	6,698	6,076	5,942	2,521	2,802	172		
1875	1,363	8,790	8,098	5,317	6,528	6,064	6,011	2,723	3,168	329		
1876	1,902	9,564	8,518	5,544	7,555	6,240	6,145	2,503	3,164	399		
1877	1,839	9,295	8,727	5,604	8,015	7,177	6,337	3,336	3,192	423		
1878	2,009	10,630	9,424	6,995	8,862	7,667	6,556	3,832	3,837	531		
1879	2,028	9,764	9,351	6,319	8,337	7,311	7,273	3,354	3,221	459		
1880	2,733	11,979	11,143	8,299	10,168	8,133	6,481	3,942	3,943	554		
1881	2,115	11,190	10,606	9,081	9,706	8,050	6,982	3,828	4,482	866		
1882	2,454	10,378	9,797	7,439	8,416	6,819	4,801	2,582	2,691	311		
1883	343	4,335	4,426	3,716	3,800	4,036	3,200	1,796	2,339	684		
1884	381	1,151	4,387	2,948	3,880	3,027	3,009	2,267	2,217	585		
1885	404	1,243	4,494	3,033	4,415	3,165	2,950	2,318	2,308	597		
1886	463	1,311	4,628	3,261	3,472	4,384	3,121	2,384	2,482	624		
1887	543	1,481	5,602	3,643	3,741	5,304	3,478	2,925	3,332	762		
1888	421	4,641	4,602	3,977	3,500	4,307	3,158	1,655	3,019	632		
1889	690	5,310	5,117	4,018	4,302	4,450	3,219	1,736	1,953	564		
1890	1,073	5,453	5,382	4,421	4,006	4,006	3,114	1,636	1,403	538		

Year Ending	Alphabet	Spelling	Reading	Writing	Mental Arithmetic	Written Arithmetic	Geography	English Grammar	U.S. History	Other Branches	S.C. History	Physiology and Hygiene
1891	1,306	5,892	5,761	5,761	3,029	3,124	4,103	2,996	2,912	258	--	258
1892	1,401	7,129	6,031	5,947	3,460	3,561	4,093	3,016	3,016	279	--	279
1893	1,100	1,512	4,727	4,727	3,471	4,534	3,497	2,519	2,823	293	249	293
1894	505	5,095	5,041	4,796	4,705	4,698	3,399	1,531	2,069	318	86	589
1895	+ 295	2,036	2,382	1,796	2,064	2,059	1,729	1,692	1,695	836	1,051	1,011
1896	+ 378	1,612	1,492	1,217	1,270	1,270	758	651	563	187	574	498
1896	+ 378	2,857	3,068	3,036	1,961	2,012	2,945	2,066	1,691	254	834	807
1897	+ 427	3,092	3,851	3,504	2,809	2,273	1,678	1,311	1,203	94	978	1,057
1897	+ 427	3,218	3,185	2,558	2,498	2,510	2,439	2,338	2,345	256	1,130	937
1898	+ 653	4,673	4,571	3,390	3,726	3,221	2,467	2,121	2,974	17	661	928
1898	+ 653	3,877	3,991	3,365	3,174	3,740	2,573	2,378	1,754	278	1,631	1,949
1899	+ 602	4,341	4,302	3,742	3,345	3,340	1,940	1,572	1,387	47	533	769
1899	+ 602	3,717	3,717	3,735	3,188	3,666	2,823	2,617	2,511	470	2,274	2,151
1899	+ 1,692	4,673	4,733	4,804	4,267	3,877	2,975	2,375	2,464	28	1,872	1,401

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City of Charleston

Year Ending	Alphabet	Spelling	Reading	Writing	Mental Arithmetic	Written Arithmetic	Geography	English Grammar	History	High School Branches
1872	449	2,514	2,506	2,009	2,379	2,225	2,070	1,082	1,326	176
1873	311	4,092	4,092	3,006	3,683	3,860	3,561	1,913	2,268	156
1874	305	5,167	5,167	3,306	4,892	4,914	4,762	2,204	2,559	175
1875	552	5,518	5,518	3,642	5,001	5,001	4,900	2,438	2,948	30
1876	617	5,525	5,525	3,760	5,525	5,225	5,000	2,576	3,000	353
1877	654	6,159	6,159	4,106	6,159	6,159	5,372	3,000	3,000	401
1878	762	6,519	6,519	5,200	6,519	6,519	5,441	3,400	3,000	500
1879	670	6,163	6,163	5,425	6,163	6,163	5,390	3,000	3,000	420
1880	760	6,518	6,518	5,200	6,518	6,518	5,443	3,400	3,600	500
1881	575	5,761	5,761	5,836	5,761	5,761	5,424	3,076	4,025	818
1882	363	3,841	3,786	2,982	3,487	3,688	2,745	1,597	2,132	242

Colleton County

Year Ending	Alphabet	Spelling	Reading	Writing	Mental Arithmetic	Written Arithmetic	Geography	English Grammar	U.S. History	Higher Branches	S. C. History	Physiology and Hygiene
1870	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R		
1871	809	2,039	1,376	698	245	640	460	184	141	24		
1872	369	1,811	1,575	984	1,192	841	481	233	131	18		
1873	753	2,710	2,702	2,123	1,762	1,020	1,413	515	454	54		
1874	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R		
1875	726	2,808	2,250	1,489	1,104	850	626	260	163	4		
1876	434	2,398	1,770	1,157	1,131	772	660	302	175	33		
1877	275	1,501	1,244	811	728	545	474	274	151	33		
1878	493	2,273	1,673	1,212	1,070	761	655	379	303	41		
1879	705	2,759	1,699	1,210	1,288	863	755	384	325	96		
1880	677	2,574	2,394	2,199	1,482	1,115	903	801	795	110		
1881	627	983	964	909	651	719	468	494	256	19		
1882	853	2,804	2,110	1,613	1,940	1,375	1,082	955	495	167		
1883	441	1,398	1,199	1,145	767	718	652	588	566	64		
1884	846	1,447	1,412	1,283	1,192	1,194	934	964	589	--		
1885	396	3,698	2,948	2,341	1,649	1,914	1,317	1,005	833	98		
1886	368	3,261	3,004	2,758	1,632	1,793	1,089	866	792	67		
1887	404	3,208	2,887	2,468	472	1,921	1,100	1,173	1,067	55		
1888	372	3,317	2,944	2,890	705	2,015	909	1,010	2,042	58		
1889	769	4,927	3,930	3,126	2,509	2,131	1,754	1,062	849	137		
1890	616	5,167	3,792	3,184	2,272	2,149	1,676	1,055	896	180		

Year Ending	Alphabet	Spelling	Reading	Writing	Mental Arithmetic	Written Arithmetic	Geography	English Grammar	U.S. History	Other Branches	S.C. History	Physiology and Hygiene
1891	294	4,872	3,648	3,150	--	2,342	1,974	1,764	1,400	255	--	--
1892	539	4,897	3,878	3,171	2,187	1,681	1,781	969	600	100	216	--
1893	550	4,960	4,000	3,325	2,325	2,175	1,900	1,022	625	175	275	100
1894	540	4,985	4,200	3,525	2,350	2,350	2,105	1,175	750	130	300	125
1895	+ 200	2,507	2,215	2,000	1,246	1,183	1,062	596	500	145	200	140
	+ 300	2,500	2,000	1,540	1,100	1,182	1,061	596	269	--	115	--
1896	+ 225	3,069	2,711	2,417	1,564	3,496	2,087	968	952	319	309	318
	+ 200	4,200	500	1,700	1,250	1,350	1,150	650	300	--	100	75
1897	+ 312	2,682	2,355	2,164	856	1,728	1,443	1,028	714	158	170	132
	+ 534	2,588	1,987	1,486	1,044	931	767	202	207	18	100	84
1898	+ 205	1,778	1,623	1,400	743	1,123	921	650	506	100	104	122
	+ 375	1,734	1,430	1,095	864	516	479	214	132	12	47	66
1899	+ 157	1,881	1,630	1,511	796	1,122	832	641	455	78	133	128
	+ 378	1,629	1,229	876	870	711	556	268	151	32	51	16

N/R - No Return

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Georgetown County

Year Ending	Alphabet	Spelling	Reading	Writing	Mental Arithmetic	Written Arithmetic	Geography	English Grammar	U.S. History	Higher Branches	S.C. History	Physiology and Hygiene
1870	231	834	529	230	149	186	111	49	8	2		
1871	78	744	587	362	214	219	269	103	69	10		
1872	155	427	365	284	220	158	177	38	38	11		
1873	222	740	536	347	264	271	245	96	141	5		
1874	538	1,255	1,165	960	767	660	687	225	870	30		
1875	531	1,998	1,824	1,328	1,349	1,060	943	454	705	12		
1876	841	2,759	1,943	1,236	787	651	1,347	632	658	--		
1877	694	1,275	917	632	520	472	65	65	65	4		
1878	443	1,042	672	439	466	358	282	70	70	6		
1879	575	1,787	1,105	767	623	453	327	113	111	13		
1880	587	1,642	1,178	643	803	402	358	115	119	13		
1881	394	1,634	1,278	910	1,042	476	403	130	155	13		
1882	294	1,685	1,227	821	935	448	363	140	159	8		
1883	419	1,906	1,456	888	1,099	559	514	197	243	15		
1884	209	2,283	1,830	1,291	2,223	884	718	178	159	31		
1885	375	2,656	2,237	1,587	3,131	1,417	1,006	621	546	54		
1886	308	3,091	3,006	2,150	3,381	2,006	1,407	1,092	1,042	74		
1887	**											
1888	385	2,425	2,425	1,868	2,809	1,818	1,408	1,215	1,084	88		
1889	141	2,640	2,640	2,017	2,781	1,382	991	818	835	54		
1890	195	2,134	2,634	2,634	2,829	1,543	1,189	1,053	1,003	36		

Year Ending	Alphabet	Spelling	Reading	Writing	Mental Arithmetic	Written Arithmetic	Geography	English Grammar	U. S. History	Other Branches	S. C. History	Physiology and Hygiene
1891	288	2,890	2,890	2,890	2,890	798	791	626	661	89	274	231
1892	310	3,050	3,050	2,960	3,050	820	805	630	648	95	305	260
1893	104	3,023	3,023	3,023	3,023	884	905	622	685	95	285	240
1894	150	2,212	2,212	2,212	3,362	956	930	652	695	105	245	250
1895	55	918	918	918	973	265	265	208	207	106	160	105
1896	110	2,499	2,499	2,084	2,444	741	697	467	492	54	78	166
1896	60	446	446	446	1,001	52	485	301	300	120	230	125
1896	120	2,545	2,545	2,545	666	795	703	485	596	60	95	175
1897	75	937	937	937	1,040	675	589	502	328	132	275	156
1898	132	2,583	2,583	2,583	2,583	890	863	501	569	66	157	182
1898	40	1,045	1,045	1,045	1,085	690	610	527	340	134	301	158
1899	80	2,701	2,701	2,604	2,781	1,205	906	840	605	65	240	190
1899	60	1,101	1,101	1,101	1,161	896	840	625	512	150	550	165
1899	72	2,991	2,991	2,991	3,063	1,566	1,283	1,060	898	75	389	250

** Schools closed by act of Legislature.

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APPENDIX E

SELECTED BLACK-WHITE STATISTICS

1898-1899

Black-White Statistics for the School Year 1898-99

	No. of Schools	No. of Students	Average No. of Students in School	Average No. of Students to Teacher	Average No. of Months in Session
Beaufort Co.					
Black	59	5,132	86.9	75.4	3.5
White	16	693	43.3	36.4	7.65
Berkeley Co.					
Black	65	3,839	59.0	58.1	3.33
White	51	1,721	33.7	31.8	4.35
Charleston Co.					
Black	43	7,111	165.4	71.1	6.65
White	22	4,625	210.2	71.1	7.54
Colleton Co.					
Black	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
White	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
Georgetown Co.					
Black	44	3,073	69.8	61.4	4.86
White	31	1,167	37.6	32.4	5.19

N/R - No Return

VITA

Elizabeth Hoyt-Thetford

- Personal Data: Date of Birth: September 7, 1948
 Place of Birth: Selma, Alabama
 Marital Status: Married
- Education: East Tennessee State University, Johnson City,
 Tennessee; speech, English, B.S., 1972.
 William Carey College, Hattiesburg, Mississippi;
 English, education, M.Ed., 1982.
 William Carey College, Hattiesburg, Mississippi;
 English, education, Ed.S., 1984.
 East Tennessee State University, Johnson City,
 Tennessee; supervision, administration, Ed.D., 1986.
- Professional
 Experience: Teacher, St. John High School; Gulfport, Mississippi,
 1972-1973.
 Teacher, Starkville Public Schools; Starkville,
 Mississippi, 1974.
 Project Director, Mississippi Arts Commission;
 Louisville, Mississippi, 1974-1976.
 Teacher, St. Martin Attendance Center; Biloxi,
 Mississippi, 1977-1984.
 Doctoral Fellow, East Tennessee State University;
 Johnson City, Tennessee. 1984-1986.
 Adjunct Faculty, Walters State Community College;
 Morristown, Tennessee, 1986.
- Publications,
 Presentations: Presented: 1976. Conference on Visual Anthropology,
 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; "The Single Weave and
 Double Weave Baskets of the Mississippi Choctaws
 Demonstrated by Isbie Gibson"; videotape and
 discussion.
 Edited: "A Study Guide to Accompany Human Development
 Across the Life Span" by Dr. Nancy Acuff (St. Paul:
 West, 1985).
 Editor: Kappa East, official newsletter of the ETSU
 chapter of Phi Delta Kappa, 1985-1986.
 Editor: Media Message, official newsletter of the
 Tennessee Audiovisual Association, 1985-1986.
 Photographs Published: East Tennessean, 1985; South
 Mississippi Sun, 1976.

Honors: Doctoral Fellowship, East Tennessee State University;
 Johnson City, Tennessee, 1984-1986.
 Kappa Delta Pi, education honor society.
 Phi Delta Kappa, education honor society.

Professional Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development
Memberships: Kappa Delta Pi
 National Council of Teachers of English
 Phi Delta Kappa
 South Atlantic Philosophy of Education Society
 Tennessee Audiovisual Association