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# The Black preacher as educator from 1787 to 1909.

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THE BLACK PREACHER AS EDUCATOR FROM 1787 TO 1909

A Dissertation Presented

By

WILLIAM CHARLES LARKIN

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1979

Education

( c )

William Charles Larkin

1979

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THE BLACK PREACHER AS EDUCATOR FROM 1787 TO 1909


A Dissertation Presented

By

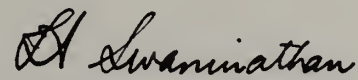
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## ABSTRACT

The Black Preacher As Educator: 1787 to 1909

(May 1979)

William C. Larkin, Ed.D., University of Massachusetts

Directed by: Dr. Norma Jean Anderson

Contrary to a popular assumption that the first Black educators were laity, this dissertation identifies the Black preacher as the first Black educator to Blacks. The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate and evaluate a part of American Educational History that conveys credibly and concisely the educational contributions of Black preachers to Black Americans during the period from 1787 to 1909.

The year 1787 is chosen as a beginning date for this study because it fairly represents the time when the Black church emerged as an independent institution. With the Black church as a base the Black preacher fulfilled various formal and informal educational roles, such as educational propagandists, classroom teachers, administrators, founders of schools, and instillers of Black pride through four behavioral categories: Millitant, Moderate, Traditionalist, and Liberal. The year 1909 is selected as a terminus because the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was in final formation and a Black preacher made a significant contribution to that development. One of its major concerns was to correct the abusive treatment

suffered by Blacks, which included improving their educational opportunities.

This study is significant because the educational contribution of the Black preacher in this specific period of Black educational history is not known in any one resource, nor anyplace else is this subject known to have been researched and the data published. Other studies have limited themselves to the development of the Black church and Black religion. Inevitably they referred to the general educational contributions of some Black preachers. This study concentrates directly on the educational contributions of Black preachers from 1787 to 1909.

The focus on educational history made by this study is the change in the misapprehension that Black preachers did not become involved in educational development related to Blacks. Also, this study informs those only familiar with renown Black lay educators that there were Black Preacher-Educators who were their forerunners and who made a significant contribution to Black education.

Chapter I is the introduction to this study and offers an explanation on the purpose, organization, significance, definition of terms, background, limitations, boundaries, method, review of literature, and problems.

Chapter II discusses Black preachers as formal and informal educators from 1787 to the Civil War in the categories of Militants, Liberals, Moderates and Traditionalists.



Chapter III is concerned with the formal and informal educational contributions of only Liberal and Traditional Black preachers from the Civil War to 1909. The Militants presented in Chapter II do not appear noticeably after the Civil War. Although there were Moderates after the Civil War, more effective results are found in the educational contribution of the Liberals. Implications of the study, conclusions, and recommendations for future research are contained in Chapter IV.

Recommendations of this study:

1. American educational history could expand its understanding of a locus for learning or the process of educating from the limitations of a controlled educational setting, such as a school. From this study one may glean that the Black church is also a learning center. There they learn how to conduct business and master many meaningful basic phases of life. Thus a study on the contribution of the church to the education of Blacks would be helpful.
2. Black women Preacher-Educators are not included in this study. There were Black females such as Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman who were officially declared preachers or who fulfilled the role of a Preacher-Educator prior to the turn of the twentieth century. A study, therefore, of the educational contribution of Black female preachers would be a significant addition to Black educational history.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS . . . . .	iv
ABSTRACT . . . . .	v
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
A. Background to Study	
B. Problems and Conclusions of Study	
C. Purpose of Study	
D. Definition of Terms	
Education	
Formal education	
Informal education	
Contribution	
Preacher	
Types of Black preacher-educators	
The Militant	
The Moderate	
The Traditionalist	
The Liberal	
E. Significance of Study	
F. Limitations of Study	
G. Boundaries to the Study	
H. Method of Study	
I. Review of Literature	
J. Organization of Study	
II. THE BLACK PREACHER AS EDUCATOR: 1787 TO THE CIVIL WAR . .	
A. Introduction . . . . .	18
B. Militant Preachers . . . . .	
Gabriel Prosser	
Denmark Vesey	
Nathaniel Turner	
Moses Dickson	
C. The Liberal Black Preacher . . . . .	30
Abolitionists . . . . .	31
Frederick Douglass	
Jermain Wesley Loguen	
Theodore S. Wright	
Samuel Cornish	
Josiah Henson	

Black Preacher-Teachers . . . . .	54
Lifetime Educators:	
Daniel A. Payne	
John Francis Cook, Sr.	
Preachers who taught School a while and later	
pursued other vocations:	
Benjamin W. Arnett	
Henry H. Garnet	
Preachers who taught as they were pastors:	
James W.C. Pennington	
J.Y.B. Morgan	
William H. Hunter	
James Shorter	
Rev. Anderson	
Benjamin Hughes	
Daniel Coker	
Educational Propagandist . . . . .	71
Prince Hall	
Richard Allen	
Morris Brown	
Edmund Kelly	
James Poindexter	
Charles B. Ray	
J.B. Russwurn	
Samuel Cornish	
Frederick Douglass	
Daniel Coker	
D. The Moderate Black Preacher-Educator . . . . .	85
Black pastors of white congregations	
Lemuel Haynes	
Henry Evans	
Jacob Bishop	
Ambiguous Educational Propagandists	
"Yellow preacher"	
Jupiter Hammon	
Isaiah Moore	
Teacher: John Chavis	
E. Traditionalists who gave religious instructions . . . . .	96
London Ferrill	
Doctor Isaac Cooper	
Uncle Jack	
F. Summary to Chapter II . . . . .	99

III. THE BLACK PREACHER AS EDUCATOR: FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO 1909.

A. Introduction . . . . .	101
B. "The Need for Black Teachers: A Controversial	
Issue Involving Black Ministers" (Propagandists)	

Richard Henry Boyd	
James Lynch	
Francis Cardoza	
Frederick Douglass	
W. S. Scarborough	
J. R. Crockett	
J. W. Smith	
E. K. Love	
Francis Grimke	
E. M. Brawley	
C. "Black Educators in Black Denominations"	
(Teachers, Founders of Schools, Administrators,	
and Educational Propagandists). . . . .	.116
The Baptists. . . . .	.117
Liberal Preachers:	
A.L.E. Weeks, Calvin S. Brown,	
C. T. Walker, E. C. Morris,	
William H. McAlpine, and R. T.	
Pollard	
Traditional preachers:	
G. W. Dupee and W. E. Northcross	
The African Methodist Episcopal Church. . . . .	.128
J. W. Brown	
J. A. Wood	
W. J. Gaines	
T. M. D. Ward	
William Fisher Dickerson	
J. P. Howard	
Richard H. Cain	
E. W. Lampton	
Levi J. Coppin	
Evan Tyree	
The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. . . . .	.148
Charles C. Petty	
C. R. Harris	
R. J. Crockett	
J. W. Alstork	
J. S. Caldwell	
J. W. Smith	
Alexander Walters	
J. W. Hood	
The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. . . . .	.147
L. H. Holsey	
William H. Miles	
Isaac Lane	
C. H. Phillips	
Elias Cottrell	
R. S. Williams	

Other Black Educators. . . . .	157
(formal educators)	
Francis L. Cardoza (AMA)	
H. L. McCrorey (Presbyterian)	
Charles S. Brooks (Episcopal)	
P. P. Alston (Episcopal)	
D. Summary To Chapter III. . . . .	.161
CHAPTER IV CONCLUSION. . . . .	164
BIBLIOGRAPHY. . . . .	.169

# C H A P T E R I

## INTRODUCTION

### Background

This study will identify the period when many Black preachers were formal and informal educators to Blacks. They served as educators through four behavioral categories---Militant, Liberal, Moderate, and Traditionalist. Their incentive to improve the educational conditions of Blacks developed from their concerns for Blacks as professional leaders in religion and in the church. Black religion started with efforts by Blacks to substitute a Christian religion of their own for white Christianity. Blacks often rejected the white religion because it constituted a method of social control. Thus Black religion may be defined as the beliefs about God that Black preachers used to provoke reverence and to give expression to every phase of life in the social context of the Black community.<sup>1</sup> The late eighteenth century Black preachers created a Black religious community that strengthened relationships among Blacks. They often used their coming together for worship as a basis for planning change in their slave condition. Religion for these Black educators was their inspiration to comply with what they thought was God's will for them in the educational

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<sup>1</sup>Gaylaud S. Wilmore, Black Religion and Black Radicalism (New York: Doubleday, 1972), pp. 32, 37; and Ruby F. Johnston, The Development of Negro Religion (New York: Philosophical Library, 1954), p. xvii.

development of Blacks.<sup>1</sup>

The Black church developed from the practice of religion. As the church emerged, it became the school, political platform, social stage, and musical hall. Although whites were often present during the early development of the Black church, Blacks felt freedom and pride by having their own church, practicing their own religion, supporting and encouraging their own preachers, and singing their own songs.

The social background to this study is that as newcomers to America, the Black slaves were confronted with a white oriented and dominated form of life outside of their experience. Blacks were from a culture that had not prepared them for survival in a culture where they would be separated from family and generally treated as animals. They were also denied the practice of their native culture. While they provided the labor force behind the expanding American economy, they did not share equally in its advantages and resources. Even free Blacks were unable to occupy positions of equality and power in mainstream America.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gary T. Marx, Protest and Prejudice (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1967), pp. 94, 96.

<sup>2</sup>Herbert Aptheker, Essays in the History of the American Negro (New York: International Publishers, 1945), pp. 4-70; and Allen Weinstein and Frank Gatell (editors), American Negro Slavery (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 37.

Problems and Questions of the Study

One of the problems to be answered is a common misapprehension about Black preachers, that they "did not seem to know anything about their (Black) present situation."<sup>1</sup> For example, when a Black preacher was asked to assist with voter registration, he refused, saying, "All we preachers is supposed to do is to preach the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and Him crucified, and that's all."<sup>2</sup>

Contrary to this opinion, E. Franklin Frazier stated that:

The work of the Negro preacher in establishing schools was especially important since the southern States provided only a pittance of public funds for the education of Negro children.<sup>3</sup>

Thus this study will present some of the major educational contributions of Black preachers during the period from 1787 to 1909.

Another problem this study will seek to answer is that many educators, Black and white, seem to be unaware of the specific services Black preachers made to the educational development of Blacks before 1910. Thus this study will inform those familiar with Black lay-educators during this

<sup>1</sup>Carter G. Woodson, The Mis-education of the Negro (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1933), p. 66.

<sup>2</sup>Gunner Myrdal, "The Negro Church: Its Weakness, Trends, and Outlook," in Hart M. Nelson, et al, editors, The Black Church in America (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1971), p. 260.

<sup>3</sup>E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Church in America (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), p. 40.



period, such as Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois, and Mary McLeod Bethune, with the significant impact of Black preachers on the educational foundations of Blacks the same period.

### Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study will be to investigate and evaluate a part of American educational history that will convey credibly and concisely the educational contributions of the Black preacher to Black Americans during a certain span of time. After a careful review of available documents, the time span from 1787 to 1909 was chosen as a period when the Black preacher was the most influential professional contributing to the overall educational development of Black Americans.<sup>1</sup>

### Definition of Terms

#### Education

Education means the "reconstruction or reorganization of experience adds to the meaning of experience, and which increases ability to direct the course of subsequent experience."<sup>2</sup> Black preacher-educators will be seen as

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<sup>1</sup>Melvin Drimmer, Black History (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1968), p. 312; and Claude H. Nolen, The Negro's Image in the South (Lexington, Kentucky: The University of Kentucky Press, 1967), p. 140.

<sup>2</sup>Chris A. DeYoung, Introduction to American Public Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1942). p. 467.

assessing predominantly white America and making judgments for implementation on the basis of how they thought they could lead Blacks into a meaningful adjustment to the white controlled structure. Education, understood through this background, identifies a deliberate effort by Blacks within the boundaries of this study to foster a process towards a worthwhile development of themselves.

### Informal Education

Informal education means the reconstruction or re-organization of experiences to make life more worthwhile.<sup>1</sup> With the help of the informal Black preacher-educator, Blacks learned the necessary skills and techniques for survival in a hostile world, which included an appreciation for their own culture and values.

Informal Black preacher-educators were the Militants and Liberal Abolitionists, who taught self-determination to Blacks; the Traditionalists, who taught moral codes to Blacks for human survival; and Liberal and Moderate Propagandists, who believed that if a Black had a skill and could read and write, he would be able to prove himself equal to whites, and founders of private schools. These activities were necessary for the advancement of education among Blacks because, until about 1840, Blacks in

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<sup>1</sup> John Dewey, Democracy and Education (New York: Macmillan, 1928), pp. 177-178; Raymond E. Callhan, An Introduction to Education in America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), p. 89; and DeYoung, pp. 466-467.

the North and South were excluded from the public tax-supported schools.<sup>1</sup> From the Civil War to about 1909, the informal Black preacher-educators increased in number as founders of schools and as propagandists.

### Formal Education

Formal education is an interaction of a person with his environment beyond the oral transmission of survival techniques and skills. Formal education seeks to make life more meaningful through skills of writing, testing, and preserving knowledge. Through the investigation and testing of accumulated data, one can minimize repetition of ideas, accentuate creativity, and specify and direct life objectives.<sup>2</sup> In light of this understanding of formal education, Black preacher-educators helped Blacks advance and increase their options for a better life.<sup>3</sup> These educators made a valuable contribution to the educational development of Blacks by serving as teachers and school administrators from around 1800 to the end of the nineteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup> John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Vantage Books, third edition, 1969), p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> Robert E. Potter, The Stream of American Education (New York: American Book Company, 1967), p. 430; Callahan, pp. 91-93; and DeYoung, pp. 467-468.

<sup>3</sup> Callahan, p. 173.

## Contribution

The term contribution means something of value given to someone who will make his life more meaningful and worthwhile. The educational roles of the Black preacher-educators, therefore, will be observed as contributing to the formal and informal educational development of Blacks during this period.

## Preacher

There are at least two ways to determine who is a preacher, namely: (1) personal pronouncement; and (2) ministerial recognition given to a person by a religious organization. In the former, a person may overtly declare himself a preacher or imply this status through the use of certain rhetoric and behavior. The test to this claim is made upon an evaluation of the claimant's service and followers. If people follow this type of preacher, there is justification for him to assume this role. In the latter, the acquisition of credentials makes acknowledging the claim more complex. The candidate for the ministry is generally inducted into the religious organization by an examination, such as:

...do they know God as a pardoning God? Have they the love of God abiding in them? ...And are they holy in manner of conversation? Have they gifts for their work? ...Do they speak justly, readily, clearly? ...Are any truly convinced of sin and

converted to God by their preaching?<sup>1</sup>

When these questions are answered affirmatively, as required by the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, ordained ministers usually say, "We believe he is called of God to preach."<sup>2</sup>

### Militant Black Preacher

According to Ronald L. Johnstone, the Militant Black preacher led Blacks to action against social and political injustices, who organized civil rights action groups.<sup>3</sup> In this study the militant Black preacher actively and violently opposed slavery and the educational barriers which kept Blacks from progressing. In relation to slavery, they wanted their freedom immediately and were intolerant with any delays. Regarding their concern for confirming their self-esteem (an educational emphasis), they were impatient with the delay of educational progress.

### Moderate Black Preacher

Moderate Black Preachers were gradualists, peacemakers, and treaders-down-the-middle-of-the-road. Although they were aware of the educational frustrations of their

<sup>1</sup>The Doctrines and Discipline of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church (Memphis, Tennessee: C.M.E. Publishing House, 1966 Edition), p. 60.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Hart M. Nelson, et al (editors), The Black Church In America (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1971), p. 276.

people, their educational philosophy was to be conciliatory and bring about change without alienating the whites.<sup>1</sup> In this study they will be presented as ambivalent Preacher-Educators. In this role, they maintained a good relationship with whites by gearing their messages to both white and Black audiences.

### Traditional Black Preachers

More passive than the Moderates, Traditional Black Preachers did not identify themselves with aggressive action for educational progress. They were generally satisfied with the status quo. Their main interest was in preaching the gospel,<sup>2</sup> through which means they performed an educational task by teaching Blacks how to survive in a culture where they were treated, not as human beings, but as animals.

### Liberal Black Preacher

An additional category to identify preacher-educators who could not be placed easily into one of the three above categories, was the Liberals. Unlike the Militants, e.g., Nat Turner, they demonstrated a fighting attitude short of violence. Contrary to the Moderates and the Traditionalists, they were radicals determined to help Blacks

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 276-277.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

achieve quality education.

### Significance of the Study

This dissertation is significant because the educational contributions of Black preachers in this specific period of Black educational history is not so well discussed and documented in any one resource as in this one, nor any place else is this general subject known to have been researched and the data published. Different from this study, the leading recently published studies of the Black preacher are more concerned with the Black preachers in the development of the Black church and Black religion, and generally with their contributions to the educational development of Blacks.<sup>1</sup>

### Limitations of the Study

Since this study is concerned only with the valuable contributions of Black preachers to the educational advancement of Blacks, the unsavory type of Black preacher will not be included. It is known that there were Black preachers who exploited Blacks, and who were immoral and apathetic to improving the social, political, economical and educational status of Blacks. The following is an

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<sup>1</sup>Charles V. Hamilton, The Black Preacher In America (New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1972; and Henry H. Mitchell, Black Preaching (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1970).

example of this trend of thought and action:

Because the Negro church is such a free field and it is controlled largely by the Negroes themselves, it seems that practically all the incompetents and undesirables who have been barred from other walks of life by race prejudice and economic difficulties have rushed into the ministry for the exploitation of the people.<sup>1</sup>

Another limitation of this study is concerned with the contribution of the charitable white and Black laity in educating the slave and later the freedman. Important though their work was, this study will not attempt to deal with contributions of basically white groups, such as the abolitionist societies, the Freedmen's Bureau, and the numerous northern religious and charitable societies working in the South after the Civil War. Their contributions have been documented elsewhere.

#### Boundaries of the Study

The date 1787 has been chosen to begin this dis- because it roughly represents the period in which the Black church emerged as an independent institution. In that year Richard Allen and his followers, determined to tolerate social alienation and exploitation no longer, withdrew from Philadelphia's St. George Methodist Church. This group of Blacks later formed the Free African Society, the first

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<sup>1</sup>Carter G. Woodson, The Mis-education of the Negro (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1933); p. 68.



Black independent movement.<sup>1</sup> This is important to Black educational history in that, in an informal educational fashion, Allen and other Black ministers took the initiative to change the course of events negatively affecting the self-esteem of Blacks. In this instance they led other Blacks to redirect the course of their educational experiences, an informal educational function.

Also in 1787, the first known petition by a Black for the equal education of Blacks was presented to the Massachusetts State Legislature by a preacher, Prince Hall.<sup>2</sup> At that same time the Northwest Ordinance of the Confederation Congress stipulated that there should be no slavery or involuntary servitude, except as punishment for a crime.<sup>3</sup> Finally, 1787 is selected as a beginning date because in that year slavery in South Carolina and Georgia was upheld, and Black representation and taxation were partially circumscribed by the Three-Fifths Compromise at the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Alain Rogersm "The A.M.E. Church: A Study in Black Nationalism," The Black Church (Boston: The Black Ecumenical Commission of Massachusetts, 1972), p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Herbert Aptheker, A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States (New York: The Citadel Press, 1951), p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Fremont P. Wirth, The Development of America (New York: American Book Company, 1952), pp. 184-185.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 194.

While the educational contribution by Prince Hall stands on its own merit as propaganda, it is necessary to state that the latter two boundaries to this study represent both positive and negative educational advantages, respectively, for Blacks. As the Northwest Ordinance removed the barriers of slavery in the North and allowed Blacks to pursue their educational development, slavery, with its dehumanizing and educationally debilitating effect, was becoming legalized in the South.

The year 1909 is selected as a terminus because the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was in final formation. When the association was formally organized in 1910, one of its major concerns was to correct the abusive treatment suffered by Blacks, which included denial of educational opportunities.

During the formulative period, in 1909, the NAACP held a national conference on Black problems. That two of the four major speakers were Black preachers, is an indication that preachers were still influential at the beginning of the twentieth century. As the NAACP became a major organization in the Black community, clergy power and leadership began to be shared increasingly with the laity, white and Black; and unity of people with different backgrounds and traditions was engaged for a common purpose, which included the education of Blacks. Thus a new level

in the provisions for the education of Blacks emerged.

### Method of the Study

The method used in this dissertation is descriptive. The study is written, therefore, in narrative style in an attempt to describe and preserve (1) the general and unique characteristics of the individuals and (2) the forces which influenced the education of Blacks.

As a descriptive work, the dissertation refers generally to the broad scope of American educational history and more specifically to Black educational history. Utilizing primary and secondary resources in educational history, the writer has classified some of the Black preacher's educational functions as enumerated in the attainable data and has related them to a definition of education.

### Review of Literature

Selected original records of the American Missionary Association and the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Educational Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church have been read, and names of preachers who served as pastors, teachers, and educational executives after the Civil War were compiled. This material describes and specifies some of the attitudes and major contributions of many of the unrecognized founding sponsors of Black educational advancement.

Most known material dealing with the educational contributions of Black preachers is secondary. A significant portion of detailed information is autobiographical or biographical. Other sources of information are from Herbert Aptheker's special holding on the W.E.B. DuBois collection and Black educational histories by such noted writers as Lerone Bennett, Jr., Horace M. Bond, Henry Bullock, Virgil A. Clift, Stanley Elkins, John Hope Franklin, E. Franklin Frazier, Melville Herskovits, Dwight O.W. Holmes, Leon Litwack, Benjamin E. Mays, U.B. Phillips, Benjamin Quarles, and Carter G. Woodson.

#### Organization of the Study

In organizing this study the writer will present the Black preacher in various formal and informal educational roles (school administrators, founders and teachers of schools, developers of moral codes for a better life--- Black religion, pride, and identity among Blacks, and liberators of equal educational opportunities for Blacks). Four behavioral categories: Militant, Moderate, Traditionalist, and Liberal will be used (see pages 8-10 for definition).

The source of the first three of the categories is the "Three Types of Negro Preachers" discussed by Ronald L. Johnstone in *The Black Church In America*.<sup>1</sup> These

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<sup>1</sup>Nelson, pp. 276-285.

categories were discussed by Johnstone in an attempt to identify the different attitudes and behavior of twentieth century Black preachers in relation to their involvement in political, religious, and social issues. The Liberal category has been added by this writer, who has applied these categories to the overall educational contributions of Black preachers in the listed period to evaluate more carefully their various contributions.

This study has been organized into two chronological periods: from 1787 to the Civil War and from the Civil War to 1909. The rationale is that Black Americans were given their freedom as a result of the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation. This freedom produced both adverse and positive effects upon the educational development of Blacks.

In the South prior to the Civil War, and more directly before the insurrections in the 1820s and early 1830s, education for Blacks was largely provided by abolitionist societies, to instruct the slaves on the value of liberty and citizenship, and by certain religious organizations, teaching the slaves, to be docile to their masters and to seek their reward in heaven. Freedmen in the South were literally outcasts, hardly able to survive and to provide but a pittance of education for their children. In the North, between the 1787 Northwest Ordinance of the Con-

federation Congress and the Civil War, some Blacks attended schools with whites; others founded independent schools. After the Civil War, while some educational opportunities improved, Blacks had to contend with a "Separate by Equal" mentality and practice. From the Civil War to roughly 1909, the Black preacher was the major educator to Blacks.

The discussion of the educational roles of the Black preacher in these two chronological periods will be Chapters II and III, respectively, which constitute the main body of the study. A conclusion will summarize the findings of this study and make recommendations.

## CHAPTER II

## "THE BLACK PREACHER AS EDUCATOR: 1787 TO THE CIVIL WAR"

Introduction

The period 1787 to 1860 is the boundary for this chapter. The American Revolution, the Constitutional Convention and the Northwest Ordinance in 1787, and the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 changed the lives of Blacks in America. By these acts, slavery was endorsed and became more inhuman in the South, while in the North, Blacks were emancipated. The invention of the cotton gin increased the demand for slave labor in the South. Although Blacks in the North received freedom during the Revolutionary period, they still suffered second class citizenship. Through the Black church, which developed as a reaction to these conditions, Black ministerial leadership emerged.

In this period the northern Black preacher was more active as an educator than his southern counterpart. The southern Black preacher was handicapped by laws and customs which limited his speech and activities. The southern slaveholders were troubled by the problem of what to do about free Blacks. In the minds of some whites, a free Black was living proof to the slave that freedom

was possible, Every runaway slave demonstrated that self emancipation was possible. In the North, where the Blacks were allegedly free, schools were segregated and public funds inequitably distributed. With their meager education, freedmen, often led by Black ministers, sought to improve their economic status, demonstrate their true literary and scientific abilities, and break down the barriers of discrimination.

This chapter will concentrate on Black preachers as formal and informal educators from 1787 to the Civil War and will describe their militant, liberal, moderate, and traditional roles. As formal educators, the Black preachers were teachers and school administrators. As informal educators, the Black preachers were educational propagandists, founders of schools, who led Blacks to pursue self-determination and affirm moral codes for a better life.

The founders of schools will be considered in this study as informal educators because founding a school cannot technically denote a person having formal educational skills and knowledge. The founders of schools provided an opportunity for Black students to acquire an education. Their achievement represent the personal fulfillment of caring enough to improve the education of Blacks.



The Militant Black Preacher-Educator

As aggressive and restless rebels, the informal militant Black preacher-educators invited other Blacks to unite against slavery.<sup>1</sup> The militant educators influenced Blacks on plantations and in cities who were already disturbed, unsettled, and excited. Although the Blacks were already aroused and discontent, they were either too timid to act or did not know what to do. The militant educators helped to release and direct their tensions;<sup>2</sup> and the energetic personalities of militant preachers easily aroused the Blacks to action.<sup>3</sup>

Four Black preachers, Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner and Moses Dickson are outstanding examples of militant educators. They attacked the imposition of slavery on Blacks.<sup>4</sup> Their educational philosophy was opposition and rebellion against the existing life style. Their opposition indicated that

<sup>1</sup>Nelson, p.276.

<sup>2</sup>Alfred McClung Lee and Elizabeth Briant Lee, Social Problems in America (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1949), pp. 537-538; and Nelson.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 537.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. John J. Honigmann, Understanding Culture (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963); also David Horowitz et al., editors, Counter-Culture and Revolution (New York: Random House, 1972), Chapters by Michael P. Lerner, "Youth Culture and Social Revolution," and Tom Hayden, "The New American Revolution."

their objectives were to obtain a free life for all Blacks.<sup>1</sup>

While there were slave revolts from 1709 to Emancipation, the revolts led by Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, and Nathaniel Turner between 1800 and 1831 are prominent because they were carefully planned, involved a large number of Blacks, aroused unprecedented fear of slave rebellion among the whites, and caused slave laws to become more severe,<sup>2</sup> Moses Dickson's insurrection was to have an even more severe impact.

In 1800, Gabriel Prosser, at age 24 and standing six feet-two inches tall, a preacher who came from Henrico County, Virginia, thought of himself as a warrior-preacher similar to Samson. He even wore his hair long. Prosser, his wife, his two brothers and many of his followers frequently met in the home of William Young, a free Black, to plan a strategy against slavery. Prosser used the Scripture "to prove that just as the God of the Jews had miraculously delivered them from bondage, so he would strengthen the hands of a few Negroes to overthrow thousands of whites."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Leonard Reissman, Class in American Society (Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press, 1960), pp. 7, 10.

<sup>2</sup>Leonard L. Haynes, Jr., The Negro Community Within American Protestantism 1619-1844 (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1953), p. 145.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 147.

Inspired by the 1790 Toussaint L'Ouverture takeover of Haiti from slaveholders, on September 1, 1800, Gabriel Prosser and over 1,000 slaves and freedmen marched to Richmond, Virginia. Their objective was to "strike down the whites, and liberate the slaves."<sup>1</sup> Prosser's plan was also to attack other towns and eventually become king of Virginia.<sup>2</sup>

Because of a storm which flooded the roads and bridges, making passage impossible, and because two informers within their ranks told whites of the plot, the plan failed. Gabriel and thirty-five others were hanged for their activities.<sup>3</sup>

The Blacks led by Prosser had grown angry with the educational, political, social, and economic disadvantages they bore, as well as with the physical and mental sufferings of slavery.<sup>4</sup> Prosser instilled in his group an unwillingness to cooperate with the dominant white society any longer. As an informal educator, Prosser encouraged slave

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<sup>1</sup>Woodson and Wesley, The Negro in Our History (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1922), p. 177; also Peter M. Bergman, The Chronological History of the Negro in America (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1969), p. 82.

<sup>2</sup>Bergman, The Negro in America, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup>Woodson and Wesley, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Theodore Dwight Weld, American Slavery As It Is (New York: Arno Press, 1969).

and free Blacks to resist their inhuman and disfranchised condition, and to seek to establish an alternate way of life.

Twenty-two years later in Charleston, South Carolina, Denmark Vesey organized an insurrection. He was a free Black, well educated, and a respected person in Charleston. Through extensive travel with his former master, he had learned several languages.

Vesey arrived in Charleston in 1800 from his native Haiti. From money won in a lottery, Vesey purchased his freedom from his owner, Captain Vesey, a slave trader. He settled in Charleston and established himself as a skilled carpenter.<sup>1</sup>

From Haiti, Vesey brought with him a rebellious spirit, as well as a strategy for emancipating slaves. As an informal preacher-educator, patterned after Joshua, Vesey won the confidence of the slaves by teaching them why they should not wait to die to be free. On an occasion prior to the revolt, Vesey told his followers:

We were deprived of our rights and privileges by the white people...and that it was high time for us to seek for our rights, and that we were fully able to conquer the whites, if we were only unanimous and courageous, as the St. Domingo people were.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 178-179; also Bergman, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Lerone Bennett, Jr., Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America: 1619-1964 (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Revised Edition, 1966), p. 116.

Vesey used the Bible as a reference to illustrate that as God had delivered the children of Israel out of bondage, he would do the same for Black slaves. Some of the Scriptures he frequently quoted were: "God helped those who helped themselves", "It was necessary to strike the first blow", and "They utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox and sheep, and ass, with the edge of the sword."<sup>1</sup>

Vesey and his co-workers, with the support of over 9,000 free and slave Blacks, began meeting in the 3000 member African Methodist Episcopal Church<sup>2</sup> in Hampstead, a suburb of Charleston. As Christmas approached, in 1821, plans were formed by Vesey's group to attack and "kill all of the whites of the city."<sup>3</sup> Prior to July 16, 1822, the appointed time of the revolt, a slave who had heard about the plot told his white owner, who immediately set defense and retaliatory operations in motion. Vesey and

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<sup>1</sup>Bennett, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup>Reverend Morris Brown, later a bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was Vesey's pastor, friend, counselor, and sympathizer. Because of suspicions of Brown's involvement in the revolt, following the disclosure of the plot, he was secretly assisted out of the state of South Carolina by General James Hamilton, white. Brown went to Philadelphia. Cf. Haynes, The Negro Community, p. 150; Bergman, p. 120; Woodson and Wesley, p. 150; and Singleton, The Romance of African Methodism, pp. 25 and 114.

<sup>3</sup>Woodson and Wesley, p. 180.

thirty-four others were convicted and hanged, after an investigation of the plot. As a result of this insurrection attempt, South Carolina limited the movements and occupations of free Blacks and enforced more restrictive laws against the teaching of Blacks.<sup>1</sup>

The informal educator with the greatest impact was the thirty year old Nathaniel Turner<sup>2</sup> who led a revolt in 1831. Nat Turner was born to Nancy, a slave and native of Africa, on October 2, 1800 (the day prior to the execution of Gabriel Prosser), in the Cross Keys community, Southampton, Virginia. Turner was successively the property of three owners, and in 1830 he was hired out to Joseph Travis. He had a rudimentary education learned from the son of one of his masters. By his own initiative he improved his ability to read, write, and interpret the Bible and other religious literature.

Recognizing Turner's skills as a preacher, his owner and members of the Baptist Church permitted him to serve as a local preacher.<sup>3</sup> His primary responsibility was to supervise the spiritual welfare of the slaves.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Walker, Walker's Appeal, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup>Haynes, p. 154; also Bergman, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Robert H. deCoy, Cold Black Preach' (California: Holloway House Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 65-67.

His duties as a local preacher in this predominantly white Baptist Church created in him a desire for freedom. He subsequently ran away from his owner. During his days of freedom he decided God had called him to a great task, which was to liberate all Blacks from slavery. Turner returned to his owner and soon began planning his revolt.<sup>1</sup>

Turner's deliberate development of his own powers of personality is evident in his statement:

Having soon discovered that to be great, I must appear so, I studiously avoided mixing in society and wrapped myself in mystery, devoting my time to fasting and prayer. . .<sup>2</sup>

His dreams, visions, signs, and fiery speeches convinced his followers that his strategy for freedom was approved by God.

Plans were made for the August 23, 1831 revolt, and on the eve of their implementation, Nat Turner stated the goal:

Friends and brothers, we are about to commence a great work tonight! Our race is to be delivered from slavery, and God has appointed us the men to do His biddings; and let us be worthy of our calling. I am told to slay all the whites we encounter, without regard to age or sex. We have no arms or ammunition, but we will find them in the homes of our oppressors;

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<sup>1</sup>Haynes, p. 154; also Bergman, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup>Bennett, p. 119.

but it is necessary that in the commencement of the Revolution all whites we meet should die, until we have an army strong enough to carry war on upon a Christian basis. Remember that ours is not a war for robbery, nor to satisfy our passions; it is a struggle for freedom. Ours must be deed, not words. Then away to the scene of action.<sup>1</sup>

After this speech, Nat Turner and his followers proceeded to the home of Joseph Travis, Turner's owner, and killed him and his family. The group then moved throughout Southampton County, Virginia, killing fifty-five whites within thirty-six hours.<sup>2</sup> Turner and his band were soon caught, and on November 5, Turner was convicted of his crime, and executed on November 11.<sup>3</sup>

Although Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, and Nathaniel Turner were unsuccessful in their revolts, nevertheless, their informal educational lessons against slavery initiated significant reactions by whites. Illustrative of this is what happened in a white Sabbath School in Washington, D. C., where Black students were enrolled:

...immediately upon that terrible occurrence (Nat Turner's revolt) the colored children, who had in very large numbers been received into Sabbath schools in the white churches, were all turned out of those schools.<sup>4</sup>

As a result of these rebellions, slave codes were

<sup>1</sup>Haynes, pp. 155 and 156.

<sup>2</sup>Wilhelmena S. Robinson, The International Library of Negro Life and History (New York: Publishers Company, Inc., 1967), p. 134.

<sup>3</sup>Woodson and Wesley, p. 182.

<sup>4</sup>History of Schools, p. 200.



stringently enforced, educational opportunities were reduced, and manumission was almost completely suspended. There was also a decline of the American Colonization Society's repatriation movement.<sup>1</sup>

A planned insurrection to overthrow white America, although never implemented, was developed by the Reverend Moses Dickson, an informal educator. Dickson was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1824. He travelled through the South for three years recruiting supporters to his idea of abolishing slavery. From 1867 until his death in 1901, he was an active minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Missouri. As a resident of the state of Missouri, he fought for civil rights and helped to found Lincoln Institute in Jefferson City.<sup>2</sup>

Dickson and eleven other men met in St. Louis, Missouri, in August 1846, and formed a secret militant and revolutionary organization called the Twelve Knights of Tabor (Liberty) for the purpose of "aiding in breaking the bonds of our slavery!"<sup>3</sup> The twelve agreed to separate for

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<sup>1</sup>Bergman, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 378.

<sup>3</sup>Herbert Aptheker, editor, A Documentary History of the Negro in the United States (New York: The Citadel Press, 1951), pp. 378 and 379. The name Tabor was their symbol of courage, because they felt their situation was similar to the biblical story of the battle between the children of Israel and Sisera. The Israelites had ten thousand men assembled in Tabor against twenty times that number of the army of Sisera. God gave Israel the victory. See Barak and Deborah in Judges 4:6-15.

ten years to organize secret societies aimed at the emancipation of the Black race. After a decade of work, they had increased the membership to 47,240. Following their first meeting, the organization became active in the Underground Railroad.<sup>1</sup>

As a secret organization, the policy of the twelve knights in recruiting members was "Let not your right hand know what your left hand does; trust no one and test every man before he is admitted to membership."<sup>2</sup> A part of the oath for membership was "We can die, but we can't reveal the name of a member or make known the organization and its objects."<sup>3</sup>

A "death-struggle" plan to aid them in reaching their goal was developed. The leader proposed that the rebels should meet in July, 1857, in Atlanta, Georgia, and from there "March, fight and conquer..." With a supply of arms and ammunition, over 150,000 well drilled men were on alert to report in Atlanta and receive instructions on their assignment. Upon careful evaluation of the political developments in the country over the slavery issue at that time, the leader of the organization decided to spare his troops from war. He stated that "it was plainly demonstrated to him that a higher power was preparing to take a part in the contest between the North and South..."<sup>4</sup>

Although the war itself did not occur, educational

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<sup>1</sup>Bergman, p. 185; also Aptheker, A Documentary History, p. 378.

<sup>2</sup>Aptheker, A Documentary History, p. 379.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 378.

principles were applied by the leader, Moses Dickson. He was skillful enough to persuade and train eleven men to eventually amass over 150,000 well trained soldiers, who were on alert to fight for their cause. Thus Moses Dickson performed an educational task by providing a sense of Black pride, identity, and self-determination to a considerable number of Blacks during a time when Blacks were largely made to feel less than human.

In like manner an undetermined number of Blacks were affected by the teachings of Prosser, Vesey, and Turner. While their educational principles led to rebellion by thousands of Blacks, and the gruesome death of many Blacks and whites, the informal educational contribution of these militants helped to change the course of attitudes and events for both races.

#### The Liberal Black Preacher-Educator

The liberals favored abolishment of slavery and reform of debasing conditions suffered by free Blacks. They constituted the largest number of Black preachers to render formal and informal educational services during this period. This group of Black preacher-educators consisted of abolitionists, teachers, and propagandists. The abolitionists were both formal and informal educators. As informal educators, they used their political skills to bring about suffrage and to petition authorities for better educational opportunities for Blacks; and they used their skills and influence to found schools and effect a change in the attitudes of whites and Blacks in education. As formal educators, the abolitionists were classroom teachers and they used their skills to help students think constructively and to raise questions about matters

they had previously taken for granted. Thus they would then be able to form new goals and attitudes. The educational propagandists were informal educators. They used their literary skills to denounce slavery and to keep the Black and white communities informed of slavery and anti-slavery activities. They also petitioned the state and local authorities to improve the educational status of Blacks.

The liberal Black preachers' contribution to Black education resulted from constant agitation, which enabled whites to understand clearly both the unfair conditions and the potential of Blacks. These agitators called attention to the problems of prejudice, slavery, illiteracy, and disfranchisement. They pointed out the way in which Blacks endured inequality, abuse, and injustice without having previously developed an attitude of resentment.<sup>1</sup>

Abolitionists. The Black abolitionists, mostly preachers and former slaves,<sup>2</sup> were influential in most of the areas in which they took an interest. Although they were often as different in their contributions and views as they were in skin color, their common interests were to free the slaves and improve opportunities for all Blacks.

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<sup>1</sup>Lee & Lee, pp. 537-538; cf., Henry Allen Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South from 1619 to the Present (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p. 13; Milton Meltzer, editor, In Their Own Words (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964), p. 99; Litwack, North of Slavery, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup>Benjamin Quarles, Black Abolitionists (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 58-59.

Characteristics that distinguished them were: (1) They were fearless and active anti-slavery advocates, and were convincing in their addresses and writings because they spoke of the hardships and wickedness of slavery from their own slave experiences.<sup>1</sup> (2) They were willing to risk personal perils and sacrifice, and often encountered treatment different from that experienced by the white abolitionists. For example, in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1847, after William L. Garrison, the Boston white abolitionist spoke, Frederick Douglass addressed the crowd and was hailed by rotten eggs, brickbats, and firecrackers. Garrison was not attacked.<sup>2</sup> Black abolitionists' meetings were broken up, their homes searched and robbed, sometimes burned, and their literature and presses destroyed.<sup>3</sup>

The major activities of the Black abolitionists, especially from 1831 to 1853, were the development of educational plans (manual labor schools) at the national Black conventions. Many of the abolitionists also taught school and supported educational goals. Although the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 57 and 61.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 56-58.

<sup>3</sup>Meltzer, In Their Own Words, p. 80.

convention movement started in the North in 1830<sup>1</sup> with a meeting arranged by Richard Allen, it was not until 1831 that the Black abolitionists stated through the conventions a specific interest in education.<sup>2</sup>

The 1853 Black convention commissioned Mrs. Harriett Beecher Stowe, a white woman, to obtain funds abroad to establish an agricultural and industrial college in a central location in the nation. For lack of funds, the school was not established.<sup>3</sup> After this date conventions were held locally.<sup>4</sup> Thereafter, both Black and white national abolitionists were more involved with politics and influencing the attitude of the national government toward the abolishment of slavery.

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<sup>1</sup>Most of the prominent Black leaders in the North met in Philadelphia to establish a Black power base for determining whether Blacks in America would progress more in Canada. Emigration to Canada was approved. See Aptheker, A Documentary History, pp. 98-107.

<sup>2</sup>Without having to state overtly their interest in education, the 1830 convention, as well as subsequent ones, was educating Blacks informally in parliamentary usages and how to officiate in group discussions. Conventions were also an educational exercise for improving the ability of Blacks to determine their social, economic, political, and religious rights. See Harriet R. Short, "Negro Conventions Prior to 1860" (unpublished Master's thesis, Howard University, 1936), pp. 46-47.

<sup>3</sup>Frederick Douglass, Life and Times, pp. 290-291; also cf., supra, Short, "Negro Conventions," pp. 54-55.

<sup>4</sup>Short, p. 56; also cf., Aptheker, pp. 341-358.

There were two issues which occupied the attention of the abolitionists as the 1860 presidential election approached. First, the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act was passed, which encouraged rapid settlement in the Mid-West and repealed the 1820 Missouri Compromise, permitting the people of each new territory to decide on slavery. The second issue was the 1857 Dred Scott v. Sanford Supreme Court decision, which made the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional.<sup>1</sup> The Missouri Compromise had prohibited slavery in the Louisiana Purchase Territory north of the 36 30' line.<sup>2</sup>

Frederick Douglass became the most widely respected and successful of the Black preacher abolitionists during this period. As an informal educator, Douglass advocated an industrial college to teach Blacks several types of mechanical arts. In expressing this view, he acknowledged the existence of schools and colleges for preparing Blacks for professions monopolized by whites, and stated Blacks had a more fundamental need:

I am for no fancied or artificial elevation, but only ask for fair play. How shall this be obtained? I answer, first, not by establishing for our use high schools and colleges. Such institutions are, in my judgment, beyond our immediate occasions and are not adapted to our present most pressing wants. High

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<sup>1</sup>Bergman, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 205.

schools and colleges are excellent institutions, and will in due season be greatly subservient to our progress, but they are the result, as well as they are the demand, of a point of progress which we as a people have not yet attained. Accustomed as we have been to the rougher and harder modes of living, and of gaining a livelihood, we cannot and we ought not to hope that in a single leap from our low condition, we can reach that of ministers, lawyers, doctors, editors, merchants, etc. These will doubtless be attained by us, but this will only be when we have patiently and laboriously, and I may add successfully, mastered and passed through the intermediate gradations of agriculture and the mechanic arts.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Douglass, Life and Times, pp. 284-285. Frederick Douglass was born a slave in February, 1817, in Talbot County, Eastern Shore, Maryland. He knew nothing of his father, other than that he was a white man, and very little of his slave mother, Harriet Bailey. After his birth, his mother was soon hired out on a plantation twelve miles away. During his early childhood, Douglass lived with his grandmother in her dirt floor house, with no windows. When Douglass reached age eight, he was sent to Baltimore to work, first as a servant, and later as a shipyard laborer. Slaves were forbidden an education in Maryland, but through Miss Sopha, the wife of the slaveholder, Mr. Hugh Auld, Douglass learned the rudiments of reading and writing.

On September 3, 1838, after several prior attempts, Douglass was successful in fleeing slavery. With the use of free papers he borrowed from a sailor friend, a sailor suit, and the help of a free black woman, Anna Murray, Douglass eventually made his way to New Bedford, Massachusetts, via New York City. Miss Murray joined him in New York City, and they were married by Reverend James W. C. Pennington.

Upon arriving in New Bedford, Douglass united with the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, where William Serrington was the pastor. In 1839, Douglass obtained local preacher license in a quarterly conference. Subsequently, he delivered many sermons in the church. His experience as a preacher prepared him, Douglass said, for "the work of delivering my brethren from bondage."

In 1845, while living in Rochester, New York, Douglass published Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass. He spent the next two years lecturing abroad on slavery and



The purpose of the school Blacks needed would be to provide students with marketable skills for improving their economic condition. Douglass thought economic deprivation was causing Blacks to suffer, because, he said, "their poverty kept them ignorant and their ignorance kept them degraded."<sup>1</sup>

Douglass' rationale for stressing the urgency for the training of Blacks in mechanic arts was that "they were shut out from all lucrative employments and compelled to be merely barbers, waiters, coachmen, and the like, at wages so low that they could lay up little or nothing."<sup>2</sup>

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earned enough money to purchase his freedom. On December 3, 1847, Douglass established a newspaper, The North Star, in Rochester.

On June 2, 1872, his home in Rochester, and all his valuables, were burned. Five years later, Douglass moved his family from Rochester to their new home in Washington, D.C., a nine acre hillside estate, overlooking Anacostia River. His wife, Anna, died soon after moving. Douglass later married his white secretary, Miss Helen Pitts, in the home of Francis Grimke in Washington, D.C., on January 24, 1884. They lived together on the estate until his death in 1895. Meltzer, In Their Own Words, pp. 59, 198; "A Share in the Life of Frederick Douglass," Ebony, June, 1972, p. 72; Bishop J. W. Hood, One Hundred Years of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (New York: A.M.E. Zion Book Concern, 1895), pp. 541-542; Bergman, p. 108; also C. G. Woodson, The Works of Francis J. Grimke (Washington, D. C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1942, Volumes IV & I).

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 283; also C. G. Woodson, The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, pp. 302-303.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.; also "From Frederick Douglass' Paper, 1853: 'Learn Trade or Starve,'" Woodson, Education of the Negro, pp. 388-391.

What made this deplorable, Douglass contended, was that "even these employments are rapidly passing away out of our hands" and we are "denied the means of learning useful trades" and are "pressed into the narrowest limits to obtain a livelihood."<sup>1</sup>

Douglass believed the second-class predicament of the Black man could be improved if there were a wide dissemination throughout the country of trained and well established Blacks in the mechanical arts. In explaining this view, Douglass said:

We need mechanics as well as ministers. We need workers in iron, clay, and leather. We have orators, authors, and other professional men, but these reach only a certain class, and get respect for our race in certain select circles. To live here as we ought we must fasten ourselves to our countrymen through their everyday, cardinal wants. We must not only be able to black boots, but to make them. At present, we are in the northern states, unknown as mechanics. We give no proof of genius or skill at the county, state or national fairs. We are unknown at any of the great exhibitions of the industry of our fellow-citizens, and being unknown, we are unconsidered.<sup>2</sup>

Through vocationally trained Black persons Douglass sought to disprove the inferiority of the Black race.<sup>3</sup>

This industrial college proposal was made by Frederick Douglass in the 1853 National Negro Convention

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 287.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 288.

<sup>3</sup>Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, p. 304.

held in Rochester, New York. Although the school did not materialize, Douglass articulated the educational needs of Blacks and initiated an educational philosophy that was received more favorably after the Civil War.

Douglass' contribution as an informal educator included the desegregation of schools in Rochester, New York.<sup>1</sup> His reaction to the problems of prejudice and racism in public and private education in Rochester in the late 1840s was personal. Douglass enrolled his daughter in the privately operated Seward Seminary run by Miss Tracy, the principal, for young ladies and misses. Douglass' daughter's entrance into the all-white seminary was an effort to have his "daughter educated like the daughters of other men."<sup>2</sup> After discovering that his daughter was secluded in a room by herself, and was denied privileges of the other children, Douglass questioned Miss Tracy. The school could be closed, she replied, if the children and their parents objected to his daughter's presence. One parent did object and Douglass' daughter was unable to continue in the school.<sup>3</sup>

Although Frederick Douglass paid property taxes in

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<sup>1</sup>Litwack, North of Slavery, pp. 133 and 142-143.

<sup>2</sup>Douglass, Life and Times, p. 268; also Aptheker, pp. 274-277.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

the city, his daughter was denied admission to the public school near their home because it was the school for the whites. If his daughter was to receive public education, she would have to go to the other side of town to the inferior Black school. Not submitting to this alternative, Douglass had his daughter tutored in their home. Meanwhile, he held a conference with the Board of Education and agitated through personal contacts and public statements until "the public schools were opened and colored children were permitted to attend them in common with others."<sup>1</sup>

In his role as a formal educator, Frederick Douglass was a teacher. He thought teaching was an opportunity to be useful. To teach someone what you have learned, he felt was "something worth living for", and in his retirement teaching was an experience he looked back on as the most satisfying.<sup>2</sup> Douglass' teaching career started when he was a teenager. When he was less than age sixteen, and living on the Eastern Shore in Maryland, under Master Thomas at St. Michaels, he was forbidden to teach or be taught. Nevertheless, realizing Douglass' skills in reading and writing, a young Black named Wilson enticed Douglass into joining him in secretly teaching "Sabbath-school at the house of

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 269.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 111 and 152.

a free colored man, named James Mitchell." Materials used to teach their twenty pupils consisted of New Testament Bibles and a dozen spellers. After several meetings, the school was closed by a mob of whites who objected to Blacks learning anything.<sup>1</sup>

An example of the rationale held by whites in Maryland for disapproving of the education of Blacks was:

...'if you give a nigger an inch he will take an ell. Learning will spoil the best nigger in the world. If he learns to read the Bible it will forever unfit him to be a slave. He should know nothing but the will of his master, and learn to obey it. As to himself, learning will do him no good, but a great deal of harm, making him disconsolate and unhappy. If you teach him to read, he'll want to know how to write, and this accomplished, he'll be running away with himself.<sup>2</sup>

Blacks caught acting contrary to this practice were given a minimum punishment of "forty stripes...on their naked backs."<sup>3</sup>

Douglass had a more successful experience at teaching in 1835 on the Freeland plantation, located three miles from St. Michaels.<sup>4</sup> For a year, he taught about forty students. Many of them learned to read. On Sundays, he met his pupils in the home of a free Black man. During

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 145. This was one of several plantations Douglass worked on before emancipating himself.

the week, they met three evenings in the woods behind the barn or in the shade of trees to read and write. The materials used in their educational exercise "were mostly the cast-off books of their young masters or mistresses."<sup>1</sup>

Another abolitionist-educator who knew "the delight of living for use--the only real delight God allows to man,"<sup>2</sup> was Jermain Wesley Loguen. In 1840, after supporting

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 27-30 & 151; also Frederick Douglass, Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845), pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Jermain Wesley Loguen, The Rev. J. W. Loguen, As a Slave and as a Freedman (New York: Negro University Press, 1968, originally published by J.W. Loguen in 1859), p. 353. Jermain Wesley Loguen was born in 1813 or 1814 to his slave mother, Cherry, and the white man who owned her, David Logue. Loguen's mother was born free in Ohio, but when she was seven, she was kidnapped and sold to three brothers, David, Carnes, and Manasseth Logue, who lived in a small log house on Manscoe's Creek about sixteen miles from Nashville, Tennessee. They ran a whiskey distillery with slave labor. Loguen, while still young, his mother, and the other slaves belonging to David, were sold to Manasseth Logue, who had moved to a place on the northern borders of Alabama. Often influenced by whiskey, Manasseth was cruel to his slaves.

On Christmas eve, in 1834, Loguen and another Black slave, John Farney, fled slavery in Tennessee by night. They eventually made it to freedom in Canada. From two years of labor at the Rochester House in Rochester, N.Y., Loguen earned enough money to put himself through Oneida Institute. He later made his residence in Syracuse, N.Y. From this home-base, Loguen became known as the "Underground Railroad King", because he was very active in assisting slaves to freedom in Canada.

Loguen and Frederick Douglass were friends and fellow Zionites. Douglass's son, Lewis was married to Loguen's daughter, Amelia. Douglass and Loguen were financially secure, and they agreed to "give the young people a start in life."

himself through Oneida Institute, Whitesboro, New York, he went to Utica, New York,<sup>1</sup> "to learn the conditions of colored people there, and institute a school for their children, and assist them to a higher plan of civilization."<sup>2</sup>

The educational, social, political, economic, and religious situation in Utica was unequal for Blacks and whites. Black children were excluded from the common (public) schools, although their parents were taxed for the schools' support.<sup>3</sup> In light of this disfranchisement and deprivation, Loguen decided to become a formal educator and offered to open a school and teach their children. The

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In 1864, Jermain Wesley Loguen was made a bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. When he learned he would be given a southern assignment, he resigned. In 1868, Loguen was re-elected a bishop of the church and he was assigned "the Allegheny and Kentucky Conferences and adjacent mission fields." After two years, Loguen exchanged work with Bishop Singleton Thomas Wesley Jones and presided over the Genessee, Philadelphia, and Baltimore Conferences. In 1872, Loguen was assigned to the "oversight of mission work in the Pacific coast," but died before reaching his work. Loguen, p. 380; Hood, pp. 180-181; and Meltzer, In Their Own Words, p. 158.

<sup>1</sup>Much of Loguen's motivation for choosing Utica was because he had met the woman he wanted to marry while attending church in the city and a student at Oneida Institute. He taught Sabbath School at the black church where he met Caroline Storumn. They were married in 1840. See page 354 of his autobiography.

<sup>2</sup>Loguen, p. 352.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 353.

first year his school was open, he had forty students, and was satisfied with their progress.

As a culminating project, to display the achievements of their children, the families requested a public exhibition. Before a large and mixed audience, in a spacious room secured for that purpose, the students demonstrated their knowledge and the development of their intellectual abilities and skills through recitations, compositions and modeling.<sup>1</sup> This unprecedented activity in the area was highly praised by both Blacks and whites.<sup>2</sup>

In 1841, Loguen and his wife moved to Syracuse, New York. The Blacks in Syracuse were educationally underprivileged as a result of the political battle between the whites. Since the Blacks there were without schools, churches or social outlet--"deprived of social and mental culture," Loguen concluded that "their minds were on the lowest natural plan."<sup>3</sup> Loguen disapproved of their condition, and he proceeded to restore their status by establishing a church and a school, and teaching their youth to read, write, and cipher. As he did with the children in Utica, at the close of the school year, Loguen arranged a culminating project.<sup>4</sup> Loguen used the

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<sup>1</sup>Bloom, Taxonomy of Educational Objectives.

<sup>2</sup>Loguen, p. 353.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 372.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. supra, p. 21.



Congregational Church to exhibit before a Black and white audience the achievements of his students. This educational procedure continued for three years.<sup>1</sup>

With his home base in Syracuse, Loguen accepted a call to pastor and teach for three years in Bath, New York. The church had Black and white members.<sup>2</sup> Although nothing more is said about his work, a fair assumption would be that he continued educating on the same principle as he did with the schools in Utica and Syracuse.

After his tenure in Bath, Loguen became the pastor of a church in Ithaca for two years. While in Ithaca, Loguen developed an interest in making anti-slavery lectures. Shifting to lecturing on slavery, also a formal educational function, Loguen returned to Syracuse to pastor, and until he was elected a bishop in the Zion Church in 1864,<sup>3</sup> he carried on the two activities.<sup>4</sup>

Some Black abolitionists founded schools for Blacks. In the role of founder they were informal educators.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 373.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 373-374.

<sup>3</sup>Shaw, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup>Loguen, p. 380.

Theodore S. Wright<sup>1</sup> accompanied some Black clergy and laity in establishing literary societies. In April 1833, Wright was one of the leaders<sup>2</sup> of a group of men, including Christopher Rush, a Black preacher, who organized the Phoenix (school) Society in New York.<sup>3</sup> Ten or twelve promising youth were enrolled in the Phoenix school.<sup>4</sup> Wright's group created wards for the purpose of contacting and registering all Blacks in each designated ward, urging them to join the society and to attend school. Blacks in each ward were also encouraged to attend the society's circulating library to read anti-slavery literature, and to subject themselves to free learning experiences (e.g., lectures). An evening school was held for adults and a high school provided for youth.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Theodore Sedgewick Wright was born in Providence, Rhode Island, in April, 1797, to free parents. For his educational preparation, he attended the Free African School in New York. While there, Wright learned abolition tactics from Samuel Cornish, pastor of the First Colored Presbyterian Church. From 1825 to 1828 Wright attended Princeton Theological Seminary in Princeton, New Jersey. Upon graduation he succeeded Cornish as pastor of the church in New York. Until the Phoenix Society was formed, Wright used his church as a schoolroom to provide Black youth with an education. See Quarles, Black Abolitionists, p. 109; also Sorin, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup>Gerald Sorin, The New York Abolitionists (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1971), p. 83.

<sup>3</sup>Aptheker, pp. 140-141.

<sup>4</sup>Leslie H. Fishel, Jr. and Benjamin Quarles, The Negro American (Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1967), p. 159.

<sup>5</sup>Bergman, pp. 148-149.

Some of the objectives of the Phoenix Society were:

1. To visit every family in the ward, and make a register of every colored person in it--their name, sex, age, occupation, if they read, write and cypher-
3. To get the children out to infant, Sabbath, a week schools, and induce the adults also to attend school and church on the Sabbath-
6. To establish circulating libraries, formed in each ward, for the use of people of color, on very moderate pay-
7. To establish mental feasts, and also lyceums for speaking and for lectures on the sciences-
9. To seek out young men of talents and good moral character, that they may be assisted to obtain a liberal education-
10. To report to the Board all mechanics who are skillful and capable of conducting their trades to procure places at trades, and with respectable farmers, for lads of good moral character--giving a preference to those who have learned to read, write and cypher.<sup>1</sup>

There were a total of eleven objectives, six of which were concerned with the education of the Blacks. The other five objectives were concerned with finance, morals, punctuality, and subscribing to an anti-slavery newspaper.

In 1836, a Phoenix High School was started in New York, and T. S. Wright was made president. As president of the school, Wright was a school administrator and can be considered a formal educator. Samuel Cornish, a Black preacher, was one of the solicitors.<sup>2</sup> In this capacity, Cornish was an informal educator. In addition to securing funds for the operation of the school, his responsibility

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<sup>1</sup>Address to the People of Color in the City of New York (New York: S.W. Benedict, and Co., Printers, 1834), p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>Sorin, p. 84.

as a solicitor was to contact and register all Blacks in each ward, and urge them to join the society and attend the school.<sup>1</sup>

Similar to Douglass, Josiah Henson was both a formal and an informal educator.<sup>2</sup> In his role as a formal educator, Henson taught Blacks in Canada how to make a profit off their farms. Henson had observed that the Blacks in Canada needed an education, because they were ignorant, poor, and complacent. In ignorance, many of the Black farmers made unprofitable bargains. They would:

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<sup>1</sup>Howard Christian, "Samuel Cornish, Pioneer Negro Journalist" (unpublished Master's thesis, Howard University, Washington, D. C., 1936), p. 29.

<sup>2</sup>Josiah Henson was born in Charles County, Maryland, on June 15, 1789. When age eighteen, Henson was maimed for life by one of his master's enemies who beat him with a stake, breaking his arm and, perhaps, both of his shoulder blades. At age twenty-two Henson married. To this union were born twelve children. While in slavery, Henson became a preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church. After being deceived by his owner in the purchase of his freedom, Henson decided to flee to Canada with his family. On October 28, 1830, Henson and his family reached freedom in Canada. He made several trips to Kentucky and led slaves to Canada. He made several trips to England and Scotland, where he received support for his school and saw mill in Dawn. Henson was a respected member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. He died in May, 1883. An Autobiography of The Reverend Josiah Henson, pp. v-xxxiv.

often hire wild land on short terms, and bind themselves to clear a certain number of acres. But by the time they were cleared and fitted for cultivation, and the lease was out, the landlords would take possession of the cleared land and raise a splendid crop on it.<sup>1</sup>

They lost also by "raising nothing but tobacco, the high price of which was very tempting, and the cultivation of which was a monopoly in their hands, and no white man understood it, or could compete with them at all." Since they raised only tobacco, they soon created an over supply of the product. This caused the market price to drop.

The price of wheat rose, which was the product raised by the whites. Suffering a loss in their crops, Blacks were forced into debt with the whites.<sup>2</sup>

Henson reacted to this situation, and he began teaching the Black farmers about crops, wages, and profits. Many white farmers attended his lectures. Prior to his teaching the Black farmers, Henson said they "had not taken a single step towards" training themselves in business management and providing an elementary education for their children.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Josiah Henson, An Autobiography of the Reverend Josiah Henson (Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969, first published in 18 ), p. 89. Canada is included here because Henson had once been a slave in America. Before the Civil War, many Blacks fled to Canada from an insecure freedom in America.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 89-90.

In his role as an informal educator, Henson worked with Blacks and whites toward founding a school for Blacks in Canada. Henson called a meeting in June 1838, of delegates from all of the Black settlements nearby, as well as some of his white friends, to receive authority to establish a manual labor school for Blacks. Since Blacks were not allowed to attend the white common school, Henson stated his purpose for the school was to provide a place where:

...our children could gain those elements of knowledge which are usually taught in a grammar school. I urged that the boys should be taught, in addition, the practice of some mechanical art, and the girls should be instructed in those domestic arts which are the proper occupation and ornament of their sex; and that such an establishment would not only train up those who would afterwards instruct others, but that it would gradually enable us to become independent of the white man for our intellectual progress, as we could be for our physical prosperity.<sup>1</sup>

In 1842, a manual labor school for Blacks was built in Dawn, Canada.<sup>2</sup>

With plans to build a new and more substantial school building around 1853, the old school buildings in Dawn were torn down. Through poor management and legal involvements, the property was later sold. With money left from paying off debts, Wilberforce University was established in Chatham, Canada around 1869. In 1873,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 91.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 92.

many students were attending the school and it was self-sustaining. Henson frequently represented the interest of the Black community and he was influential in each stage of these developments.<sup>1</sup>

While some abolitionist-educators were not founders of schools, teachers, or in charge of schools, they were strong supporters of the establishment of educational institutions. The work of Samuel E. Cornish is illustrative of this breed of informal educators.

Cornish, a minister in Philadelphia in 1818, was among a group of other free Blacks including John Gloucester, a Black preacher, who organized the Pennsylvania Augustine Society. The society was a seminary for the purpose of teaching Black students "all the useful and scientific branches of education, as far as may be found practicable..."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 119-124.

<sup>2</sup> Aptheker, pp. 72-73. Samuel E. Cornish was born in 1795 in Sussex County, Delaware. He grew up not knowing his parents. He was the second of three boys. William and John were both ordained elders in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. At age twenty, Cornish moved to Philadelphia, where he received an education from one of the Free African Schools. Later, Cornish was ordained a minister in the Presbyterian Church.

In 1822, after residing in New York a year, Cornish organized the First Colored Presbyterian Church. Upon serving five years as pastor of the church, he resigned and became an agent for the Free African Schools, the Phoenix High School, and the manual labor school. Also, in 1822, Cornish married a wealthy Black woman of the city.

This idea for a school formed among men who could not tolerate any longer the disadvantages and the "contemptible and degraded situation" Blacks suffered in the city and in society. Their objectives were to provide Black children with "a more extensive and useful education than" they had before and to enable their offsprings to "qualify for...the useful walks of society."<sup>1</sup>

In 1827, Cornish began supporting the idea of a manual labor school for Blacks. Two years later S. S. Jocelyn, a white abolitionist of New Haven, Connecticut, suggested New Haven to Cornish as the location of the school. In a meeting of the First Annual Negro Convention in Philadelphia on June 6-11, 1831, Cornish was instrumental in having the idea adopted. Cornish was appointed chief fund-raiser for the project.<sup>2</sup>

On September 5, 1831, the manual labor school's committee wrote a public appeal in a Philadelphia newspaper and included their objectives:

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Some of Cornish's other accomplishments were editor of the first black newspaper in America, Freedom's Journal (1827-29), editor of Rights of All, editor of Colored America (1837), and he served on the board of managers of the American Anti-Slavery Society. See Quarles, Black Abolitionists, p. 109; Payne, Recollection, pp. 48-49 and 61; Christian, "Samuel Cornish," p. 1; Biographical Sketches A to Z; and Sorin, p. 93.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 114-115 and 118.



The colored citizens of the United States, assembled by delegation in this city, June last, alive to the interests of their brethren and community generally, resolved at whatever labor or expense to establish, and maintain an institution in which their sons of the present and future generation may obtain a classical education and the mechanic arts in general.<sup>1</sup>

The committee also gave a statement on their financial goal and arrangements:

...The amount of money required to erect buildings, secure apparatus and mechanical instruments, is \$20,000; of this sum the colored people intend to contribute as largely as God has given them the ability, and for the residue they look to the Christian community, who know their wants, their oppression and wrongs...

...all monies collected by the principal agent, Rev. Samuel E. Cornish, who is now in this city, and whom they recommend to the confidence of all to whom he may appeal, will be deposited in the United States Bank, subject to the order of Arthur Tappan...their generous patron and friend.<sup>2</sup>

The committee reported in the Second Annual Negro Convention, in 1832, in Philadelphia on June 4-13, that the citizens of New Haven had rejected the proposal to establish the manual labor school in their city. The white abolitionists accepted defeat, but the Black convention "expressed the hope that a new and more favorable location could be found."<sup>3</sup>

In addition to Cornish's informal educational contribution that was begun in 1827, he served as an agent to two African Free Schools in New York to solicit funds and

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 118-119.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 133 and 135; also Litwack, pp. 123-126.

promote "the interest of parents in sending their children to the school and developing a constructive attitude of the parents toward the schools." Cornish was, therefore, "forerunner of the parent-teacher association idea."<sup>1</sup> In a board meeting of the school in 1828 the trustees reported that Cornish's exertion had been "industrious and considerably successful in producing a better attendance."<sup>2</sup>

In his role as a formal educator, Cornish headed a library and reading room in 1833 under the auspices of the Phoenix Society in New York. The library was opened three nights a week to stimulate students through reading classes. Cornish's description of the procedure was:

There will be a 4, a 6, and an 8 o'clock class of readers. These classes may consist of from 25 to 30 or more--each class having selected its course of reading and appointed its reader, whose duty it shall be to read for one hour. All the class shall note prominent parts, and then retire into the adjacent room to converse on the subjects, together with other occurrences of the day, calculated to cultivate the mind and improve the heart.<sup>3</sup>

Through a letter to the editor of the New York Observer newspaper, Cornish solicited support for his library:

Some among us are poor, and ignorant, and vicious, because we have been neglected. The time has come

<sup>1</sup>H. N. Christian, "Samuel Cornish", p. 24.

<sup>2</sup>Charles C. Andrews, The History of the New York African Free-Schools (New York: Mahlon Day, 1830), pp. 69-70.

<sup>3</sup>Quarles and Fishel, pp. 159-160.

in which we sincerely hope our community will not stop to find fault with our oppressed people, but turn their attention to their education, and to the improvement of their condition... As agent of the Society, I shall call on the wise and good of our community--those who are blessed with all the privileges of enlightened civilization and religion, to bestow some of these blessings on the neglected and oppressed, by donations, books, and journals--and I pledge myself in the name of the Society, and as present Librarian, to make the best use of all the gifts we may receive.<sup>1</sup>

Cornish stated also that the objectives of the library were for the "general improvement" of the Black population, "the training of our youth to habits of reading and reflection" and to "lead them to habits of virtue and usefulness."<sup>2</sup>

Black Preacher-Teachers. As formal educators, lack preachers were bold enough to help prepare Black children for a more meaningful life in times when educating Blacks was not very popular among the majority of whites. Yet, these Black teachers risked white abuse to teach Black children. For some included in this study, it was through their teaching that they made their major contribution to Black liberation. For others, teaching was one among several contributions they made to the Black struggle for equality. Many served as a pastor of a church and used it as a base to teach school. The men discussed in the following paragraphs as teachers reflect these types.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Quarles and Fishel, pp. 159-160.

Daniel Alexander Payne had a passion for education throughout his life. In 1829, Payne opened a school in Charleston, South Carolina, for Black children in the home of Caesar Wright, a free Black. Payne's six pupils were the three free born Wright children and three adult slaves. He taught the Wright children in the day time. Since the slaves had to work during the day, he taught them at night. Payne's fee for teaching was fifty cents per person per month. The next year, Payne's enrollment increased to sixty, and he had to locate a larger classroom. A school for Payne was built by Robert Howard, a free Black, in his backyard. Payne taught school there until March 1835.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Payne, Recollections, pp. 19-20; also Coan, p. 14. Daniel Alexander Payne was born on February 24, 1811, in Charleston, South Carolina, to free parents. His father, London Payne, was born free in Virginia, but was kidnapped and sold into slavery in South Carolina. London later purchased his freedom for a thousand dollars. London soon married Martha, Daniel's mother, who was a descendant of the Catawba Indians. When Daniel was four, his father died. About three years later Martha died. Without parents in 1819, Daniel was put in the care of Mrs. Elizabeth Holloway, but later he went to stay with his aunt, Mrs. Sarah Brodeaux.

While in Charleston, Daniel Payne attended Minor's Moralistic Society School, which was established in 1803 by free blacks. The school's objectives were to educate and provide for the material needs of black orphans. Under the tutelage of Thomas Bonneau, a white man, Daniel Payne learned English, mathematics, Greek, Latin and French. He learned the skill of carpentry, and for four years he worked as a carpenter in a shop where his brother-in-law was foreman.

In 1842, Payne joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He was appointed Historiographer in 1848. In 1852, Payne was elected a bishop in the A.M.E. Church. In 1863,

Payne's primary curriculum was reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic. His secondary courses were history, English grammar, composition, geography, map-drawing, botany, zoology, descriptive chemistry, descriptive astronomy, physical education and natural philosophy.<sup>1</sup> In 1832, Payne's eyesight was permanently impaired by an experiment in descriptive astronomy. "I watched the total eclipse," Payne said, "from its commencement to its completion with my naked eye; but I paid dear for my rash experiment. The immediate result was a partial loss of sight."<sup>2</sup>

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Payne purchased Wilberforce University and served as its president for thirteen years. Payne died in 1893, upon returning to his Ever Green Cottage home at Tawawa Springs, Wilberforce, from the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago. His usual practice was to go to Florida for the winter, but on the day before his planned departure, he died.

Payne was married twice. In 1847, he married a widow, Mrs. Julia A. Farris. She died the next year during childbirth. Their daughter died within a year. In the summer of 1854, Payne married Mrs. Eliza J. Clark of Cincinnati, Ohio. She already had three children by her former husband.

Payne wrote and published extensively. His literary accomplishments include books, pamphlets, sermons, addresses and articles, e.g., Domestic Education, Cincinnati: Cranton and Stove, 1889; "The Church of the Living God, Its Priesthood and Ministry in All Ages"; "Payne's quadrennial sermon to the General Conference of 1888", Washington, D. C.: Howard University, Moorland Collection; and Repository of Religion, Literature, Science and Art, Bishop Daniel Payne, editor from 1858-1862. See Coan, pp. 9-11 & 97; Bergman, pp. 96 & 134; Singleton, p. 123; and Payne, Recollections, pp. 92, 120 and 135-136.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 20-25.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

Much of Payne's success as a teacher was because he worked and played with his students. In most of their activities, he "led them in person." Examples of Payne's personal concern for his students are in accounts of his zoology and physical education classes:

I used to take my first class of boys into the woods every Saturday in search of insects, reptiles, and plants...

It was also one of my methods in order to interest my students to erect several gymnastic instruments, that they might develop their muscular systems and find amusement to break the monotony of the school-room.<sup>1</sup>

Payne was envied by some of the school teachers in the city, because he taught subjects not included in the studies at the other four schools in Charleston. His school was superior and more popular, because he taught "more of the higher English branches" and zoology.<sup>2</sup> Two of the white teachers from the other schools came to Payne for instruction in his advanced subjects, and he taught them.<sup>3</sup> Payne gave private instruction also to three white ladies. In the six years he taught in Charleston, his school was the most successful in the city.<sup>4</sup>

Since Payne was unsuccessful in obtaining zoology books, he developed his own. "This I did," said Payne,

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 23 and 25.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 36; William J. Simmons, Men of Mark (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1970), p. 780; also Bergman, p. 134.

"by killing such insects, toads, snakes, young alligators, fishes, and young sharks as I could catch. I then cleaned and stuffed those that I could, and hung them upon the walls of my school-room."<sup>1</sup>

In 1835, the prejudice of whites against educated Blacks had its effect on this popular school. The whites' fear that education of Blacks was education for insurrection manifested itself in the December 1834 law of the South Carolina Legislature:

If any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write, or cause, or procure any slave to read or write, such person, if a free white person, upon conviction thereof shall for each and every offense 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...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 upon free persons of color and slaves for teaching slaves to read or write.<sup>2</sup>

When the anti-slavery teaching bill was enforced on April 1, 1835, Payne had to close his school in Charleston.<sup>3</sup> Since Payne's "highest aim was to be an educator," and because he was convinced that God had trained him to be useful "as a teacher of children and youth," he left

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp.27-28.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

Charleston on May 9, 1835, for New York, in search of an opportunity to put his skills to use. He wanted to be able to teach without "let or hindrance."<sup>1</sup> While in New York, he met Daniel Strobel, a white Lutheran minister, who encouraged him to attend the Lutheran Seminary in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. From June, 1835, to May 12, 1837, Payne was a student at the seminary.<sup>2</sup>

While a student in Gettysburg, Payne opened a school for all the "colored children in the neighborhood," in an old building owned by the seminary. He was assisted in the conducting of the school by volunteer teachers "from the village and the Seminary."<sup>3</sup>

In June, 1837, Payne went to Philadelphia, where he united with the Franklin Synod of the Lutheran Church, and was licensed to preach. He accepted a call from the Presbyterian Church in East Troy, New York, where he served as pastor for two years. In the winter of 1839, Payne moved to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where he opened a school and taught until the summer of 1843.<sup>4</sup>

Payne's school in Carlisle was one of three secondary schools in the city. The two secondary schools, and

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 45 & 41; also Daniel A. Payne, History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968, Volume I, originally published in 1891, in Nashville, Tenn.)

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 56-63.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 65-74.



the two primary schools he found there, were taught by whites. The first year, Payne started with three students. The second year, sixty students from the other two secondary schools attended Payne's school.<sup>1</sup>

In 1841, while teaching in Carlisle, Payne united with the African Methodist Episcopal Church at a Quarterly Conference at the Bethel Church, in Philadelphia. In May, 1843, Payne was ordained an elder, admitted into full connection in the denomination, and appointed pastor of Israel A.M.E. Church in Washington, D. C., by Bishop Morris Brown.<sup>2</sup> In 1845, Payne was appointed to Bethel Church in Baltimore, Maryland. During his first year there, he tutored the "elder children" of the wife of a local preacher in the mornings. Within twelve months, Payne had received about fifty students into his studio. For five years, Payne conducted the school from 9:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m.<sup>3</sup>

In his school "all the English Studies," said Payne, were subjects that were being "taught in the best graded schools."<sup>4</sup> Payne added to his curriculum Greek and Latin. Regarding discipline in his school, Payne said, his school, contrary to other schools, seldom needed the use of the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 72 & 74.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 77-79 and 93.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 79.

rod," because "the incorrigible were dismissed, and law and order reigned supreme."<sup>1</sup>

As an educator, and a delegate to the 1844 A.M.E. General Conference in Pittsburgh, Payne introduced a resolution calling for annual conference studies for ministers. Although the resolution was defeated when it was proposed, it received unanimous approval the following day. The act resulted in Payne being selected chairman of a committee appointed to propose a course of studies.<sup>2</sup> The conference approved of the following course of studies:

- I. Exhorters:
  - (a) First year
    - (1) The Bible
    - (2) Smith, English Grammar
    - (3) Mitchel, Geography
    - (4) Discipline
    - (5) Wesley, notes
  - (b) Second year
    - (1) Original church of Christ
    - (2) History of the A.M.E. Church
    - (3) Watson, Life of Wesley
- II. Preachers
  - (a) First year
    - (1) Smith, English Grammar
    - (2) Mitchel, Geography
    - (3) Parley, Evidences of Divine Revelation
    - (4) History of the Bible
    - (5) Horn, Introduction
  - (b) Second year
    - (1) Schmucker, Mental Philosophy
    - (2) Parley, Natural Theology
    - (3) Schmucker, Natural Theology
    - (4) Watson, Institutes

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Coan, pp. 66-68.

- (c) Third year
  - (1) Ecclesiastical History
  - (2) Goodrich, Church History
  - (3) Porter, Homiletics
  - (4) D'Aubigue, History of the Reformation
- (d) Fourth year
  - (1) Geography and Chronology of the Bible
  - (2) Review of the above studies<sup>1</sup>

To keep his idea of an educated ministry before the A.M.E. Church, Payne published eight essays on the "Education of the Ministry." His advice was directed to the young ministers:

Beloved young brethren, we appeal to you because a glorious career of usefulness lies before you...Put forth every effort, employ every means, embrace every opportunity to cultivate your minds, and imbue them with the germs of holy learning. Be not satisfied with little things, lift your standard to the skies, and your attainments will be great.<sup>2</sup>

The year following the general conference, the Baltimore Annual Conference convened and approved of a resolution from a committee, headed by Payne, calling for the "formation of literary institutes and the planning of other measures that will place the cause of education on a solid and lasting foundation," and for "a general convention to be held in Philadelphia on October 30, 1845" to develop plans for the institutions.<sup>3</sup>

Delegates to the convention met as scheduled and approved of establishing a college and an educational

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 68-69.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

association in the East, a college in the West and an institution of learning in Ohio. Union Seminary was established in Ohio, first in the basement of Bethel Church in Columbus, and later in September, 1847, on one-hundred and seventy two acres of land near Xenia.<sup>1</sup> One-thousand seven hundred and twenty dollars was paid for the property.<sup>2</sup>

Reverend John Mufflin Brown, as one of the principals of the Union Seminary primary school (manual labor school),<sup>3</sup> did not receive over eighty dollars as an annual salary. During the time the school operated, it had a maximum enrollment of sixty-two, and a minimum of thirty-four students.<sup>4</sup> For lack of funds, the school never reached the prominence its founders expected.<sup>5</sup> The school was sold in 1863 to purchase Wilberforce University, in Wilberforce, Ohio.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>2</sup>Singleton, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup>Woodson, Education of the Negro prior to 1861, p. 273; Payne, History of the A.M.E. Church, p. 370. In 1856, Rev. Edward Davis was another principal of the school. The school was not able to operate properly because of a lack of finance.

<sup>4</sup>Singleton, p. 92.

<sup>5</sup>Payne, Recollections, p. 225.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

Like Payne, John Francis Cook, Sr.,<sup>1</sup> established a school called Union Seminary in Washington, D.C., in 1834, and taught "a hundred scholars in the winter and a hundred and fifty in the summer." Cook had not taught a year when he was forced by the Snow Riot to close his school.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>John Francis Cook, Sr., was born a slave in 1810 in the District of Columbia. Cook was purchased from slavery by his mother's sister, Mrs. Alethia Turner. She purchased herself for \$1,400 in 1810 and in 1826, she purchased her older sister, Laurena Cook, and five of her children--four boys and one girl. One of the boys was John F. Cook.

In 1831, Cook became an assistant messenger in the Land Office in Washington. During the year, he enrolled in a school taught by Blacks, Smothers and Prout. He apparently was encouraged by the Land Office personnel to continue his education, because when he was employed "his education was at most only the ability to stumble along a little primary reading book." As a result of diligently applying himself to learning, "he was soon able to write a good hand, and was employed with his pen in clerical work..."

Cook assisted Rev. John C. Smith in holding church services and meetings in his school building. These meetings led to the founding of the First Colored Presbyterian Church of Washington in November, 1841. Cook was then a local preacher in the A.M.E. Church, but on May 3, 1842, he united with the Presbytery of the District of Columbia. On July 13, 1843, Cook was elected the first pastor of the Fifteenth Street Colored Presbyterian Church in the city. He served as pastor of the church and taught school until he passed on March 21, 1855.

<sup>2</sup>History of Schools for the Colored Population, p. 201. The Snow Riot got its name from Benjamin Snow, a black restaurant owner in Washington, who was accused of flirting with some of the white women. The husbands and friends (many were white mechanics) of the women destroyed Snow's building, ransacked the "houses of prominent colored men and women, ostensibly in search of anti-slavery papers and documents," demolished most of the Black schools

The rioters wanted to kill Cook, but he escaped and went to Columbia, Pennsylvania, to teach in a free black public school. The following year, he returned to Washington and re-opened his school.<sup>1</sup> In 1841, Cook became pastor of the Fifteenth Street Church in the city and attempted to "turn his seminary into a high school" with not more than thirty of his more advanced students. The parents of the less advanced students refused to let him "shut off the multitude of primary scholars which were depending upon his school," because there were "so few good schools in the city for the colored people." Cook kept the seminary open and maintained an average attendance of one hundred until his death in 1855.<sup>2</sup>

Two ministers who devoted some of their earlier years to teaching, but who later pursued other vocations, including politics and the ministry, were Benjamin W. Arnett and Henry Highland Garnet. Benjamin Arnett was born in Brownsville, Fayette County, Pennsylvania in 1838.

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and destroyed all of the books and furniture, and destroyed private homes. The white rioters searched for Snow to kill him, but friends helped him reach safety in Canada.

The white mechanics were also reacting to an allegation charging them with stealing copper bolts from the Navy Yard. They considered the charge as putting them in the class with blacks. The military was called in to restore order.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 197, 200 and 202.

He received his teaching certificate in December, 1859. He taught school from 1859 to 1867 in Brownsville. He moved to Walnut Hills, Ohio, on April 19, 1867, and he taught in the common school there until May 14, 1870. He was the leader of the Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League, which was responsible for representing and bargaining for the educational and political concerns of Blacks. Arnett discontinued his teaching career in 1870 and became an active pastor and leader in the A.M.E. Church.<sup>1</sup>

Next, Henry Highland Garnet was a teacher and an abolitionist.<sup>2</sup> After Garnet's graduation from Oneida

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<sup>1</sup>Simmons, Men of Mark, pp. 883-885. In 1880 Arnett was made statistician and financial secretary of the A.M.E. Church. In these positions, he made a valuable contribution. Arnett was active in politics prior to being elected a bishop in the church. In 1885, he was elected to the Ohio Legislature from Green County. While there, he was successful in having the Black Codes repealed. In 1888, Arnett was elected a bishop of the A.M.E. Church along with three other persons. Also Woodson, History of the Negro Church, pp. 212-213.

<sup>2</sup>Quarles, Black Abolitionists, pp. 171-172, 184-185, 216-217 and 225-228; C. G. Woodson, editor, Negro Orators and Their Orations, (Washington, D. C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1925), pp. 153-154; Benjamin E. Mays, The Negro's God, pp. 45-48. As an abolitionist, Garnett agitated for equal rights for Blacks and for the anti-slavery cause. He advocated taking up arms for freedom. He urged the violent approach to freeing slaves, for he believed God would smile upon the slaves' efforts, if they would strike a blow for freedom. He supported emigration to Liberia.

Institute in 1840, he taught in a Black school,<sup>1</sup> and was pastor of a Black Presbyterian congregation in Troy, New York.<sup>2</sup> In 1842, he was licensed to preach in the white Presbyterian Church.<sup>3</sup> Garnet remained ten years as pastor of the church in Troy.<sup>4</sup> How long he remained as teacher of the Black school is unknown. In the late 1860s, Garnet became president of Avery College in Allegheny City, Pennsylvania.<sup>5</sup>

Some formal educators taught school while they

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<sup>1</sup>Mays, p. 45; also Sorin, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup>Bergman, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup>Hamilton, p. 66; also S. Michelson, "Henry H. Garnet," Biographical Sketches A to Z (Microfilm), New York: The Schomburg Collection.

<sup>4</sup>Sorin, p.90.

<sup>5</sup>Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, pp. 270, 271. Henry Highland Garnet was born a slave on December 23, 1815, in New Market, Maryland. In 1824 Garnet's slave master, Colonel Spencer, died and left his slaves to cruel relatives. Garnet, his sister, their parents and seven kin escaped that year to freedom in New York via a two year stay in Pennsylvania. Between 1829-30, the poverty state of the Garnet family forced Garnet to give himself over to indentured service. While a servant, Garnet injured his leg, which caused him to walk with a limp the rest of his life. He died in 1881 as a minister resident in Liberia.

His educational achievements include studying at the African Free School in New York City from 1826 to 1828; the High School for Colored Youth in New York City in 1831; 1835, Canaan Academy in New Hampshire; and a graduate from Oneida Institute in 1840. Also Sorin, pp. 89-90; Hamilton, pp. 66-67; and Simmons, p. 658.



served as pastors of churches. Examples of this category of ministers are: James W. C. Pennington, J. Y. B. Morgan, William H. Hunter, James Shorter, Rev. Anderson, Benjamine T. Hughes, and Daniel Coker.

James W. C. Pennington taught Black children in schools at New Town, Long Island and Hartford, Connecticut.<sup>1</sup> Pennington stayed in Hartford several years, and while he taught school, he served as pastor of a Presbyterian church.<sup>2</sup>

In the 1850s, J. Y. B. Morgan succeeded Alexander Wayman as pastor of the Union Bethel A.M.E. Church in Washington and resumed the school in the basement of the church. Mr. Charles Middleton started the school in 1852, but was called to serve the Navy Department in Savannah, Georgia. Morgan was able to supplement his salary as pastor with proceeds from the school.<sup>3</sup>

Like Morgan, William H. Hunter was pastor of, and conducted a large school in Zion Wesley Church, Georgetown, in 1860. The size of his teaching load required an assistant, Elizabeth Smith. Meanwhile, James Shorter conducted a large school in the Israel Bethel Church on Capitol Hill.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Simmons, pp. 648-49.

<sup>2</sup>Woodson, The Negro Church, p. 157; also Mays, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup>History of Schools, p. 215.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 217.

Another account of a Black preacher teaching Black students is in the form of a reply by a newspaper editor to a correspondent who wanted to donate up to twenty dollars towards the establishment of a school for Blacks in the city. The correspondent was under the impression that the Blacks did not have a regular school. The editor commented:

Our correspondent above appears to feel a lively interest in the education of colored children--and it is certainly a matter of great importance, both as respects their morals and their usefulness to society. Until lately, the Reverend Mr. Anderson (a local Black pastor), has had charge of the African School; and to encourage which, the Township appropriated and paid one hundred dollars the last year. The same sum for this object, was again voted at the last Town Meeting. If there is now no colored school in operation, we should say there is a culpable neglect on the part of the colored people, many of whom are able, and ought to take a deep interest in the education of their children. They are however, very lax on this subject. The school, to be efficient, ought to be organized and superintended by an active and benevolent committee of white people.<sup>1</sup>

The letter aroused attention in the city because the Black school soon reported to the town meeting the difficulties encountered in managing the school. Reverend Benjamin T. Hughes, Black, was the teacher and principal at the school and stated he had an enrollment of forty-eight students. The advanced students were taught grammar, geography, writing, arithmetic, spelling, and reading.

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<sup>1</sup>Sentinel of Freedom (Newark, New Jersey, June 16, 1829), p. 3.

The primary students were taught the alphabet, spelling words of two syllables, and some words of three syllables. The difficulty of the school was in collecting tuition. Hughes stated he had received "only five of an estimated thirty-five dollars" from "parents or guardians during the previous quarter."<sup>1</sup>

The last in this group of ministers was Daniel Coker.<sup>2</sup> He was the first Black teacher to teach Blacks in Baltimore, Maryland. Coker established the first Black school there in the basement of Bethel A.M.E. Church in ca. 1810. In 1816, Coker founded and taught in

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<sup>1</sup>Township Papers 1829-1830. The File of the City Clerk, Newark, N. J.

<sup>2</sup>Isaac Wright, alias Daniel Coker, was born a slave in Frederick County, Maryland. His mother Susan Coker, was an English white indentured servant and his father Daniel, was a Black slave. Later in life, Daniel ran away from slavery and earned enough money to purchase his freedom from his master. Daniel received an education from schools in New York. He organized the African Methodist Church in Maryland. Daniel Coker was elected the first bishop of the A.M.E. Church, but because of the rivalry between the larger Philadelphia church and the smaller Baltimore church, and the prevailing desire of the emerging denomination to have a bishop with Black skin, Coker resigned in favor of Richard Allen.

Although disease and disaster killed most of the colonists and the agents who went on the 1819 trip to Liberia, Daniel Coker survived. Bishop Henry M. Turner visited Sierra Leone in 1891 and learned from Coker's granddaughters that Coker died in 1846. Payne, History of the A.M.E. Church, pp. 14-15 and 28-29; Mays, pp. 39-41; Shaw, p. 35; and Singleton, pp. 22-23.

the Bethel Charity School.<sup>1</sup> His teaching career was interrupted in 1819 when he went to Liberia to help establish the colony of Sierra Leone.<sup>2</sup>

Educational Propagandists. Many Black liberal ministers served as informal educators as propagandists to foster educational opportunities for Blacks. They wrote and spoke in hopes of changing the minds of those who believed slavery was right and Blacks should be inferior, poor, and illiterate. They stressed the need for Blacks to have a general education, so they could be more useful to themselves and to society. Many propagandists were active in agitating state and national authorities for better educational opportunities for Blacks. Some of the chief examples of preacher-educators in this rank are Prince Hall, Richard Allen, Morris Brown,

<sup>1</sup>Mays, p. 39; also Payne, Recollections, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup>Woodson and Wesley, p. 300; also Shaw, loc. cit., p. 35. It is possible Coker was running from a scandal when he accepted the opportunity to go to Liberia. Although the substance of the scandal is unknown, James Cole brought a charge against Coker in the 1818 annual conference in Baltimore. The charge was substantiated, and Coker was "expelled from the connection." (p.15) In 1819, Coker applied for reinstatement and was "restored to the church... in full fellowship." (pp. 28-29) After regaining his status in the church, Coker went to Liberia. See Daniel A. Payne, History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, pp. 15 and 28-29.

Edmund Kelly, James Poindexter, Daniel Coker, Samuel E. Cornish, John B. Russwurn, Frederick Douglass, and Charles B. Ray.

The first known petition for formal education for Blacks in America, by a Black, was made by Prince Hall. In 1787, Hall sent a petition to the Massachusetts State Legislature in an attempt to obtain equal educational rights for Blacks. Although his petition was not granted, a movement was set in motion for improving the educational situation of free Blacks in Boston. Hall, in stating his central contention, said:

...we are of the humble opinion that we have the right to enjoy the privileges of free men. But that we do not will appear in many instances, and we beg leave to mention one out of many, and that is one of the education of our children which now receive no benefit from the free school in the town of Boston, which we think is a great grievance, as by woeful experience we now feel the want of common education. We, therefore, must fear for our rising offspring to see them in ignorance in a land of gospel light when there is provision made for them as well as others and yet can't enjoy them, and for no other reason can be given this they are black...<sup>1</sup>

In 1798, Hall established a school in his Boston home for Black children.<sup>2</sup> Information on the success,

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<sup>1</sup>Aptheker, A Documentary History, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. Prince Hall (also known as Primus Hall) was born in 1748 in Barbados, came to Boston in 1765, was a Methodist preacher, and is chiefly remembered as the founder of the Negro Masonic Order in the United States.

failure, curriculum and duration of the school is not known.

Richard Allen was another preacher who was vocal about the equal aptitudes of Black and white children. As a bishop and public speaker, Allen's influence was wide, and he expressed his views often on the need for improved education among Blacks. On one occasion, he stated Blacks had as much mental capacity as whites, if given a chance to prove it. In an address entitled "To Those Who Keep Slaves and Approve the Practice," Allen said:

We believe if you would try the experiment of taking a few black children, and cultivate their minds with the same care and let them have the same prospect in view as to living in the world, as you would wish for your own children, you would find upon trial, they were not inferior in mental endowments.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes stress was put on the importance of education for Blacks by preachers who, themselves, were not well trained. Bishop Morris Brown is illustrative of this group of preachers.<sup>2</sup> Brown was the president of an African Methodist Episcopal annual conference, where a

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<sup>1</sup>Mays, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup>Singleton, pp. 26 and 31. Brown was born a free mulatto in Charleston, South Carolina, sometime after the Revolutionary War. His mother was Black and his father was a white man of Scotch descent. In 1817, Brown was ordained a deacon in the A.M.E. Church. Morris Brown grew up without receiving an education. After he was elected the second bishop of the A.M.E. Church in 1828, Daniel A. Payne served privately as his secretary. While attending a conference in Canada in 1845, Bishop Brown was stricken with paralysis. In May, 1850, he died. Also Payne, Recollections, p. 94; Hamilton, p. 56; and Bergman, p. 107.

resolution was adopted, which required A.M.E. ministers to encourage the education of Black people.

Resolved, on motion, That, whereas education is one of the principal means of creating in our minds those noble feelings which prompt us to the practice of piety, virtue, and temperance, and is calculated to elevate us above the conditions of brutes, by assimilating us to the image of our Maker, we therefore recommend to all our preachers to enjoin undeviating attention to its promotion, and earnestly request all our people to neglect no opportunity of advancing it, by pledging ourselves to assist them as far as it is in our power. Resolved, on motion, That there be four sermons preached in the year, in all our churches and congregations, for the purpose of encouraging the cause of education and Sabbath schools among our people; and that a collection be taken up, where there are Sabbath schools established, at those times, for the special aid of those schools.<sup>1</sup>

A slave preacher who advocated the education of Blacks was Edmund Kelly. As a slave, Kelly valued education and taught himself to read and write. With his knowledge, he helped to educate others. Kelly, born in 1818, in Tennessee and licensed to preach in 1842, used his education to foster knowledge among the slaves in Tennessee and neighboring states. Kelly established an organizational structure to accomplish his educational goal by introducing "missions into the Southern plantations by the aid of zealous, humble Christian men and women."<sup>2</sup> Kelly was creative and enthusiastic about obtaining his

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<sup>1</sup>Aptheker, pp. 205-206.

<sup>2</sup>Simmons, Men of Mark, p. 186.

goal. He wrote "letters on simple gospel themes to be read to the unconverted for their salvation, and for encouragement to the converted."<sup>1</sup> He wrote also a little book containing many questions and answers quoted from the Bible. This catechism was used in Sabbath School and Bible reading sessions in the Black churches in the southern states bordering Tennessee.

A comment on Kelly's method and success was made by Daniel A. Payne to a congregation in Washington, D.C.:

I have had the happiness of being present at one of his exhibitions, and am therefore, prepared to recommend it to you as one of the best I ever witnessed. The cause of our common Christianity and our common humanity will be greatly promoted by furnishing him with opportunities of demonstrating the utility and beauty of his method before your congregations.<sup>2</sup>

An influential Baptist minister, who was concerned about building a quality school for Blacks, and who felt the necessity for a practical education, was James Poindexter. Poindexter was born in 1817, in Richmond, Virginia. As an adult, Poindexter moved from Richmond to Columbus, Ohio, and established himself as a professional barber. In this position, Poindexter had personal contact with the intellectual class of the city. He derived his educational philosophy from talking to and testing theories on them. "This sort of education," he once noted,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 187.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.



is often more valuable than college training, it gives one the practical experience of life. Theory from books may assist in many enterprises in life, but to pursue life itself unto a successful end takes practical everyday experience--not only that which we ourselves gain, but through observation and contact with others.<sup>1</sup>

Poindexter served two terms on the Columbus School Board. He wrote widely and spoke frequently on Civil Rights, emancipation, enfranchisement, public welfare, and the general elevation of the Black race.<sup>2</sup>

James Poindexter was one of the four leaders of the January 10-13, 1849, State Convention of Ohio Negroes held in Columbus, Ohio. This convention examined the Ohio State Constitution and found that Blacks were denied elective franchise and taxed without representation. This convention also identified a contradiction in the law on education and the way it was implemented. The law stated:

...no law shall be passed to prevent the poor in the several counties and townships within this State, from an equal participation in the schools, academies, colleges, and universities within this State, which are endowed, in whole or in part, from the revenue arising from the donations made by the United States for the support of schools and colleges...

This Black delegation held that "the actual exclusion of colored inhabitants from the benefits of the school fund is a violation" of the law.<sup>3</sup> They contended also that the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 259; also Woodson, The Negro Church, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Aptheker, pp. 278, 283 and 285.

exclusion of Blacks from the benefit of public funds "encourages ignorance in your communities. To encourage ignorance is to encourage vice."<sup>1</sup> As a reaction to the educational inequity, the convention entered a demand against the State of Ohio:

We ask for our school privileges in common with others, for we pay school taxes in the same proportion.<sup>2</sup>

While the State of Ohio ignored the above petition, the delegation of Blacks drew up a plan for the education of Black children:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to recommend a school system which may be used until school privileges are granted us in this State. Resolved, That we hereby recommend to our people throughout the State to give their children mechanical trades, and encourage them to engage in the agricultural, professional and other elevating pursuits of the day.<sup>3</sup>

In a letter to the Ohio State Journal, Poindexter summed up what he felt to be his major contribution to education:

...as pastor of a church it is part of my religion to inculcate in all the rising generation the duty of making themselves as familiar with the Constitution of the United States and laws of their country as these relate to the rights and duties of the citizens, as with the Bible.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 285-286.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 281.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 263.

Last in this group of ministers was Charles Bennet Ray.<sup>1</sup> He confronted the state of New York about equalizing the education of Blacks. Ray was president of the New York Society for the Promotion of Education Among

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<sup>1</sup>Charles Bennet Ray was born on December 25, 1807, in Falmouth, Massachusetts. Charles was the first of seven children (four boys and three girls) born to Joseph Aspinwall Ray and Annis Harrington. Charles' early education was in schools and academies in Falmouth. For his theological education, Ray attended the Wesleyan Seminary in Wilbraham, Massachusetts. In 1832, he entered Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut. The students protested his presence on campus, and he withdrew.

In 1832, Ray moved to New York City and established a very prosperous boot and shoe store. While in the city, he joined the anti-slavery society and helped runaway slaves. In 1834, he was ordained a Methodist minister. For more than thirty years, Ray served as pastor of churches in the area, including twenty-two years as the pastor of the Bethesda Congregational Church in New York.

In 1837, Ray was one of the founders of, and served as an agent for the Colored American newspaper, and from 1839 to 1842 he served as its editor. As an editor, he agitated and crusaded for black liberation.

Charles Ray was married twice. His first wife was Henrietta Greene, and his second wife was Charlette Augusta Burrough of Savannah, Georgia. Seven children resulted from his marriage to Charlette. Three of their five daughters lived to womanhood and received the best education available in New York. Each daughter served as a teacher with distinction in the training of children in the city. The second oldest girl mastered the German language. On August 15, 1886, Charles B. Ray died suddenly from a heart attack. See Mrs. C. A. B. Ray, Sketches of the Life of Rev. Charles Bennet Ray (New York: Press of J. J. Little and Co., 1887); Wilbun Young, "Charles B. Ray," Biographical Sketches A to Z (Microfilm), New York: The Schomburg Collection; and Bergman, p. 89.

Colored Children, which was successful on December 28, 1857, in petitioning a special commission appointed by the governor to investigate the New York City schools. The society's documented paper to the commission supported the need for improvements in the education of Black youth in the city.<sup>1</sup>

The society made two complaints. First, when considered proportionately, the number of whites and the number of Blacks who attended public and private schools were about the same (Black youth in public school: 1,153 out of 3,000; and private: 125. White youth in public school: 43,859 out of 159,000; and private: 17,560.). The problem was with the inequity in the spending of public funds for public facilities to accommodate the Blacks and the whites. The Board of Education had spent \$1,600,000 for sites and buildings for the whites and \$1,000 for sites and buildings for the lack schools. While the proportion of Black children to white children attending public schools was 1 to 40, the sum expended on school buildings and sites for lack and white schools by the Board of Education was 1 to 1,600.<sup>2</sup>

The Black group held their children were "pent up in

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<sup>1</sup>The Anglo-African, July, 1859, Volume I (The Schomburg Collection, Microfilm).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

filthy neighborhoods, in old and dilapidated buildings." and were "held down to low associations and gloomy surroundings."<sup>1</sup> Charles Ray led his group in protesting this unjust treatment, because:

They believed with the experience of Massachusetts, and especially the recent experience of Boston before them, there is no sound reason why colored children should be excluded from any of the common schools supported by taxes levied alike on whites and blacks, and governed by officers elected by the vote of colored as well as white voters.<sup>2</sup>

The second complaint was on the inequitable use of taxes. The Black adult population was 9,000. Of that count, over 3,000 were householders and rent-payers. Each paid taxes. In the renter category, the society held that owners made taxpayers out of their poor tenants. This point was illustrated by using the average Black laborer's income of \$200 per year and contrasting it with the \$72 per year paid in rent for a kitchen and bedroom. In proportion to his means, the tenant was "a larger taxpayer than the millionaire whose tax rate is thousands of dollars."<sup>3</sup> The society concluded:

These figures indicate that in proportion to their numbers, the colored population of this city pay a fair share of the school taxes, and that they have been most unjustly dealt with. Their money has been used to purchase sites and erect and fit up school-

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

houses for white children, whilst their own children are driven into miserable edifices in disgraceful localities. Surely the white population of the city are too able, too generous, too just, any longer to suffer this miserable robbing of their colored fellow-citizens for the benefit of white children.<sup>1</sup>

An editorial statement at the end of the story stated:

...the School-house in Thomas street has been removed to the corner of Hudson and Franklin street, one of the finest locations in the fifth ward; the school-house in Mulberry street has been taken down, to be replaced immediately by a new and elegant structure, replete with all the modern furniture and equipments; and a handsome sum has been appropriated to re-model the school-house in Laurens street.<sup>2</sup>

The founders of the first Black owned and operated newspaper in America were two preachers, John B. Russwurn and Samuel E. Cornish. They were concerned about the education of Blacks. On March 16, 1827, Russwurn and Cornish became editors of Freedom's Journal, and they used it to inform the public about the importance of improving Blacks morally, religiously, and educationally. The newspaper was an educational medium, because it was the most economical and convenient way to reach the widest audience with the message of liberation. The newspaper helped also to increase communications between lacks and whites. Some whites confessed they were unaware of the deplorable conditions of lack slaves and freedmen in

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.; also Sorin, p. 93.

American life. The preacher-editors used the paper to agitate for freedom, equal opportunities, and suffrage in America. A section of their first issue state why the newspaper would serve as a channel of communication for lacks to express themselves to the American public:

We wish to plead our own cause. Too long have others spoken for us. Too long has the public been deceived by misrepresentations, in things which concern us dearly...In the spirit of candor and humility we intend by a simple representation of facts to lay our case before the publick, with a view to arrest the progress of prejudice, and to shield ourselves against the consequent evils.<sup>1</sup>

Russwurn and Cornish considered their newspaper a way to educate the public on the abilities of Blacks, and the dissatisfaction of Blacks with their subordinate role in America.

As education is what renders civilized man superior to the savage, as the dissemination of knowledge is continually progressing among all classes in the community--we deem it expedient to establish a paper and bring into operation all the means with which our Benevolent Creator has endowed us for the moral, religious, and literary improvement of our injured race.<sup>2</sup>

On September 14, 1827, Cornish resigned as co-editor with Russwurn<sup>3</sup> under the pretense of illness, but

<sup>1</sup>Freedom's Journal, March 16, 1827, Volume I, Number I (The Schomburg Collection, Microfilm).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., March 30, 1827.

<sup>3</sup>John B. Russwurn was the second Black to graduate from college. In late August, 1826, Russwurn was graduated from Bowdoin College. Two weeks earlier in August, 1826, Edward Jones was graduated from Amherst College. See Quarles, Black Abolitionists, p. 113.

actually wanting to devote full time to the ministry. He decided instead to become an agent for the four page, 5¢ newspaper. In 1829, Russwurn gave the responsibility of publishing the paper back to Cornish, and went to Liberia to become the Governor of the Colony of Cape Palmas. Cornish returned as editor and he changed the name of the newspaper to Rights for All.<sup>1</sup>

Like Russwurn and Cornish, Frederick Douglass was editor of a Black newspaper. In the autumn of 1847, Douglass moved to Rochester, New York, and began publishing The North Star.

Douglass' newspaper served an educational function, because he wrote to enlighten the "public mind and build up a public sentiment, which should send slavery to the grave, and restore to 'liberty and the pursuit of happiness' the people with whom I had suffered."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>H. N. Christian, "Samuel Cornish", pp. 20-22; also Woodson, Education of the Negro, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup>Douglass, Life and Times, pp. 259, 260 and 262-3. He chose not to publish in Boston, Massachusetts, among his friends, because he did not want to interfere with Garrison's Liberator (white) newspaper. In 1850, Douglass changed the name of the newspaper to Frederick Douglass' Paper "in order to distinguish it from the many papers with 'Stars' in their titles."



The next Black preacher to write and publish against slavery was Daniel Coker. In 1810, Coker published a pamphlet that served as an anti-slavery education for all who read it. His pamphlet was a dialogue between a Black preacher and a white slave owner. The slaveholder stated that slavery was legalized by God, because Abraham in the Bible "had servants in his house, and bought with money, they must have served for life, like our negroes."<sup>1</sup> The Black preacher agreed that Abraham had slaves, but added that Abraham obeyed the command from God "to circumcise all that were born in his house or bought with money."<sup>2</sup> Circumcision confirmed the covenant God made with Abraham to give him the land of Canaan and certain benefits. The Black preacher continued his argument by saying:

These persons bought with money, were no longer looked upon as uncircumcised and unclean; as aliens and strangers; but were incorporated with the church and nation of the Israelites, and became one people with them; became God's covenant people. Whence it appears, that suitable provision was made by the divine law, that they should be properly educated, made free and enjoy all the common privileges of citizens.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Daniel Coker, "Dialogue Between a Virginian and an African Minister," Dorothy Porter, editor, Negro Protest Pamphlets (New York: Arno Press, 1969), p. 18.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 18-19.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 19-20.

### The Moderate Black Preacher-Educator

The moderate preacher was concerned more with preserving the peace than the Militant and The Liberals. He was a peacemaker, a gradualist, and ambivalent (treader-down-the-middle-of-the-road). He was aware of slave conditions, but to not alienate himself from the white race, he did not resist social customs. His outward manifestations were conciliatory and accommodating. His objective was to improve the lot of the Black race carefully, quietly, and slowly.<sup>1</sup> He was both a formal and informal educator. As a formal educator, the moderate taught school.

As an informal educator, the moderate Black preacher founded predominately Black churches, was a speaker or pastor to white congregations, and an ambivalent propagandist. Black preachers who spoke to white congregations during slavery considered it an honor, for it was rare for whites to sit and listen to blacks. These informal educators demonstrated Black initiative and were an example to Blacks of positions of dignity they could obtain.<sup>2</sup> Since holding such positions were uncommon at this time, this was one way Blacks proved they could be as responsible as whites. Their messages were challenging

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<sup>1</sup>Nelson, pp. 276-77.

<sup>2</sup>Charles V. Hamilton, The Black Preacher in America (New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1972), p. 43.

but not condemning. As an ambivalent propagandist, while he encouraged Blacks to seek a better life on earth, he was soft on criticizing whites about unfair treatment of Blacks.

Some of the popular Black pastors and speakers to white congregations were Lemuel Haynes, Henry Evans, and Jacob Bishop. Lemuel Haynes (1753-1833) was born to a Connecticut white woman and a Black man.<sup>1</sup> As an orator and theologian to whites, Haynes taught Blacks informally that they could obtain a position of dignity where whites would listen to Blacks. His preaching ability, and his skill at establishing rapport with whites, are illustrated in a white man's reaction:

The leading citizen was much displeased and to show his lack of respect for the new incumbent this man went into the church (at Torrington, Connecticut) and sat with his hat on. He had not preached far, said the man, 'when I thought I saw the whitest man I ever knew in that pulpit, and I tossed my hat under the pew'.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Haynes, p. 67. Haynes' mother abandoned him after birth. He stayed a short while with his father's family. Haynes' was received later by the David Rose family of Granville, Massachusetts. This white family provided Haynes with a basic education from neighboring schools and reputable theologians.

As an adult, Lemuel Haynes was a Revolutionary War soldier, a farmer, and a pastor of white Congregational churches from 1780 to 1833. While pastor of his first church in Middle Granville, Massachusetts, he married Bessie Baddit, a white woman. They had seven children.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 68; also Hamilton, p. 42.

Next in the series of Black preachers was Henry Evans. Evans spent most of his professional life in Fayetteville, North Carolina, as a shoemaker and pastor of an integrated church. Although Evans' ministry in Fayetteville was at first prohibited by city officials, through his humble ways and challenging messages he won the confidence of the whites and was permitted to continue preaching. Before 1790, Evans served as a preacher to Blacks, but he soon gained fame as an excellent speaker and was supported by both Blacks and whites. Their relationship led to the founding of the first integrated Methodist Church in Fayetteville.<sup>1</sup>

Evidence of Evans' effect on the people in the area is stated by Bishop Capers of the Methodist Church:

He was undoubtedly the best preacher of his time in that quarter and was so remarkable as to have become the greatest curiosity of the town insomuch that distinguished visitors hardly felt that they might pass a Sunday in Fayetteville without hearing him preach.<sup>2</sup>

Jacob Bishop was another moderate Black minister. While little information is available about Bishop, it is known that he preached to a white congregation in Portsmouth, Virginia, in 1792. Jacob Bishop was considered a "man of considerable talents."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Woodson and Wesley, p. 156; also Joseph B. Earnest, Jr., The Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia (Virginia: The Michie Company, Printers, 1914), p. 96.

<sup>2</sup>Earnest, The Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

There were Black informal educator propagandists who gave one message to whites and another to Blacks. They were ambivalent in their conversations. The background to this dualism was the difference in the message the white masters wanted the slaves to have and what they often received. Black and white preachers were hired by slaveholders to teach the slaves to be more docile, obedient, and trustworthy. The Black slaves, on the contrary, wanted to be taught about the Bible and the requirements and rewards of heaven. Fearful the slaves might rebel for freedom, slave owners did not want the slaves to learn anything about heaven.<sup>1</sup>

Some lack ministers spoke secretly to the slaves about heaven and the Bible. One account states:

A yellow man preached to us. She had him preach how we was to obey our master and missy if we want to go to heaven, but when she wasn't there he came out with straight preachin' from the Bible.<sup>2</sup>

Another moderate educational propagandist was Jupiter Hammon, an eighteenth century slave Black poet-preacher, who spoke to the slaves about the Bible and the happiness awaiting them in heaven. While he spoke to the slaves about being obedient, faithful, honest, and diligent, he spoke to free Blacks about preserving their freedom by

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<sup>1</sup>Hamilton, pp. 38-39; also Rawick, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 325.

<sup>2</sup>Norman R. Yetman, editor, Voices From Slavery (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 95.

not being idle, illiterate, lazy, drunk, and stealing. Since Hammon was unsure of God's stance on slavery, he said, "It is our duty to obey our masters in all their lawful commands."<sup>1</sup> Although Hammon did not want his own freedom, he advocated freedom for young Blacks. He believed freedom was "worth seeking for."<sup>2</sup>

Hammon spoke to the slaves about being obedient to the master and not to consider slavery evil. Hammon believed happiness could be found in slavery, if the slaves

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<sup>1</sup>Jupiter Hammon, America's First Negro Poet (New York: Kennikat Press, 1970), p. 108.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 112. Jupiter Hammon (ca 1725-1790 or 1806) was born a slave in the vicinity of New York City. He lived and died on the Lloyd estate located on Long Island's north shore. Hammon was an intelligent slave. How he received an education is unknown. A school was conducted in the Queen's Village, where the Lloyd family supplied instruction along with other teachers. It is possible that, as a house servant, Hammon learned a basic education from the white children, and advanced himself by using the library of the Lloyds. As a result of his literary skills, he antedated the poet Phillis Wheatley by more than thirteen years. Hammon was the first black to write and publish poetry in America. Hammon's first poem was written in 1760, and Wheatley's first book of poems was published in 1773. Jupiter Hammon's literary works were "An Address to Miss Phillis Wheatley," 1778; "An Essay on the Ten Virgins," 1779; "A Winter Piece," which included "A Poem for Children with Thoughts on Death," 1782; "An Evening's Improvement" was published sometime during the war, and it included "The Kind Master and Dutiful Servant," and "An Address to the Negroes of the State of New York," 1787. Jupiter Hammon, pp. 13, 24 and 26.

would not rebel and would willingly be kind to their masters. Hammon was essentially saying that the enslavement of the Black race was God's purpose for them, and they had no right to question God.

Here is a plain command of God for us to obey our masters. It may seem hard for us, if we think our masters wrong in holding us slaves, to obey in all things, but who of us dare dispute with God! He has commanded us to obey, and we ought to do it cheerfully and freely. This should be done by us, not only because God commands, but because our own peace and comfort depend upon it. As we depend upon our masters, for what we eat and drink and wear, and for all our comfortable things in this world, we cannot be happy, unless we please them. This we cannot do without obeying them freely, without muttering or finding fault.<sup>1</sup>

Hammon advocated education for both the slave and the freedman. Hammon contended that reading the Bible enabled one to learn God's will for him. To the slave, Hammon said:

Those of you who can read, I must beg you to read the Bible; and whenever you can get time study the Bible; and if you can get no other time, spare some of your time from sleep, and learn what the mind and will of God is. But what shall I say to them who cannot read? This lay with great weight on my mind, when I thought of writing to my poor brethren; but I hope that those who can read will take pity on them, and read what I have to say to them. In hopes of this, I will beg of you to spare no pains in trying to learn to read. If you are once engaged, you may learn. Let all the time you can get be spent in trying to learn to read. Get those who can read, to learn you; but remember, that what you learn for, is to read the Bible.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 113-114.

To the freedman Hammon said:

You have more time to read God's holy word, and to take care of the salvation of your souls. Let me beg of you to spend your time in this way, or it will be better for you if you had always been slaves. If you think seriously of the matter, you must conclude that if you do not use your freedom to promote the salvation of your souls, it will not be of any lasting good to you.<sup>1</sup>

Hammon admonished the freedmen to set examples of neatness, thrift, and good behavior so as to increase the possibility of other slaves gaining their freedom.

...if you are idle, and take to bad courses, you will hurt those of your brethren who are slaves, and do all in your power to prevent their being free. One great reason that is given by some for not freeing us, I understand, is that we should not know how to take care of ourselves, and should take to bad courses; that we should be lazy and idle, and get drunk and steal. Now all those of you who follow any bad courses, and who do not take care to get an honest living by your labour and industry are doing more to prevent our being free than any body else.<sup>2</sup>

Another moderate ambivalent propagandist was the preacher-educator who told stories to Black children which he did not tell to white children. The objective of the special story to Black children was to instill Black pride and identity. This informal teaching met an educational need, because slavery had withheld from Blacks most opportunities to develop selfworth.

Illustrative of that breed of informal educators was Isaiah Moore, a pre-Civil War slave preacher on the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 117-118.



Brice plantation, located one quarter of a mile north of Woodward station, near Winnsboro, South Carolina. He and his wife, Nancy, were parents to thirteen children. He was a tale and Bible story teller to all the white and Black children in the community.<sup>1</sup>

One of his Bible stories stated that Adam, the first man, was Black, and Eve, his wife, was ginger cake color, with long Black hair reaching to her ankles. Adam's hair was kinky, and this was the problem in the garden that annoyed him. One day the devil saw Eve alone and worrying about her husband's hair problem, and he said to her, if she ate of the apple hanging over her head, and got her husband to do the same, his hair would grow. She argued that it was forbidden to eat the apple. After some thought, the devil replied that the apple tree she was under was not in the midst of the garden. The crabapple tree is in the middle of the garden, and it is the forbidden fruit. Convinced of the devil's statement, Eve ate of the apple and enticed Adam to eat. After Adam ate of the apple, he remembered God's command and his disobedience, and he choked. Since then man has had an Adam's apple to remind him of his disobedience. When the Lord appeared that evening, Adam turned white and his hair grew long and

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<sup>1</sup> "Charity Moore, Ex-Slave 75 Years," George P. Rawick, The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972, Volume 3, Part 3), p. 205.

straight. As a white man, Adam was more displeased with himself than when he was Black with kinky hair.<sup>1</sup> Black children learned Black pride from this story because they were instructed to be grateful for the hair and skin color God has given them, and not to wish for what others may have.

John Chavis was a moderate formal educator who taught Blacks the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Chavis is considered a moderate formal educator because when the white parents objected to having their children attend school at the same time with Black children, he scheduled separate hours for them. Also, when the law prohibited Black preachers from teaching in the state, he consented, and did not move to another location where he could continue teaching.

Chavis lived and taught white and free Black students for about twenty-five years in Wake County, North Carolina. Prior to 1808, Chavis attempted to conduct a day school for Black and white students. Whether a school session was ever held is unknown. From 1808 to 1831, Chavis conducted a day school for white students and an evening school for the free Black students.<sup>2</sup> This

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 205-207.

<sup>2</sup>Lavinia Dobler and Edgar A. Toppin, Pioneers and Patriots, pp. 108-110 and 99-107. John Chavis was born free near Oxford, Granville County, North Carolina, about 1763. He fought in the Revolutionary War. Through the influence of white friends, Chavis went to Princeton Theological

segregated arrangement was stated in an advertisement for Chavis' school in the Raleigh Register on August 25 and September 1, 1808.

John Chavis takes this method of informing his employers, and the Citizens of Raleigh in general that the present Quarter of his school will end on the 15th of September, and the next will commence on the 18th. He will, at the same time open an Evening School for the purpose of instructing children of Colour, as he intends, for the accommodation of some of his employers, to exclude all children of Colour from his Day School. The evening school will commence at an hour by Sun. When the white children leave the House, those of Colour will take their places and continue until ten o'clock.<sup>1</sup>

As there were separate Black and white classes, there was also a difference in the amount of tuition charged the white and Black students.

The terms of teaching the white children will be as usual, two and a half dollars per quarter; those of Colour, one dollar and three quarters.<sup>2</sup>

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Seminary in Princeton, New Jersey, to be tutored by Dr. John Witherspoon, President. From Princeton, Chavis went to Lexington, Virginia, where he attended Liberty Hall Academy. On November 19, 1800, he was licensed to preach in the Presbyterian Church by the Lexington Presbytery. He was employed by the presbytery to serve as a missionary to the Blacks in the area. After serving from 1801 to 1805 in this capacity, Chavis moved to North Carolina. There, he taught school and preached to white congregations. For a short while, Chavis served as pastor of Old Providence Church near Oxford. Woodson, Education of the Negro, p. 116.

<sup>1</sup>Franklin, Free Negroes in North Carolina, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

A statement on the effectiveness of Chavis' teaching on the Black student was published in the Raleigh Register on April 19, 1830:

On Friday last we attended an examination of the free children of color, attached to the school of John Chavis...and we have seldom received more gratification from an exhibition of a similar character, To witness a well regulated school, composed of this class of person--to see them setting an example both in behavior and scholarship, which their white superiors might take pride in imitating, was a cheering spectacle to the philanthropist.<sup>1</sup>

Chavis discontinued teaching in 1831 to comply with the state law, which prohibited Black preachers from teaching and preaching to Blacks.<sup>2</sup> After retiring from teaching and preaching and upon an appeal to the Orange County Presbytery for welfare, John Chavis received a meager subsistence from the churches until his death in 1838.<sup>3</sup>

Chavis' contribution to the education of Blacks in North Carolina affected their literacy level. In 1850, North Carolina reported that "over 40 percent of the free Negro adults there were literate."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Dobler & Toppin, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 11-113; and cf. supra, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 108.

### The Traditionalist

The traditionalists were nonresistant, Black informal preacher-educators, who were committed only to preaching the word of God and administering to the spiritual needs of slaves and freedmen. They chose not to be involved in challenging the prevailing social order. Their passive behavior is explained in one or more ways: (1) some were unfamiliar with details of the slave problem; (2) some had given up hope of changing prevailing conditions; and (3) most of them were satisfied with the system, largely because they were granted special privileges.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the slave Black preachers in the South during this period advocated the acceptance of the state of affairs. They were rewarded by the slave owner for their obedience and success. The duties charged to this group of preachers included: (1) Expose and reveal the troublemakers and the disobedient. The preacher gave his news directly to the master in secret. In exchange for his loyalty, the preacher was given freedom of movement. He was permitted to visit other settlements and plantations, and travel with the white preachers. He was also permitted to carry a Bible and wear a collar and tie (These signified authority, because they were identified

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<sup>1</sup>Nelsen, p. 277.

with the values of the white race.). (2) To keep peace among the slaves. The preacher mingled with the workers to learn what they were thinking. He settled the minor disagreements and quarrels among the slaves. All the major disturbances he reported to the master or to his overseer. Since the master used the preacher as a mediator between him and the slaves, the preacher, conversely, represented the slaves in seeking certain privileges or leniencies. (3) To lead all meetings in song, prayer, and sermon. One of the preacher's major responsibilities was to supervise the spiritual welfare of the slaves. He was to convert the sinners and condemn the bad and disobedient. The message of his sermons was to be loyal to your "masters and to endure the pains and problems of this life and to look forward to better things to come in the life hereafter." The Black preacher also spoke at the funeral of all slaves.<sup>1</sup> Illustrative of this breed of preachers are London Ferrill, Dr. Isaac Copper, and Uncle Jack.

London Ferrill was a free Black preacher who lived in Lexington, Kentucky, and had an effective ministry from 1820 to 1850. For a period of over thirty years, Ferrill increased a Black congregation from a membership of 280 to 1820. A comment on his popularity and influence was

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<sup>1</sup>Hamilton, p. 46; also Robert H. deCoy, Cold Black Preach', pp. 65.70.

made by a white pastor in the state.

He had the manner of authority and command, and was respected by the whole population of Lexington and his influence was more potent to keep order among the blacks than the police force of the city.<sup>1</sup>

Next, Dr. Isaac Copper was a slave preacher on the Colonel Edward Lloyd plantation in Talbot County, Eastern Shore of Maryland. He was distinguished by his surname "Doctor". Frederick Douglass, born in Maryland in 1817, became acquainted with Dr. Copper when he went to the Lloyd plantation at an age "not old enough to work in the fields."<sup>2</sup> Dr. Copper was apparently quite old at that time, because Douglass called him "a good old man."<sup>3</sup>

Douglass recalled that Dr. Copper was the most influential person among the slaves. Dr. Copper gave Douglass his first religious training. Douglass vividly remembered one class:

I was early sent to Doctor Isaac Copper, with twenty or thirty other children, to learn the Lord's prayer. The old man was seated on a huge three-legged oaken stool, armed with several large hickory switches, and from the point where he sat, lame as he was, he could reach every boy in the room. After standing a while to learn what was expected of us, he commanded us to kneel down. This was done, he told us to say everything he said. 'Our Father'--this we repeated after him with promptness and uniformity--'who art in Heaven', was less promptly and uniformly

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<sup>1</sup> Simmons, Men of Mark, pp. 206-207.

<sup>2</sup> Douglass, Life and Times, pp. 70 and 42.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

repeated, and the old gentleman paused in the prayer to give us a short lecture, and to use his switches on our backs.<sup>1</sup>

Last in this series of traditional Black preacher-educators was Uncle Jack, who was an ordained minister in the Baptist Church. He was admired and respected by both the whites and the Black slaves. Uncle Jack was always welcomed on any plantation. One reason for the respect others had for him was he kept the slaves docile and obedient.

A Negro wrongdoer once begged to be punished by his master rather than be sent to Uncle Jack to be disciplined.<sup>2</sup>

#### Summary to Chapter II

This study covers the period 1787 to 1860 when the Black preachers were active as formal and informal educators. As formal educators, they were school administrators and teachers. As informal educators, they founded schools, agitated for quality education for Blacks, and provided lacks with moral codes for better relations among themselves,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Earnest, pp. 96 and 97. Uncle Jack was an African preacher, who had been kidnapped in Africa at the age of seven, and brought to Virginia and sold. During the Revolutionary War he was about forty years old. Uncle Jack preached in Virginia for forty years after the war. He was favored by the whites to the extent that they purchased his freedom and gave him a home. Hamilton, p. 47.



with others, and with their God. As the Black preachers performed these tasks, some were militant, liberal, moderate, and traditionalists. This chapter has discussed the Black preacher as an educator in these categories.

The next chapter will cover the period from the Civil War to 1909. The Black preacher-educators will be seen there making formal and informal educational contributions only in the liberal and traditionalist categories. The militant and moderate Black preacher-educators will be excluded because their presence was scarce and their influence and contribution were sparse. During this period, the formal educators will be seen as school administrators, presidents, principals, and teachers. The informal educators will be seen as founders of schools and developers of moral codes for better living for Blacks, and as educational propagandists and philosophers.

## CHAPTER III

## "THE BLACK PREACHER AS EDUCATOR FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO 1909"

Introduction

This part of the study is concerned with the involvement of Black ministers in the educational development of Blacks from the end of the Civil War to 1909. The Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation are significant events with which to begin this section because the Emancipation Proclamation offered the Blacks improved educational opportunities and a life free from slavery. Although the Civil War and the Thirteenth Amendment set the Black slaves free, most of them were totally unprepared to handle the responsibilities of freedom. The white south was prostrate as a result of the war. The slaves had been freed, but they were without protection, clothes, a home, employment, land, or money. They were turned out into a country to beg or steal and fend for themselves and their family as best they could.

In 1910, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People became organized to legally represent Blacks in all areas of life where they were receiving unjust treatment. Reverdy Cassius Ransom, an

African Methodist Episcopal Black minister,<sup>1</sup> was influential in helping to found the Association. W. E. B. DuBois, commented on his contribution and wrote:

In 1909, Bishop Ransom spoke at Harper's Ferry on John Brown. It was the Second Meeting of the Niagara Movement and that speech, more than any single event, stirred the great meeting. It led through its inspiration and eloquence to the eventual founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and twenty-five years of work for Negro equality and freedom in memory of this service and in gratitude to Reverend Ransom.<sup>2</sup>

Ransom's influence on the founding of the Association is symbolic of the influence of Black ministers on the life and welfare of Blacks from 1787 to 1909. Ransom also represents how Black ministers have had to share more of their leadership with lay Blacks and whites in the black community since about the beginning of the twentieth century.

Around 1900 the Black minister's leadership was becoming noticeably more reduced to religious activities. There was an increase in the number of Black lay

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<sup>1</sup>R. C. Ransom (1861-1959) began his education at Wilberforce University in 1881, and later attended Oberlin College. Ransom served the A.M.E. Church as a pastor, editor of the A.M.E. Church Review (1912-1924), and a bishop (1924-1952). R.R. Wright, The Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (Nashville: The A.M.E. Sunday School Union, 1963), pp. 287-292.

<sup>2</sup>Reverdy C. Ransom, The Pilgrimage of Harriet Ransom's Son (Nashville: A.M.E. Sunday School Union, n.d.), p. 197.

educational professionals in the areas the Black ministers had monopolized. In 1900, there were 21,267 Black teachers and professors and 15,423 preachers.<sup>1</sup> The positions of educational leadership filled by Black ministers from 1787 to about 1909 were those of teacher, administrator (for example, principals of schools and presidents of colleges), and educational propagandist.

When the association began in 1910, it became the legal defender and protector of the educational, political, economical, and social affairs of Blacks in America. The association's objectives included: (1) "to end racial discrimination and segregation in all public aspects of American life;" and (2) to foster "equal education for every child and the opening of all public supported institutions to all who wished to study."<sup>2</sup> Prior to this time, there were only a limited number of lay professional educators and the Black ministers had to represent the educational interest of Blacks. In addition to other specialized black intelligence, power, and resources, with the Association blacks had the assistance and resources of

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<sup>1</sup>W. A. Daniel, The Education of Negro Ministers (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1925), p. 14; and United States Census, 1900 in Bergman, p. 329. There were about 2,000 blacks with college degrees and four with doctorate degrees between 1900 and 1910.

<sup>2</sup>Langston Hughes, Fight For Freedom, pp. 12 and 13.

powerful whites as allies. Prior to 1909, there had not been in America as many Blacks and establishment whites cooperating together for the civil and equal rights of Blacks as demonstrated in the NAACP.<sup>1</sup>

Chapter III includes the Civil War to 1909 and focuses on the educational contribution of Black preachers in Black denominations. It also looks at the controversy between Black preacher-educators and white administrators of societies and denominational leaders over increasing the number of Black teachers in the schools attended by Black students. Finally, it presents the educational philosophy of some of the more prominent Black preacher-educators. In this chapter, only the liberal and traditional ministers will be discussed. The militants seen in chapter two do not appear after the Civil War. Although there were moderates after the Civil War, more value is found in the educational contribution of the liberals. In addition, very little specific information is available on the educational contribution of the moderates. The liberal and traditional ministers will be discussed as formal and informal educators. As formal educators, the liberals were administrators, presidents, principals of schools, and teachers. As informal educators, the liberals were

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<sup>1</sup>Proceedings of the National Negro Conference 1909  
(New York: Arno Press, 1969), pp. 2 and 3.

educational propagandists and philosophers, and founders of schools. The traditionalists were informal educators. They were passive Black preachers who sought to elevate Blacks socially and morally.

The Need for Black Teachers:

A Controversial Issue Involving Black Ministers

The ministers involved in this controversy were educational propagandists and were, therefore, informal educators. Although they did not teach or serve as administrators in a school, they were interested in the education and job opportunities of Blacks. They agitated for Black teachers to replace white teachers in Black schools.

Most of the schools Blacks attended after the Civil War were organized and operated into the last quarter of the nineteenth century with a mostly white staff. The northern white financial backers of the schools felt blacks were not educationally prepared to assume leadership responsibilities in the schools. Joseph Crane Hartzell, the white secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, said in 1874, "The colored people are yet children, and need to be taught everything."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Seventh Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church (Cincinnati, 1874), pp. 8-9. FAS Archives, Atlanta, Ga.

In 1894, Thomas J. Morgan, Secretary of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, spoke against Black administrators, and said:

Negroes have shown commendable initiative in establishing many small schools on their own..but 'it must be said...that the management of these schools is not in every case what it should be,' Funds have been stolen, teachers are unskilled, principals incompetent. The blacks...have not yet acquired the experience necessary to manage larger schools effectively without white assistance. Relinquishment of control by the Society...would 'result in a rapid retrograde movement, if not the immediate ruin of the schools.<sup>1</sup>

Many Blacks, mostly ministers, opposed the practice of an all white staff teaching Blacks, because whites did not always understand the common and peculiar behavior of the Blacks. The Black leaders were asking for more authority in the administration of the schools they considered their own. Most of the Black ministers were content with leaving the financial support of the school in the hands of white administrators.<sup>2</sup> The Black leaders would not have opposed this practice so vehemently, if the white teachers had shown as much interest in the Black students as the Black teachers. One Black writer said:

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<sup>1</sup>James M. McPherson, "White Liberals and Black Power in Negro Education," American Historical Review (Vol. LXXV, No. 5, June 1970), p. 1372.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 1359-60; also Thomas Jesse Jones, Director, Negro Education (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969, originally published in 1917), p. 287.

...but in most cases tradition, race hate, segregation, and terrorism make such a thing impossible... (They) believe in imposing some sort of disability upon Negroes. Some object to the freedom of intermarriage as a substitute for concubinage, scoff at the idea of the enfranchisement of the Negroes, approve their segregation, and justify the economic exploitation of the race. Now if these are the persons to elevate the Negroes, to what point do they expect to lift them, and what will the Negroes be when they get there?<sup>1</sup>

Most of the outspoken persons who disapproved of the patronizing and discriminating attitude of the white teachers and administrators were Black ministers. Some of the Black ministers who took a stand on this issue were Richard Henry Boyd, James Lynch, Francis Cardoza, Frederick Douglass, W. S. Scarborough, J. R. Crockett, J. W. Smith, E. K. Love, Francis Grimké, and E.M. Brawley.

Richard Henry Boyd, a Black minister, was one who spoke in favor of more influence of Blacks operating their schools. Boyd, born a slave in Mississippi in 1845, replied to a white administrator who believed Blacks were not qualified to assume leadership, and said:

...the race movement which you so much dread and stigmatize...is simply a determination of the part of the Negroes to assume control of their race life and evolve along such lines and such ways as their spirit and

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<sup>1</sup>Carter G. Woodson, Mis-education of the Negro (Washington D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1933), pp. 28 and 127.



genius may dictate, and unfold, and not as the Anglo-Saxon may outline.<sup>1</sup>

R. H. Boyd stated at the Clifton Conference in 1908 that:

The time has not come when we Baptists are purposing to give over to any other people. We are not going to give it over to the white people. We are going to control our own people.

To the interracial conference Boyd stated why he disapproved of the way white teachers were training Black students:

I am drawn to believe that in your educational methods you have made a mistake sometimes. Sometimes you educate down. You thought you could do a thing and you educated us away from our own people and then you got us no nearer the white people.<sup>2</sup>

James Lynch, a Black minister, born in Baltimore, Maryland, on January 8, 1839, wrote to the American Missionary Association's (AMA) corresponding secretary in

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<sup>1</sup>McPherson, loc. cit., p. 1373. A part of a letter from Boyd to Thomas J. Morgan, Secretary of the ABHMS, in 1899. On January 1, 1897, Boyd was appointed Secretary, Treasurer, and General Manager of the National Baptist Publishing Board and Corresponding Secretary of the Home Mission Board. Era of Progress, pp. 517-527; also Pelt, The Story of the National Baptist, pp. 102-104.

<sup>2</sup>Era of Progress, p. 48. The Clifton Conference was a meeting of national black and white leaders, representing 17 states, 37 colleges and schools, 9 missionary organizations, and 12 denominations, called together by W.H. Hartshorn, at his Dyke Rock Cottage, Clifton, Mass., August 18-20, 1908. The main objectives of the conference were: (1) To discover if it was practical for the International Sunday School Association to furnish instructors to schools educating blacks, to teach them practical methods in organizing, conducting, and teaching; and (2) To discover how the administrators of these schools regarded this plan, and what they would do to help it be successful.

1875 and said he had learned local Blacks were dissatisfied with AMA work in Macon, Georgia, and that "they want more control (of the schools) in great measure."<sup>1</sup>

Another Black minister, Francis Cardoza, was principal of the AMA Saxton Normal School in Charleston, South Carolina, after the Civil War, and he recognized the temporary need of using northern white teachers to teach the freedmen, but advocated that the liberation of Blacks would eventually come through training and employing Black teachers in the schools. To achieve this goal, Cardoza used a strategy in his school to up-grade lack teachers and make them qualified to teach secondary and higher education subjects:

I think it far better that no colored person would engage in this work at all, than to have such as would only disgrace the cause of their own people-- and yet apart from the moral fitness of colored persons for this work, I know there are but few yet intellectually fitted. That is one reason why they should be promoted to such positions when found out to be capable. I have endeavored to prove myself by such principles and the teachers I have to select here and in the employment of all the teachers to their classes. I put the educated and inexperienced white northern teachers in the highest and most responsible position, and the colored ones in the lower and less responsible ones where they may improve by the superiority of their white laborers and whose positions afterwards they may be able to occupy.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>James Lynch to M.E. Striegy, October 26, 1875. AMA Archives, New Orleans.

<sup>2</sup>Francis Louis Cardoza to Samuel Hunt, January 13, 1865. AMA Archives, New Orleans. Hunt was the Superintendent of Education in AMA.

In 1875, Frederick Douglass was another lack preacher who believed Blacks should have more control over their destiny. He spoke to a group of Blacks in New York on the dishonor of Blacks brought on by their trust in whites who did not enhance the best interest of Blacks, and said:

We have been injured more than we have been helped by men who have professed to be our friends. We must stop these men from begging for us.... We must stop begging ourselves.... If we have banks, colleges and papers, do not ask other people to support them. Be independent...<sup>1</sup>

Similar to Douglass, W. S. Scarborough, Greek and Latin professor at Wilberforce University, and later the school's president, spoke at the Youth Congress in Atlanta, in 1902, and said:

To assure the future of any people, there must be a growth in both thinking and doing. The Negro race must learn to think for itself, not to let others think for it; it must learn to do for itself along all lines, not to be dependent upon others for such work.<sup>2</sup>

Later in the speech Scarborough stated why certain Black and white teachers were more harmful than good to Black students. He was not opposed to white teachers, only those who could not relate to Blacks. He said:

Weak, unprincipled, selfish persons with no race pride, no race love, no race hope, should not be found at the

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<sup>1</sup>New York Tribune, July 7, 1875. New York Public Library.

<sup>2</sup>J. W. E. Bowen and I. Garland Penn, editors, The United Negro: His Problems and His Progress (Atlanta: D. E. Luther Publishing Co., 1902), p. 389.

teacher's desk. Those who teach must be men and women in whom frivolity finds no lodgment, who are not only above reproach, but who possess such force of character that they can implant in our youth strength of discrimination between right and wrong and resolution to follow light and do the right.<sup>1</sup>

Also at the Youth Congress meeting, J. R. Crockett, President of Clinton Institute, Rock Hill, South Carolina, advocated to educate Blacks in Black schools and they would perform equal to any race. "Nature," Crockett said, "had no color." He suggested:

The individual must be developed, evolutionized and worked up from his own fireside and blood, by his own teachers, 'under his own vine and fig tree.'<sup>2</sup>

Although he was the pastor of the A.M.E. Zion Church in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1896, J. W. Smith was successful in having all the white teachers removed from the Black school in the city and replaced by Black teachers. The white public schools in the city had not wanted to hire Black teachers, but Smith "thought colored teachers ought to be given to the colored schools." Convinced that Black teachers were as good as white teachers, Smith said:

The thousands of black boys and girls of this country educated in Negro schools by Negro teachers, together with a host matriculating at white colleges in this and foreign lands, show conclusively the intellectual

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 391.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 392-393.

progress of the Negroes...<sup>1</sup>

Next, E. K. Love, born a slave in Alabama, in 1850, stated in the 1896 Second National Baptist Convention at St. Louis his reason for believing Blacks should control their own destiny:

There is not as bright and glorious a future before a Negro in a white institution as there is for him in his own. We can better marshall our forces and develop our people in enterprises manned by us. We can more thoroughly fill our people with race pride... by presenting to them for their support enterprises that are wholly ours. The world recognizes men for the power they have to affect it..., (therefore) the Negro brain should shape and control Negro thought.<sup>2</sup>

A Black minister of this group who analyzed the Black-white teacher problem succinctly was Francis Grimké. Born in 1850, in Charleston, South Carolina, Grimké argued against the claim by many whites that the educational quality of the Black race would decline, if Black teachers replaced white teachers too soon in Black classrooms. Grimké then pastor of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, D. C., advocated that race pride was the greatest educational need of Blacks. In commenting on

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<sup>1</sup>W. N. Hartshorn, editor, and George W. Penniman, associate editor, An Era of Progress and Promise: 1863-1910 (Boston: The Priscilla Publishing Co., 1910), p. 398. J.W. Smith was born a slave in Fayetteville, North Carolina, January 27, 1862. He attended the public graded schools and the State Normal School. He was ordained an elder in the A.M.E. Zion Church in 1882. In 1904, he was elected a bishop in the church.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis G. Jordan, Negro Baptist History, U.S.A., 1750-1930 (Nashville, 1930), p. 124.

his belief that white teachers were perpetuating among Blacks the same inferiority they were obligated to during slavery, Grimké said:

The intellects of our young people are being educated at the expense of their manhood. In the classroom they see only white professors. (They)...associate these places and the idea of fitness for them only with white men. The white professors are failing to use one of the most effective means in their power, (which is) of helping on this race.<sup>1</sup>

E. M. Brawley, another black minister,<sup>2</sup> stated in 1890 that Blacks should assume more responsibility in the education of Blacks. Brawley contended that the involvement of Blacks in education should include a personal interest in Black schools, such as Black denominational schools. Brawley believed local denominational support was an instrument in maintaining a relationship between the educated Blacks and the common Black community.

One denomination in particular uses its schools expressly for the purpose of promoting its growth. We may then accept the fact that our stability, and growth, and the integrity of our doctrines, depend upon our institutions of learning, and hence we owe a duty to our schools; and this duty is paramount, and immediate, and personal. For important as is the acquisition of property, the training

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<sup>1</sup>McPherson, loc. cit., p. 1362. Grimké 's speech was entitled "Colored Men as Professors in Colored Institutions," and is printed in the A.M.E. Church Review, II (October, 1885), pp. 142-144.

<sup>2</sup>Brawley was born on March 18, 1851, in Charleston South Carolina. Beginning in 1882, he served as president of Selma University, in Selma, Alabama. Simmons, Men of Mark, pp. 529 and 908.

of our ministry, and the elevation of the masses are more important.<sup>1</sup>

Separately, whites advocated Black leadership for Black schools. Illustrative of this breed of whites was Thomas Chase, principal of an AMA school in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1878. On March 19, 1878, Chase wrote a letter to Michael E. Strieby, AMA's Secretary, suggesting he give in to the requests from Blacks for more Black teachers.

It will be well for them to try to manage the school for they will never be satisfied until they do. If the board is wise in its selection of teachers I think they will do well. Certainly we are not the ones to oppose them, for it is for this work that we have been educating them.<sup>2</sup>

The pressure by Black ministers and others, who advocated more Black teachers for the Black students, produced results. AMA records in a comparison show nine percent of Black teachers, in 1895, with the fifty-three percent, in 1905. By 1905, seven of the twenty-one principals of secondary schools were Black.<sup>3</sup> In 1888, the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. (northern) decided to begin phasing out its white teachers from the Black schools. By 1894, Biddle University, a Presbyterian school, had a Black

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<sup>1</sup>E. M. Brawley, editor, The Negro Baptist Pulpit, A Collection of Sermons and Papers on Baptist Doctrine and Missionary and Educational Work (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1890), p. 243. Sermon title: "Baptist and General Education".

<sup>2</sup>AMA Archives.

<sup>3</sup>McPherson, American Historical Review, p. 1375.

president and an all-black faculty.<sup>1</sup> By 1907, the American Baptist Home Mission Society, a very conservative group on the issue of putting administrative responsibility in the hands of Blacks, placed John Hope, a Black, in charge of Atlanta Baptist College (name later changed to Morehouse); and by 1915, half of that faculty in nine of its colleges were Black.<sup>2</sup>

The number of Black teachers and school presidents began to increase in the 1890's. In 1890, there were 15,000 Black teachers, in 1900, 21,267, and in 1910, 29,772. Between 1900 and 1910, there was a 300 percent increase in Black teachers, in private colleges and secondary schools, attended by Blacks. The decline in the number of white teachers was 282.<sup>3</sup>

As the pressure increased by Black preachers for more control of their school affairs, some white agencies began a phase out program. Illustrative of this trend was the decentralization policy the Methodist Episcopal Church, North, implemented in 1895, when the Black Methodists were contributing about fifteen percent to the twenty-two Black schools. The policy stipulated that the local board of

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 1374.

<sup>2</sup> McPherson, p. 1374.

<sup>3</sup> Charles S. Johnson, Negro College Graduate (New York: Negro University Press, 1969, originally published in 1938) pp. 308 and 310.



trustees will have power in proportion to the amount of financial support Blacks give to their schools. The process would make the schools self supporting and locally controlled. By 1909, success was being achieved in increasing the funds beyond the original fifteen percent, because in 1915, the Blacks were contributing over one-third of the finance to their schools.<sup>1</sup>

#### Black Educators in Black Denominations

The four predominantly Black denominations to focus on the education of Blacks after the Civil War were the Baptists, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, and the Colored (changed to Christian in 1954) Methodist Episcopal Church. These denominations founded schools through the leadership of Black informal preacher-educators who were concerned about the educational improvement of Blacks. Many of these informal educators, mostly liberals, expressed an educational philosophy as they talked about the educational needs of Blacks. Also, the educational contribution of two traditionalist preachers, under the discussion on the Baptist, will include their educational philosophy.

Some founders of schools were also teachers. The

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<sup>1</sup>McPherson, p. 1369; Cf. Jones, Negro Education, p. 286.

teachers and school administrators are considered formal educators because they were responsible for the educational advancement of students enrolled in their school.

The Baptists. One of the Black denominations to organize for the education of Blacks was the National Negro Baptist Convention. The convention was organized on September 28, 1895, in Atlanta, Georgia, to represent the three separate Black Baptist denominations in missionary, Sunday school, and educational work among Blacks. The educational work of the independent denominations and the convention was given financial assistance and leadership by the white American Baptist Home Mission Society of New York.<sup>1</sup> In 1906, the Black Baptists conducted 55 high schools, colleges, industrial schools, academies, and one university and one seminary. Within that year, the American Baptist Home Mission Society held 12 of the colleges in trust, and operated 19 secondary schools at an expense of \$201,799.66. The National Negro Baptist Convention received \$80,000 from the American Baptist in 1906 for the running of 26 schools owned and operated by the Black Baptists. From 1864 to 1906, the American Baptist contributed \$4,378,746 to Black education through the Black Baptists for salaries of teachers; school properties, and equipment.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Era of Progress, pp. 263-265; also "Negro Education, Bulletin, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 268.

In 1907, A. L. E. Weeks founded the New Bern Collegiate Industrial Institute, located on two acres of land near the center of New Bern, North Carolina. For over two years Weeks was president of the school. The framed school building and church and land were valued at \$12,000. The school was under the direction of the American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS), and, in 1907, received \$400 from the society on the \$1,432 total expense for that year. The \$1,032 balance was received from individual contributions. The school was co-educational.<sup>1</sup>

A Baptist school that influenced job hiring and home buying in the white and Black community and was responsible for maintaining good race relations was Waters Normal Institute in Winton, North Carolina. In 1886, Calvin S. Brown founded, and was for over twenty-three years president of the school. Although the school was supported by the Chowan Educational Society, the ABHMS (contributed \$700 in 1907), and others, the Black board of trustees controlled the school. The campus comprised one brick building, which cost \$8,000, and five frame buildings. The \$14,000 campus was maintained in 1908 at an expense of \$3,000. Six teachers taught 242 regular students and

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 119.

7 theological students.<sup>1</sup>

C. S. Brown influenced the life of many blacks in Winton, North Carolina. George Sale, the white Superintendent of Education of the ABHMS, said:

Dr. Brown preached thrift as a part of his gospel, the ownership of a home on earth as well as a mansion in the skies, and many of these thrifty farmers owe their possessions to the encouragement given them by 'Preacher Brown.'<sup>2</sup>

C. S. Brown was born on March 23, 1859 in Salisbury, North Carolina. He attended a school soon after the Civil War in Salisbury, operated by the Freedmen's Aid Association of Philadelphia, until he was sixteen years old. His father died during this time, and he had to assist his mother in raising the other five children. With \$20 a month he earned as a Federal Government tallier of soldier bodies and a night-keeper of the cemetery, he purchased enough land to build a home for his family.

After completing his work at the cemetery, Brown secured a first grade teaching certificate and taught in the public schools of Stokes County, North Carolina. Meanwhile, he taught Sunday school at several places that eventually became churches. From 1880 to 1886, Brown

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<sup>1</sup>Era of Progress, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 125.

attended Shaw University in Raleigh. He received the A. B. degree, which included college and theological courses. He was graduated valedictorian of his class.<sup>1</sup>

A year prior to graduation, Brown accepted a call to pastor Pleasant Plain Negro Baptist Church. With encouragement from Henry Martin Tupper, white president and founder of Shaw University,<sup>2</sup> Brown built a school in Winton, North Carolina. Horace Waters of New York, a white man, interested in Brown's struggle to educate blacks, contributed \$1,500 to the founding of the school.<sup>3</sup>

After twenty-four years of service as president of the school, Brown said:

Think of how the Lord has used us! We have sent out hundreds of teachers who are now doing service in our public schools, scores of ministers who are now preaching the gospel, and dozens of men in other walks of life. I have been pastor, and am now pastor, of five country churches, and have baptized two thousand or more persons.... The people own their farms, live in better houses than you find in any other rural section, and the race feeling is perhaps better here than anywhere else in the South. We boast of having the only Negro postmaster in the state, and colored men are holding satisfactorily other positions of trust where they are brought into personal touch with the white people.<sup>4</sup>

A Black preacher who influenced the life of many blacks as a founder, a school president, and a moderator of

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 488-489.

<sup>2</sup>Pelt, Story of the National Baptists, pp. 132-138.

<sup>3</sup>Era of Progress, p. 489.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

Baptist churches in Georgia was C. T. Walker. Born the youngest of eleven slave children in Richmond County, Georgia, on January 11, 1859, Walker was one of the founders of Walker Baptist Institute in Augusta, Georgia, in 1892. Walker was president of the school for over seventeen years. The school was owned by, and received support from, the Walker Baptist Association. From 1892 to 1908, ABHMS contributed \$500 annually toward the annual \$4,000 expenses. ABHMS also gave a male and female graduate, each, a \$25 scholarship yearly to attend Atlanta Baptist College (Morehouse) and Spelman Seminary.<sup>1</sup>

A Black Baptist college that educated Blacks in the west in the late nineteenth century was the co-educational Arkansas Baptist College, Little Rock, Arkansas. E. C. Morris, born a slave on May 7, 1855, in Murray County, Georgia, founded the school "almost singlehanded" in 1884.<sup>2</sup> The school was controlled entirely by the Negro

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<sup>1</sup>Era of Progress, pp. 130 and 495. C. T. Walker grew up without parents. His father was buried the day before he was born, and his mother died when he was eight. Walker was ordained a minister at age 18, and he served as a pastor of churches in New York City and in Augusta, Georgia. He also wrote several books.

<sup>2</sup>Pelt, Story of the National Baptists, p. 95; also Era of Progress, p. 481. E. C. Morris received his early education from a common school in Dalton, Georgia. His parents died when he was young. In 1874, Morris became a member of the Star Baptist Church in Stevenson, Alabama. He later moved to Arkansas, and in 1882, became the

Baptist Convention of Arkansas. The school received financial assistance from ABHMS. In 1907, the society gave \$1,100. The approximate annual expense was \$20,000.<sup>1</sup>

The property value of the school, 1908, was \$75,000. The school had four buildings in 1909. It also owned and operated the Griggs Industrial Farm located about four miles from Little Rock. The 100 acre farm was purchased with funds provided mostly by Miss Helen M. Griggs.<sup>2</sup>

In 1908, the school had an enrollment of 400 students and 12 teachers. Sixteen persons were graduated in 1908. The president of the school, from 1889 to 1909, was Joseph A. Booker, a Black minister.<sup>3</sup>

A Baptist school that educated many poor Blacks in Alabama was Selma University, in Selma. The school was founded by William H. McAlpine. McAlpine taught school in Mardisville, Alabama, in 1866. Around 1873, McAlpine became pastor of a church in Jacksonville,

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president of the Arkansas State Baptist Convention. Morris founded two black newspapers in Arkansas: The Arkansas Times, a denominational paper, and The People's Friend, a weekly paper that circulated throughout the south and southwest. For many years Morris was pastor of the First Baptist Church in Helena, Arkansas.

<sup>1</sup>Era of Progress, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

Alabama, and taught school in the town for several years.<sup>1</sup>

While attending the November 1873, Colored Baptist Missionary State Convention in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, William McAlpine offered a resolution to establish a school for the Black Baptist in Alabama "in which men who proposed to enter the ministry, and men and women who expected to be teachers and leaders along other lines, might be educated."<sup>2</sup> The convention approved of the resolution and appointed McAlpine Fund Solicitor for the school. In the 1877 Baptist Convention, in Eufala, McAlpine presented \$1,000 he had collected above expenses. With this and other funds, the convention purchased the 36 acre Old Fair Ground in Selma for \$3,000. In 1881, when the school had constructed some buildings, McAlpine was elected the first president of the Alabama Baptist Normal and Theological

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<sup>1</sup> Simmons, Men of Mark, pp. 525-526; also Era of Progress, p. 111. McAlpine was born near Farmersville in Buckingham County, Virginia, in June, 1847. McAlpine, his brother, and his mother were sold into slavery early in life to Robert McAlpine, a white Presbyterian minister, by a black slave trader. He was a slave in Alabama until after the war. From 1868 to 1873, he worked to put himself through Talladega College. For lack of sufficient funds, McAlpine discontinued his studies six months prior to graduation.

<sup>2</sup>Era of Progress, p. 111.



School (later known as Selma University). He resigned as president in 1883.<sup>1</sup>

In 1908, the university had 19 teachers for 836 students, of which 74 were studying theology. R. T. Pollard, a Black minister, and president of the school since 1902, stated that the annual expenses of the school were approximately \$25,000. In 1907, ABHMS contributed \$1,100 to the school.<sup>2</sup>

President Pollard<sup>3</sup> said in describing the schools'

<sup>1</sup>Simmons, loc. cit., pp. 526-528; Pelt, loc. cit., pp. 138-140; also Era of Progress, pp. 111-112.

<sup>2</sup>Era of Progress, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup>The following is a list of Baptist preacher-teachers and school administrators around the end of the nineteenth century: A.A. Cosey, taught in the public schools in Louisiana and Mississippi; E. W. D. Isaac taught music in the public schools and served as a member of the board of commissioners for the colored teachers in Tylor, Smith County, Texas; N.H. Pius taught in the public school in Galveston, Texas, was assistant principal and music director at Hearne Academy, Hearne, Texas, principal of Baptist Bible and Normal Institute in Memphis, Tennessee, and later principal of Leland University in Memphis; M.H. Gilbert was professor at Florida Institute in Live Oak, Florida, Colored State College in Orangeburg, South Carolina, and Benedict College, Columbia, South Carolina; J. A. Whitted was principal of Shiloh Institute and State Normal School, both in Warrenton, North Carolina; Samuel Comfort taught in public schools in Maryland and in the Christianburg Institute, Cambria, Virginia; Thomas O. Fuller taught school in Granville County, North Carolina, founded the Girl's Training School in Franklinton, and was principal of Howe Institute; J. L. Dant taught a short while in the high school in Washington, D. C., and founded the Charleston Normal and Industrial Institute in 1894; and D. Webster Davis taught in the Richmond public schools and at the Hampton Normal Institute.

curriculum:

The departments are: Literary, theological and industrial. The literary embraces academic and college courses, and the industrial includes fancy and plan sewing, millinery, and domestic science.

Pollard also commented on the schools' graduates:

There have gone out from the institution about four hundred graduates, who are now filling important places as pastors, home and foreign missionaries, medical doctors, pharmacists, clerks, merchants, farmers, housekeepers, teachers, and college presidents.<sup>1</sup>

G. W. Dupee and W. E. Northcross are two documented traditional and informal preacher-educators who represent the educational contribution and philosophy of this breed of Black preachers in this period. Dupee was converted and started preaching in 1842.<sup>2</sup> Although he was "of a genial, sociable temperament," he was a disciplinarian. This point is illustrated in an incident that occurred at the Washington Street Baptist Church in Paducah, Kentucky, where he was pastor for over twenty-two years. When Dupee

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<sup>1</sup>Era of Progress, p. 111. Pollard was born in Gainesville, Alabama, on October 4, 1860. His family moved to Meridian, Mississippi, where he attended public school. In 1884 he was graduated from Selma University. In 1902, while pastor of the Tabernacle Baptist Church in Selma, Alabama, he was elected president of the school. Era of Progress, p. 486.

<sup>2</sup>Simmons, Men of Mark, p. 848. George Washington Dupee was born a slave on July 24, 1826, in Gallatin County, Kentucky. His mother died when he was two weeks old. As a young adult, he worked at a rope and bagging factory and in a brickyard. On November 16, 1848, he married Mrs. Matilda Green of Frankfort. He became the pastor of a church in Georgetown in 1851.

began his duties as pastor of the church, it is said:

men would smoke cigars in the church, drink whiskey and curse when they were spoken to. They would curse at him fearfully when he spoke to them, so he prepared him a hickory stick, about two inches thick and three feet long, and took it in the pulpit with him and showed it to the men and told them what he would do with it. Well, they believed him and let him alone.

The church grew to be the largest in the state and a "well-behaved congregation."<sup>1</sup>

Dupee made many achievements while pastor of the church in Kentucky. First, in September, 1867, he was responsible for the first Black district Baptist Association in the state. In one year one hundred and thirty churches were members of the association. Second, he assisted in organizing the General Association of Colored Baptists of Kentucky in 1867, and was elected its moderator in 1871, where he served for ten years. Thirdly, he was the pastor of twelve churches and received over 12,000 persons in the church, preached over 12,000 funeral sermons, baptized over 8,000, and married over 13,000 couples. Fourth, he established and edited a religious newspaper called the Baptist Herald from 1873 to 1878. Fifth, he was grand senior warden of the Grand Lodge of Kentucky and for two years was the grand master of the state.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 857.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 857-858.

Dupee mystified people by the use of divine power. This served an educational function because people more readily complied to his moral instructions. On one occasion, when a slave on a plantation, after watching the slaves gamble on a box for a while, he asked them to listen to him sing and pray. This infuriated the men. They made noise on the box and refused to hear him. Dupee, nevertheless, sang and prayed.

...(he) got up feeling hurt at the treatment he had received from the boys, thinking that his prayer should be answered right away. He was not done thinking before the answer came. The box on which they were sitting was near a window and all at once there came a ball of lightening, about nine inches in diameter, through that window, right about the centre of the ring, and drew itself back and struck itself at each man's face, and then passed right over his own left shoulder out of the same window.<sup>1</sup>

After that incident, many of the men never played cards again.

Next, W. E. Northcross considered himself an organizer of churches, a spiritual advisor to Blacks, and a placement service for ministers. In telling some of his achievements, he said:

A few other brethren and myself organized the Muscle Shoals Baptist Association--one of the oldest and largest associations in Alabama. I have been Moderator for four years and its Treasurer for six years. I built the church at Russellville, Alabama, and pastored it for four years, and then ordained Bro: P. Jones and recommended him as pastor...I have ordained more than twenty preachers to the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 852-853.

gospel ministry, baptized six thousand persons, united in marriage five thousand couples, and buried about seven thousand persons.<sup>1</sup>

Although Northcross did not receive a formal education, he knew its value and advised young Black boys and girls to learn all they could.

Boys and girls, grasp these golden opportunities which are now extended you from the school room. 'Unlearned and ignorant' as I was I came along that way until the present time...So I hope that they will make good use of their time and make my heart feel glad to see them setting their marks high and preparing themselves for the Great Beyond where all must go.<sup>2</sup>

The African Methodist Episcopal Church. The first organized effort by a Black denomination to educate Blacks was September 21, 1844, when the Ohio Annual Conference of the A.M.E. Church appointed a committee to select a location for a combined labor school and seminary. In 1847, land was found in Xenia, Ohio, and Union Seminary was erected. On March 10, 1863, with proceeds from selling Union Seminary, Bishop Daniel A. Payne purchased Wilberforce University for \$10,000 from the Methodist Episcopal

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<sup>1</sup>George P. Rawick, "Autobiography of Reverend W. E. Northcross," The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1972), Vol. 6, p. 303. Northcross was born a slave in 1840, in Colbert County, Alabama. He was ordained a preacher in 1867 and soon organized the First Baptist Church in Tuscombua, Alabama. He started the church with 75 members, but 35 years later he had 900.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 302.

Church, North, for the A.M.E. Church.<sup>1</sup>

On the first Thursday in June, 1871, the Electoral College (Bishops and general officers of the church) met in Macon, Georgia, and formed a Committee on Education to prepare a report for the 1872 general conference. In criticizing Black schools established through the state of Georgia, the committee on Education said:

the only drawback was the engaging of teachers on too meager qualifications, but still there was progress.<sup>2</sup>

The committee recommended establishing a theological seminary within the Georgia Conference so "our young men might be properly trained in the ministry." Bishop J. M. Brown, Chairman of the conference, advised the young preachers that in getting an education "the work(schools) of others (denominations) was recommended, and at times, the common schools were to be recognized as one of uplifting the people."<sup>3</sup>

The general opinion at the 1872 general conference toward establishing and supporting a school aside from Wilberforce was:

<sup>1</sup>Payne, History of the A.M.E. Church, pp. 422 and 428-430; Era of Progress, p. 279; and Brown, The United Negro, p. 504.

<sup>2</sup>Wesley J. Gaines, African Methodism in the South, (Chicago: Afro-American Press, 1969), (originally published in 1890), p. 33.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

...for the present Wilberforce University offered all advantages required, and that we were not yet ready for giving the support which a second college or institution would demand.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, plans for beginning another A.M.E. school were made upon a motion "to take steps toward a school," and "that a committee of five select a site for such a school as desired." Rev. J. A. Wood was made Treasurer of the school fund and Rev. W.J. Gaines, Secretary.<sup>2</sup>

On January 8, 1874, the North Georgia Conference met in Augusta and the conference's Committee on Education commended the plans of many local public school boards throughout Georgia "to open more schools for the colored children." Yet the committee moved it was best:

to look to our own denominational school work in the south with a critical eye upon what was sorely needed, as we were pressed for properly qualified ministers for our increasing fields of labor.<sup>3</sup>

The conferences in Georgia acted on the motion to establish an institution of learning in Georgia that would "be an honor to our church and to our race." A special convention to continue the plan for an A.M.E. school in Georgia met on January 22, 1874, in Thomasville, Georgia, the first day of the South Georgia A.M.E. Annual Conference. Bishop T. M. D. Ward was in charge of the conference and appointed

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

fifteen trustees to proceed with the school plan.<sup>1</sup>

On January 19, 1881, the trustees made a progress report to the South Georgia Annual Conference at St. Phillip's Church in Savannah. They recommended to the conference the following:

Brethren--We, the undersigned College Trustees of the Georgia Annual Conference, have the honor to report that we met the College Trustees of the North Georgia Annual Conference (or a portion of them authorized to act for the rest) in joint session this day at 1:30 p.m.

Rev. W. J. Gaines informed the brethren of the action of the North Georgia Conference in negotiating for the purchase of 60½ acres of land, high and beautifully situated, in the city limits, with a comfortable house, having four rooms ready for immediate use. He asked our concurrence. Rev. C. L. Bradwell said he was present, and testified to the unanimity of the brethren and Trustees of the North Georgia Conference, and heartily endorsed their action; whereupon it was

Resolved, That we do concur in the action of the brethren and Trustees of the North Georgia Conference, and suggest that the amount of six hundred dollars be contributed out of the percentage or other Conference money to aid in the purchase of the same.

And we recommend that the Trustees meet as early<sup>2</sup> as possible to elect officers and purchase the site.

The conference Committee on Education endorsed the resolution and said they believed:

...the time is fully ripe for establishing an institution for higher education, under the charge of the Georgia Conference, and we urge upon each minister, member and friend of our church the necessity of

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 54-55.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 115.



supporting the action of the North Georgia Conference, and our own, looking to the establishment of a College or University in Atlanta, Georgia.<sup>1</sup>

Morris Brown College resulted from the foregoing resolution. The A.M.E. college was located in Atlanta, Georgia. The school was founded by Wesley John Gaines, an A.M.E. bishop,<sup>2</sup> in 1885, with funds he received from a contract with the Armstrong Soap Company. The financial arrangement was that the school's fund would receive a percentage of the money from all soap sold during a certain period. Additional funds to the school came from Black ministers who gave \$25.00 annually towards its erection and maintenance. On October 15, 1885, the grammar school opened with 107 students. Bishop Gaines continued expanding the school until 1891.<sup>3</sup>

In writing about the history of the college in 1909, Rev. E. W. Lee, then president of the college for two years, stated:

For a while the people were inspired by the novelty of its being the first effort of its kind by Negroes in the state, and during this period of the newness

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>2</sup>W. J. Gaines (1840-1912) was born a slave in Washington, Wilkes County Georgia. He was licensed to preach in 1865 in Methodist Episcopal Church. In that same year, he joined the A.M.E. Church. He led a congregation in Atlanta in building Bethel Church. Gaines was elected a bishop May, 1888. R.R. Wright, The Bishops of the A.M.E. Church, pp. 173-178.

<sup>3</sup>Era of Progress, pp. 284-285.

of things the leaders of the people were busy indoctrinating the idea of self-help. So the interest in the school has not lagged, as some feared it would do, but, being founded on such a basis, it has grown and become the more intensified. Each year larger contributions are made for its support, because the masses are being educated in this spirit of doing for themselves. Today Morris Brown College stands as the greatest monument of Negro effort for his own education on the American continent.<sup>1</sup>

In 1908, Morris Brown College reported the school had grown from two teachers and 107 students in 1885 to 28 teachers and 993 students. The college had an annual budget of \$46,000 with normal, classical, and theological departments, and nurse-training, sewing, printing, and tailoring. In 1908, the Georgia Conference contributed \$13,200 to the school.<sup>2</sup>

Allen University, another A.M.E. school was founded by Bishop William Fisher Dickerson in 1880, in Columbia, South Carolina. In 1908, the school owned four acres of land and eight buildings valued at \$110,000. There were fifteen teachers instructing 576 students, 32 of which were studying theology. The school was of such excellence that a degree earned there enabled the graduate "to teach

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 285. Bishop Joseph Simeon Flipper (1856-1944) was president of Morris Brown College from 1904 to 1908. With an education from Atlanta University, he became one of the first black teachers in Georgia. He joined the A.M.E. Church in 1877 and was ordained an elder in 1884. He was elected a bishop in the church in 1908. R.R. Wright, The Bishops of the A.M.E. Church, pp. 164-166.

in any of the public schools in the state, without examination." Rev. W. D. Johnson was president of the university in 1908.<sup>1</sup>

Within seven years after Allen University started the co-educational A.M.E. Shorter University was founded (1887) by J. P. Howard, a Black minister. The school was located in Argenta (North Little Rock), Arkansas. The school was named in honor of Bishop James A. Shorter of the A.M.E. Church. Most of the school's support was from the A.M.E. conference in Arkansas. In 1908, Rev. A. H. Hill was president of the school. Shorter University consisted of three main buildings located on two acres of land. The value of the school in 1908 was \$35,000. The school then had ten teachers and 367 students, of whom 19 were studying theology.<sup>2</sup>

Farther west was the Paul Quinn College in Waco, Texas, founded in 1881 by Richard Harvey Cain, a bishop in the A.M.E. Church. For several years Cain was a formal educator as he served as president of the college. In 1908, the school had twelve buildings, twenty acres of land, and was valued at \$135,000. The school had seventy-five students and eleven teachers. The school's annual \$10,000

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 286.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 283.

expenses were met by the A.M.E. Church and students. In 1908, Rev. William J. Laws was president of the college.<sup>1</sup>

A comment on Cain's contribution and dedication to education was made in a January 30, 1887, resolution memorializing Cain:

By the death of Bishop (R.H.) Cain (January 18), the Board of Bishops have lost a wise and honored colleague ...the cause of education a teacher who delighted in progress and freely gave his time and means for the instruction of the young...<sup>2</sup>

Rev. B. W. Derrick commented on Cain's philosophy in a eulogy delivered at Bethel A.M.E. Church, in New York City, on February 17, 1887:

In the days when men suffered for even advocating mission work among the lowly cabins of the Negro, this brother with fearless love visited his oppressed brethren in their degradation and poverty, and filled their scanty houses with the soul reviving truth of the Gospel, for he believed that the true mission of a minister was to better humanity and uplift the down-fallen.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Singleton, The Romance of African Methodism, p. 129; Era of Progress, p. 129; and Simmons, Men of Mark, p. 867.

<sup>2</sup> Simmons, Men of Mark, p. 870.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 868-869. Cain was born in Greensboro County, West Virginia, on April 28, 1826. As a young adult, he lived with his parents in Portsmouth and Cincinnati, Ohio. In 1844, he was licensed to preach in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Hannibal, Missouri. Dissatisfied with his church relations, he returned to Ohio and united with the A.M.E. Church. For three years he was a student at Wilberforce University. As a politician, he was a member of the Constitutional Convention which revised the Constitution of South Carolina. Other political capacities he served while in South Carolina were: two years State Senator from

An A.M.E. College founded near the end of the nineteenth century was Campbell College. On January 14, 1890, in Bethel Church, Vicksburg, Mississippi, the ministers and laity of the Mississippi A.M.E. Conference moved that "an institution be established for the religious, intellectual, and industrial development of Negro youth." Bishop Benjamin William Arnett was chairman of the conference when this action was agreed on. For several years the college was located in the Bethel Church. The college was named in honor of Bishop Jabez Campbell who organized the Mississippi conference in 1874.<sup>1</sup>

In 1897, Bishop W. B. Derrick,<sup>2</sup> then supervising Bishop of Mississippi, persuaded the trustees of Campbell College to move the institution from Vicksburg to four acres of land in Jackson, since Jackson was in the center of the state. The first building, a two-story frame

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the Charleston district, twice Republican Representative from South Carolina to the Forty-Third Congress, and editor of a Republican newspaper. Simmons, pp. 866-867; and R. R. Wright, The Bishops of the A.M.E. Church, pp. 119-122.

<sup>1</sup>John J. Morant, Mississippi Minister (New York: Vantage Press, 1958), pp. 71-72.

<sup>2</sup>Derrick (1843-1913) was born on the island of Antigua, West Indies. In 1864, he was licensed to preach in the A.M.E. Church. In 1896, he was elected a bishop in the church and served from 1896 to 1900 in Arkansas and Mississippi. R. R. Wright, The Bishops of the A.M.E. Church, pp. 155-157; and Simmons, Men of Mark, pp. 88-96.

structure, was erected during Derrick's administration.<sup>1</sup>

The A.M.E. schools cited above are some of the more popular schools owned and operated by the A.M.E. church. By 1909, the African Methodist Episcopal Church was operating sixteen schools.<sup>2</sup> The quadrennial report for 1896-1900 stated these institutions received \$270,988.54 from private donations, bequests, and the Educational Endowment Fund of the A.M.E. Church. The general church treasury disbursed \$32,398.05 to the educational fund, which was included in the total amount reported in the quadrennial conference. From 1884, when the Department of Education and the Educational Endowment Fund were organized, to 1900, the A.M.E. Church had spent \$1,285,013.31 for Black education.<sup>3</sup> The commissioner of the church's Department of Education reported that 189 teachers were

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<sup>1</sup> Morant, loc. cit., p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Bowen, The United Negro, pp. 504-506; also Era of Progress, p. 278. Payne Institute, Cuthbert, Ba.; Payne University, Selma, Ala; Shorter College, Argenta, Ark.; Western University, Quindaro, Kansas; Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.; Wayman Institute, Harrodsburg, Ky.; J.P. Campbell, Jackson, Miss.; Kittrell College, Kittrell, N.C.; Allen University, Columbia, S.C.; Flegler High School, Marion, S.C.; Turner Normal and Theological Institute, Shelbyville, Tenn.; Paul Quinn College, Waco, Texas; Edward Waters College, Jacksonville, Fla.; Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio; Payne Theological Seminary, Wilberforce, Ohio; and Delhi Institute, Alexandria, La.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

instructing 5,506 students in the 16 schools owned and operated by the A.M.E. Church.<sup>1</sup>

As informal educators, the following A.M.E. bishops expressed an educational philosophy. Bishop E. W. Lampton believed an educated ministry was the greatest need of Blacks because "no people can rise above their religious instructors." Furthermore:

The real progress of races can be more clearly traced to the gospel ministry of the Christian Church, assisted by good home training and the education acquired in the schoolroom, than to any other sources. Every effort should be made to give the Negro an educated ministry...

Lampton also advocated employing the best teachers in Black classrooms.<sup>2</sup>

Next, Bishop Levi J. Coppin maintained the philosophy that Black students should get an academic training as well as industrial training. Coppin said:

Industrialism cannot make up for a lack of mental enlightenment and moral integrity any more than can these guide youth to success in life who have not been taught the dignity and importance of work. In the work of education, none of these essential

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<sup>1</sup>Era of Progress, p. 278. List of college presidents who were preachers: J.M. Henderson at Payne Univ. in Selma, in 1908; Mungo M. Ponton at J.P. Campbell College in 1908; Bishop Benjamin Franlin Lee at Wilberforce from 1876 to 1884; William S. Scarborough at Wilberforce.

<sup>2</sup>Era of Progress, p. 392. Edward Wilkinson Lampton (1857-1910) was born a slave in Kingsville, Kentucky. He was an alumnus of Alcorn College, Campbell College, Shorter College, and Payne Theological Seminary at Wilberforce. In 1908, Lampton was elected a bishop in the A.M.E. Church.

elements should be neglected or dealt with as being of minor importance.

Coppin believed both industrial and academic training could produce intelligent and moral persons, if the subjects were taught morally. Without this "it will be found that one is tearing down while the other is building up."<sup>1</sup>

Bishop William Fisher Dickerson, speaking before the North Georgia Conference at Wheat Street Church, Atlanta, in early January, 1881, expressed his educational philosophy:

...it was not color that made the Negro inferior, but ignorance and poverty; that education and opulence (abundant wealth) would break down all barriers in the future.<sup>2</sup>

Bishop Evans Tyree, another A.M.E. educational philosopher, contended "intelligence comes from many sources and that the avenues of approach should be carefully

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 391. Levi Jenkins Coppin (1848-1924) was born free in Frederickstown, Maryland. He was an alumnus of the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School in Philadelphia. In 1900, he was elected a bishop in the A.M.E. Church.

<sup>2</sup>Gaines, African Methodism, pp. 107-108, and 128. William F. Dickerson was born in Woodbury, New Jersey on January 15, 1844. He was graduated from Lincoln University with an A.B. degree. He joined the A.M.E. Church in 1870. At age 36, while pastor of Bethel Church in New York, he was elected the youngest bishop of the church. He was assigned to the sixth Episcopal district, which comprised Columbia, South Carolina and Georgia. He died December 19, 1884. R. R. Wright, The Bishops of the A.M.E. Church, pp. 158-159.



guarded." He also stated:

Our people ought to be taught to read the best books, to discover the best that comes to the surface in man, both as to words and deeds, and then make the most of it by putting it into practice.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, Bishop Wesley J. Gaines thought industrial education was essential for Blacks. He believed that through material gains comes wealth and progress. Since lacks were going to remain in capitalistic America, to insure these aspects Gaines said, "We must...make industrial training prominent in our system of education" and "we must develop...our mechanical and inventive powers."

Furthermore:

...the time has come for the Negro, as a race, to take a new departure, to recognize the fact that there is now an urgent necessity that he become a skilled laborer and educated artisan, a worker in brass, and iron, and steel, and electricity. Turn which way you will and you will find a demand for men who know more than there is in books...The Negro can no longer be content to hold the place of an unskilled laborer and receive only the wages which underworkmen receive.<sup>2</sup>

The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church contributed to the educational uplift of Blacks by founding and supporting Black schools and teaching Blacks. The first school conducted by the church was Petty's High School,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 390. Bishop Evans Tyree (1854-1921) was born a slave in Tennessee. He was graduated from the Medical Department at Central Tennessee College in 1894. In 1900, he was elected an A.M.E. bishop.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 387. W. J. Gaines (1840-1912) was born a slave in Georgia. He was elected a bishop in 1888.

founded by Reverend Charles Calvin Petty, in Lancaster, South Carolina. The school was opened for class on November 17, 1879.<sup>1</sup>

The second effort by the Zion Church to further the education of Blacks was made at the November 26-December 3, 1879, session of the North Carolina Conference. The Zion Wesley Institute was established the first Monday in January, 1880, in a rented room for \$20.00 a year at the parsonage in Concord, North Carolina. The Reverend Cicero R. Harris was elected the first principal of the school and was compensated by a fee of 75¢ per month per scholar. There were over 230 students enrolled in the school. After seven months of conducting the school, Harris resigned and placed Professor A. S. Richardson in charge of the school at \$25.00 salary per month.<sup>2</sup>

Before securing a place where Blacks could receive an education, formal procedures were implemented in November, 1877, at the North Carolina Annual Conference, in Salisbury, North Carolina. The conference adopted a

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<sup>1</sup>David Henry Bradley, Sr., A History of the A.M.E. Church, Part II: 1872-1968 (Nashville: The Parthenon Press, 1970), p. 111.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 108-109 and 385. G. R. Harris was born in Fayetteville, N.C., on August 25, 1844. In 1867, he joined the A.M.E. Zion Church in Fayetteville. He was ordained an elder in 1875. He was elected a bishop in the A.M.E. Zion Church in 1888. Era of Progress, pp. 400-401.

proposal to erect a Theological and Collegiate Institute. When the general church met in 1880, in Montgomery, Alabama, Mr. Warren C. Coleman, a layman, gave a deed for seven acres of land to the general church for Zion Wesley Institute to be built upon. Reverend Harris reported a school building and boarding hall were needed to accommodate the applicants for admission that had been received. Harris also requested the donation of books and newspapers for the library.<sup>1</sup>

In 1882, Zion Wesley Institute was removed to Salisbury, North Carolina, by action of the North Carolina Conference. In supporting the relocation of the school, Harris stated that Salisbury was a more desirable location for the school, because it would be more accessible to the western part of the state and to railroad transportation. He also felt that since there was not a "high school in the place it offers a fairer prospect of academical students."<sup>2</sup>

In 1886, Zion Wesley Institute (chartered in 1885) was re-named Livingston College in honor of David Livingston, the white Christian missionary and explorer.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 110-111.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 110.

<sup>3</sup>Era of Progress, p. 292.

Between 1904 and 1908, the A.M.E. Zion Annual Conferences appropriated \$11,000 toward the erection of Hood Seminary building on Livingston College's campus. In 1909, the building was almost completed and provided dormitory accommodations for fifty theological students, a theological library, dean's office, four recitation rooms, and an assembly room.

The A.M.E. Zion's report on education in 1908 stated there were ten industrial schools, colleges, and institutes in operation.<sup>1</sup> In these schools, there were 76 teachers in charge of 1,904 students, at an expense that year of \$79,700. From 1879 to 1908, the church spent \$1,100,000 for education.<sup>2</sup>

The educational philosophy of the church was "not how much, but how well." With this philosophy in mind, the church felt, rather than build many weak schools, it should make "the one college (Livingston College) of the connection represent the highest efficiency in instruction

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<sup>1</sup>Zion Institute, Mobile, Ala.; Lomax Hannon High and Industrial School, Greenville, Alabama (Founded 1898 by Bishop Thomas H. Lomax, Rev. M. Hannon and Rev. J.W. Alstork); Atkinson Literary and Industrial College, Madisonville, Ky. (Founded in 1892 by Rev. G.B. Walker and others); Livingston College, Salisbury, N.C.; Eastern N.C. Industrial Academy, New Bern, N.C.; Edenton Normal and Industrial College, Edenton, N.C. (Founded by A.M.E. Zion ministers of the Edenton District); Lancaster Normal and Industrial Institute, Lancaster, S.C.; Clinton Normal and Industrial Institute, Rock Hill, S.C.; Greenville Industrial College, Greenville, Tenn. (Founded by Rev. B.M. Gudger, in 1889); and Dinwiddie Agricultural and Industrial School, Dinwiddie, Va.

<sup>2</sup>Era of Progress, pp. 290-292.

and the highest ideal of college work and college organization."<sup>1</sup> The other nine schools were preparatory and secondary schools.

An A.M.E. Zion preacher, who was an informal educator because he founded a school and was a formal educator by serving as president of the school, was R. J. Crockett. Crockett founded, and was for fifteen years (1892-1907) president of, Clinton Institute, Rock Hill, South Carolina. In 1908, Crockett became the president of the Lancaster Normal and Industrial Institute, in Lancaster, South Carolina.<sup>2</sup> The school in Lancaster was founded in 1879 by C. C. Petty.<sup>3</sup> The school had six teachers and 184 students, including 4 who were studying theology. The Lancaster schools' annual expenses of \$4,000 were met by contributions from public and private appeals.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Bowen, The United Negro, p. 576. In 1908, Rev. W.H. Goler, President of Livingston College, stated 300 students were taught by 20 teachers. He said the aim of the school was to "make good Christians, loyal, industrious, patriotic citizens." Era of Progress. p. 292.

<sup>2</sup>Era of Progress, p. 296.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Supra, p. 110. C. C. Petty was born in December, 1849, in Wilkesboro, N.C. In 1888, he was elected a bishop in the Zion Church. He served only two years, because he died on Dec. 8, 1900. Petty attended Biddle University in Charlotte, N.C. He taught school for many years. He began his ministry and was ordained elder by, Bishop James W. Hood. Bradley, loc. cit., p. 385.

<sup>4</sup>Op. cit.

The following are A.M.E. Zion bishops who expressed an educational philosophy. J. W. Alstork was a Zion bishop who expressed an interest in the quality of education lacks received. He attributed much of the problem of poor education received by Blacks to the lack of interest by teachers. The teachers were not interested because they were receiving poor salaries. Alstork said:

We need a longer common school term, with better paid teachers. We feel that if the teachers received better pay, they will be more interested in their work.<sup>1</sup>

J. S. Caldwell was another Zion educational philosopher. He believed no ignorant person could keep pace with an advancing civilization. The most urgent need for Blacks, then, stated Caldwell, "is education for the masses." He disapproved of the public education system in the south that spent tax money for educating only the race that paid the tax. Since Blacks did not pay as much tax as whites, this tax arrangement, said Caldwell, "means a reduction in the school term for their (Black) children." Thus Blacks would not be able to keep pace with white children in education and would increasingly lag behind.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 400. Alstork was born in Talladega, Ala., September 7, 1852. He attended Talladega College and taught school. In 1900, he was elected a bishop in the Zion Church. Alstork was interested in the moral development of blacks, and he emphasized the need for industrial education.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 399. Caldwell was born in Mecklenberg County, N.C., in August, 1861. He attended Livingston College and Union Theological Seminary in New York City. He was elected a bishop in the church in 1904.

Similar to Alstork's point of view, J. W. Smith advocated an industrial education for Blacks, because Blacks needed "more practice and less theory." His educational philosophy was practical in that he thought Blacks should be able to receive wages that would enable them to live well and meaningfully. To illustrate his philosophy, he said:

There are thousands of Negro boys and girls with what is known as a 'good liberal education,' and hundreds with college education, versed in Latin and Greek, yet unable to command a position that will pay them a living salary. 'Book learning' is splendid as far as it goes, but if it will not give us a livelihood, it is no good to us.<sup>1</sup>

Alexander Walters, another A.M.E. Zion bishop, advocated racial prejudice could be eliminated in proportion to the number of Americans who would become educated and Christianized. This philosophy was based on his belief that "the safety of a race or nation is in the enlightenment of its people."<sup>2</sup>

Walters also believed in industrial education for all peoples, because everyone should have regard for "the dignity of labor." "Honesty and patriotism," he said, "must be inculcated." These could be achieved by:

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 398.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 396. Walters was born in Bardstown, Ky., August 1, 1858. He was graduated from a theological school in California. Walters was licensed to preach in 1877. In 1892, he was elected a Zion bishop.

...more ethical instruction in the public schools; the establishment of industrial and reform schools in the districts where there are none, and by the study of the Bible, which always teaches honesty and the highest type of patriotism, the ideal Christian citizenship.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, Bishop J. W. Hood maintained a practical philosophy of education that included all persons with different skills and abilities. He said:

We know that we cannot have a complete man unless his head, hand, and heart are all trained. We need primary, grammar, and industrial schools; also colleges and universities; but we cannot have anyone doing the best work unless we have thoroughly trained teachers in charge. There is, therefore, plenty of work for all, and plenty of reasons why each one should be well supported in his particular work. Much has been done for the elevation of our people, but there is much more which must be done by ourselves.<sup>2</sup>

The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. The educational work of the C.M.E. Church began in December, 1869, when the Colored Methodist were a part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. A committee on Education was established in the special Black conference, and L. H. Holsey was an influential member of the committee. The resolutions of the committee were read, approved, and adopted:

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 395. Hood was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, May 30, 1831. At age 25, he was licensed to preach. At one time he was Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction in N. C. He was elected a bishop in 1872.



Resolved, that all the preachers in our connection turn their attention and energies to the education of our people. First, by securing the aid of our white friends in all parts of our work. Secondly, by employing them, if possible, in our day and Sunday schools; and thirdly, by insisting upon the parents the need and importance of instructing their children thoroughly in the ordinary branches of an English Education, and not just enough to make them bigots and enthusiasts, thus accomplishing very little in instructing the young of our race.<sup>1</sup>

After returning from the organizing General Conference of the C.M.E. Church on December 15, 1870, in Jackson, Tennessee, the Georgia Colored Conference met in Augusta, Georgia, on January 4, 1871, and received a report from Holsey on Education:

Whereas, we believe that education is next in importance to the Christian religion...therefore,

Resolved, first that as a means of elevating the standard of education in our church, we strictly require our ministers before admission into the traveling connection, to pass an examination in the ordinary branches of an English Education.

Resolved, second, that we recommend the erection of suitable houses as soon as possible in our several Annual Conferences in which high school privileges may be obtained and where our ministers can be more thoroughly educated in the ordinary branches and in the primary lessons of theology.<sup>2</sup>

In the C.M.E. Georgia Annual Conference, in December, 1872, a report from the Committee on Education stated why it was necessary for the church to provide an

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<sup>1</sup>John Brother Cade, Holsey - The Incomparable (New York: Pageant Press, Inc., 1963), p. 23.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 25-26.

education for Blacks:

We, your Committee on Education, feeling deeply impressed with the need of a more liberal and general diffusion of education, more especially among the ministers of our race, beg leave to submit the following report: First; whereas, in the providence of God, we are now blessed with the inestimable privilege of freedom of thinking, working and doing for ourselves, And second; whereas, we believe we would be committing a sin before God and man should we fail to improve the talents with which an all wise Creator has endowed us, and doubly so, should we allow ourselves to become teachers to the blind, ourselves being without sight, and, third; whereas our youth of both sexes are now drinking freely of the fount of learning, making it, therefore, almost a necessity, else we, instead of being an aid and light on the road to the cross, become, a hindrance and a stumbling block in their way, therefore, be it:

Resolved, that we urge it as the duty of every member of this conference to use every available means in his power for encouraging education in all of its branches, more especially to those studies recommended by the Bishops.

Resolved, that we submit to this Annual Conference the need of a College or an Academy where our youths can be more properly fitted for usefulness and more fully perform the service of God.

Resolved, that we instruct our delegates to the General Conference to take some decided steps in this direction, believing that in doing so, we are performing both a service to God and to man.<sup>1</sup>

Although little was accomplished toward establishing a school until 1879, it is evident the C.M.E. leaders in Georgia created an interest in education in the mind of the church.

In September, 1873, less than three years after the church was organized, Bishop William Henry Miles, born a

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 28-29.

slave on December 28, 1828, in Lebanon, Kentucky, and the first bishop of the C.M.E. Church, made efforts to establish a church school in Louisville, Kentucky, to provide young men with ministerial training. After Bishop Miles made a payment on the \$8,500 property in Louisville, on which he hoped to erect the school, he made a public appeal for \$50,000 to complete his schools plans. A part of his letter read:

I address this circular to all our friends, both white and colored. I confidently ask Southern white people to help us. We look to them as our friends. We beg that, in view of our wants, of the conservative character of our church (cordial relationship with whites; but with little financial security), of the deep interest which all good people must feel in our success, and of the glory of God and the prosperity of his Church, you will help us.<sup>2</sup>

In the 1874 General Conference, upon recommendation by Miles, the C.M.E. Church approved of establishing one school, Central University, on the Louisville property, and plans were made to raise funds for the school. Bishop Miles was made Educational Agent of the church, with the

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<sup>1</sup>Miles was supposed to have been manumitted in 1854 by his mistress' will. The will was contested and he was not set free until 1864. In 1857, he was licensed to preach in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. When he moved to Ohio in 1865, he united with the A.M.E. Zion Church and served as a pastor until 1868, when he refused a mission assignment from Bishop Loguen. Miles returned to the M.E. Church and organized conferences that became a part of the C.M.E. Church in 1870. Miles dies November 14, 1892. C.H. Phillips, The History of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America (New York: Arno Press, 1972), pp. 155-156 and 196-204.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 77-78.

responsibility to raise funds for constructing the school. By 1876, Bishop Miles was unsuccessful in collecting enough funds to complete the payments on the property, and the land was lost.<sup>1</sup>

Much of Bishop Miles' failure was due to over extending the \$4,000 which he collected while visiting the New England states in 1875. Contrary to the decision of the general conference, he began a school in Sardis, Mississippi. Without enough funds to perpetuate the plans of both schools at a crucial time, each school failed to materialize.<sup>2</sup>

The next effort to establish a school was in 1879, when Bishop Isaac Lane, born a slave near Jackson, Tennessee, on March 3, 1834,<sup>3</sup> was successful in getting the Tennessee Annual Conference of the C.M.E. Church to accept the responsibility of establishing Jackson High School on four acres of land in East Jackson, Tennessee. The school opened in November, 1882, with Miss Jennie Lane,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 97-98 and 106.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>By the age of eighteen, Isaac Lane had learned to read, write, and figure from listening to the instruction given white children on the plantation. At age twenty, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. In 1866, Lane became a minister and was ordained a deacon. In 1873, Lane was elected a bishop in the C.M.E. Church. Hartshorn, Era of Progress, pp. 405-406; also Phillips, History of the C.M.E. Church, pp. 218-222.

daughter of Bishop Lane, in charge. In 1883, Bishop Lane appointed C. H. Phillips,<sup>1</sup> a Black minister, as principal of the school. In 1884, Phillips was responsible for having the name of the school changed to Lane Institute in honor of its founder, Bishop Isaac Lane.<sup>2</sup>

In the high school, there were the common branches of English and Theology. When the name of the school was changed to Lane Institute, the curriculum of the school was enlarged to include the Normal Department, the Intermediate Department, the Theological Department, and the Music Department. The Normal Department gave instruction in the methods of teaching. The Intermediate Department was for students who had advanced in English. In 1896, the College Department was added to the curriculum, and the school was authorized to issue the Bachelor of Arts and the Bachelor of Science degrees. The classical course led to the A.B. degree and the scientific course led to the B.S. degree. The classical courses differed from

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<sup>1</sup>Phillips was born in Milledgeville, Ga., on January 17, 1858. He was the tenth of twelve children born to his parents. His father, George Washington Phillips, was a preacher for over fifty years. In 1879, C.H. Phillips went to Central Tennessee College and, in May, 1880, graduated with an A.B. degree. He continued his studies there in medicine and graduated in 1882. He was elected a bishop in the church, in 1902. Phillips, History of C.M.E. Church, pp. 7-9 and 231.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 121; also Essie Perry, Lane College Through 75 Years of Service (Lane College Press, 1957), p. 1.

the scientific courses in the number of hours required in Greek and natural sciences.<sup>1</sup>

In 1902, the schools' curriculum was enlarged: (1) the college Department, (2) College Preparatory, (3) Normal Department, (4) English Department, 6th, 7th, & 8th grades, (5) Intermediate Department, 4th and 5th, (6) Primary Department, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, (7) Music Department, vocal and instrumental, and (8) the Commercial and Home Economics Departments. The Commercial courses included bookkeeping, typewriting, shorthand, commercial arithmetic, spelling, letter writing, and business forms. In 1902 there were 210 students enrolled in the school.<sup>2</sup>

In 1908, the C.M.E. Church reported it was operating six colleges, one seminary, and one academy at a cost of \$85,500.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to Lane College, Mississippi Industrial College and Paine College were prominent C.M.E. Schools and taught Blacks in the beginning of the twentieth century.

<sup>1</sup>Hartshorn, Era of Progress, p. 297.

<sup>2</sup>Perry, loc. cit., p. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Miles Memorial College, Birmingham, Ala.; Haygood Seminary, Washington, Ark.; Paine College, Augusta, Ga.; Holsey Academy, Cordele, Ga.; Homer College, Homer, La.; Mississippi Industrial College, Holly Springs, Miss.; Lane College; Jackson, Tenn.; and Phillips College, Tyler, Texas. Minister College Presidents in 1908 were: J. Albert Bray, Miles College; George L. Tuns, Haygood Seminary; S. W. Broome, Phillips College; H. L. Stallworth, Holsey Academy; and D. C. Potts, Miss. Industrial College. Era of Progress, pp. 297 and 302-305.

Mississippi Industrial College, Holly Springs, Mississippi, was founded by Elias Cottrell.<sup>1</sup> In 1909, the school had 14 teachers instructing 500 students, 20 of which were studying theology. The school offered academic and industrial training.

The \$15,000 annual expenses of the school, up to 1909, were met mostly by public donations. The total value of the buildings and property was \$90,000: 110 acre farm, \$20,000; two brick buildings, \$60,000; and other property, \$10,000. Through Bishop Cottrell, Andrew Carnegie, the white philanthropist, agreed to give the school a building worth \$25,000. Bishop Cottrell managed the business of the school with the assistance of a 39 member board of control.<sup>2</sup>

A school supported jointly by the White Methodist Episcopal Church and the C.M.E. Church was Paine College. Through L. H. Holsey, plans for the school began in December, 1869, in Macon, Georgia, when Holsey was a member of the Colored Georgia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal

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<sup>1</sup>Cottrell (1853-1948) was born in Mississippi. In 1873, in a private school, he taught subjects he had learned on his own. From 1876 to 1894 he was a pastor, presiding elder, Book Agent, and Commissioner of Education in the C.M.E. Church. He was elected a C.M.E. bishop in 1894. Phillips. CME History, pp. 228-232.

<sup>2</sup>Era of Progress, pp. 304-305.

Church, South. Holsey was appointed a member of the committee on Education and wrote a paper on education for the committee that was read before the conference. In the paper, Holsey appealed to the M.E. Church, South, to:

...establish a school for the training of our colored preachers and teachers. We especially stressed the idea of teaching and training the colored ministers of the gospel who might be sent out by the church to preach to the colored people as were then called. We emphasized the point of having our Southern preachers taught by the white people of the South. We could not see any reason why the people of color should not be taught by southern white Christian people. In the same paper the white people of the South, especially those of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church, were asked to teach in the colored Sunday schools and establish some method or plan by which the white Christians could assist in the evangelization of their former slaves. They did such work in the days of slavery, and since there was no antagonism between the former masters and slave, we could see no reason why such could not be done by them in a state of freedom.<sup>1</sup>

Although the idea was not accepted then, Holsey kept the idea before the white Methodists by raising money for the project among the C.M.E. members in the Georgia Conference.

Regarding this project, Holsey said:

However, in 1876 and 1877, I made a feeble effort to raise money and start the work myself, but it was so hard to get the people, white and colored, to take in the idea, that the movement seemed destined to be a failure. As I had nothing to lose by the effort to

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<sup>1</sup>Cade, loc. cit., pp. 80-81.



establish the work in view, I brought the matter before the Colored Georgia Conference and as nearly as I can remember, we collected about \$150.00 to start the enterprise.<sup>1</sup>

When the General Conference of the M.E. Church, South, met in Nashville, in July, 1882, Holsey's proposal to establish a school for Blacks was accepted, and a grant was made to start the school. Holsey remembered a private meeting was held in Atlanta in the fall of 1882 with the four bishops of the C.M.E. Church, Bishop George F. Pierce, Dr. Galloway and other whites to form plans for beginning the school. Dr. Galloway accepted the presidency of the school. On January 1, 1883, the school opened in Augusta, Georgia, with Holsey's four children, four youths accompanied by Dr. Walker, a white teacher, and young people Holsey had induced to attend the school by paying them 50¢ a day.<sup>2</sup>

In expressing his contribution to the education of Blacks at Paine, Holsey said:

I served, not only as the first sexton, but I was the only support it (Paine) had for most of the first year of its existence, and for five years and more, I had to carry most of the expenses, along; that is, the current expenses. Often, I had to feed as many as thirty hungry students a day to keep them from returning home.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 85-86.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 87.

Holsey disagreed with Booker T. Washington's philosophy of educating Blacks and contended, as W. E. B. DuBois, that industrial education was not the only means of uplifting the Black race educationally. Holsey advocated:

The same kind of education for all people as far as they could receive it regardless of race...The great mistake that is now being made as to the kind of training that is being allotted to the Afro-Americans is that half training is better for them than for other people upon the presumption that such training will make them better citizens, servants, and laborers ...It is impossible to make a people true to the obligations of citizenship without imparting to them the knowledge to see the reason of it.<sup>1</sup>

Other C.M.E. Bishops who expressed an educational philosophy were R. S. Williams, Charles H. Phillips, and Isaac Lane. Bishop R. S. Williams' educational philosophy urged that in the training of preachers, teachers, and Sunday school workers they be "taught the Cardinal virtues of Christianity and the possibility of exemplifying them in his life." Williams believed knowledge of the Bible would prepare one for right living. He was interested in the religious education of Blacks along the lines of Bible study through the Sunday school.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 79; Cf. Era of Progress, p. 402.

<sup>2</sup>Era of Progress, p. 403. Williams was born October 27, 1858, in Louisiana. He was an alumnus of Wiley University and Howard University. He was licensed to preach in 1876. In 1894, he was elected a bishop in the C.M.E. Church.

Charles H. Phillips classified moral development as secondary to the intellectual and industrial advancement of Blacks. He saw this as a way to develop sound leadership and said:

We need leaders who possess good judgment, large faith, optimistic spirit, and high moral ideals; leaders whose conception of honor and dishonor, of probity and righteousness, are on the highest plane.<sup>1</sup>

Phillips was also interested in the "conscience" and "character" training of youth. The reason for them to receive an education Phillips said, is:

...there are too many incorrigible, uncontrollable youngsters of both sexes who congregate in our cities and lead lives which add nothing to the asset of the race... Greater attention must be given to the training of our young people. They must be saved while they are young, or they may not be saved when they are grown.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, Isaac Lane's educational philosophy expressed a need to develop the productive power, elevate the ideals, strengthen the moral character, and enlarge the mental vision of Blacks. He believed Blacks needed an education that would enable them to discover their own strength and power for asserting themselves to independence in thought and action. To achieve this education, Lane suggested Blacks needed:

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 404.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 405.

...all kinds of education--industrial, academic, professional, collegiate, moral, technical--are needed. In fact, the Negro needs and wants every kind of training enjoyed by other people that develops greater capacity for accomplishing good and enhances his usefulness and efficiency as a citizen and a laborer.<sup>1</sup>

### Other Black Educators

These ministers were not members of one of the four predominantly Black churches, but each one was a formal educator in a Black school. Francis Louis Cardoza<sup>2</sup> was founder and principal of a grammar school in Charleston, South Carolina, from August 1, 1865 to 1868. In June, 1865. Cardoza applied to the American Missionary Association (AMA) for support in returning to his home town in Charleston to found a normal school to teach the newly emancipated slaves. Upon reaching Charleston, Cardoza:

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 406.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Cardoza (1837-1903) was born in Charleston, S.C. His mother was half-Indian and half-Negro and his father, J.N. Cardoza, was a white Jew. At age 21, Cardoza went to Glasgow, Scotland, to receive a formal education. While abroad, he studied theology three years in Edinburgh, Germany, and London, England. On August 1, 1864, he was ordained a Presbyterian and became pastor of the Temple Street Congregational Church in New Haven, Conn. In December, 1864, Cardoza married Catherine Romena Howell of New Haven, Conn. They were the parents to six children--4 boys and 2 girls. See Simmons, Men of Mark, pp. 428-430; and Clifton Johnson, "Francis Cardoza: Black Carpetbagger," The Crisis (New York; Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., Vol. 78, No. 7, September, 1971), pp. 226-228.

found they (the Blacks) were not prepared to become pupils of a normal school. I therefore established as good a grammar school as possible and looked forward to the normal school as more practical within a year or two.

Thus, since last October we have been carefully training our scholars and about 200 of them are now prepared to become pupils of a normal school.<sup>1</sup>

In a written report of the school to Samuel Hunt, white superintendent of Education, Cardoza said:

The present 18 teachers and about 800 scholars. For the sake of order and convenience I have divided the school or graded the school like the grammar schools north into three departments--grammar, intermediate, and primary.<sup>2</sup>

In an August, 1866, completed Teacher's Monthly Report to George Whipple, Corresponding Secretary of AMA, Cardoza stated that the school was opened for 22 days in August and 100 pupils were enrolled. The average attendance was 75. The pupils studied reading, spelling, writing, mental arithmetic, written arithmetic, geography, and singing.<sup>3</sup>

In 1877, Cardoza moved to Washington, D. C. From 1884 to 1903, Cardoza was principal of the District's Negro public schools. He was the first Black to introduce

<sup>1</sup>Francis Cardoza to M.E. Strieby, August 13, 1866. AMA Archives.

<sup>2</sup>Francis Cardoza to Samuel Hunt, November 7, 1865. AMA Archives.

<sup>3</sup>Francis Cardoza to M.E. Strieby, August, 1866. Teacher's Monthly Report. AMA Archives.

business education into Washington schools.<sup>1</sup>

Another formal educator was H. L. McCrorey, president of Bible University in 1908. The school was devoted to the academic and industrial training of Blacks. Four areas of study comprised the school's curriculum: industrial, preparatory, collegiate, and theological. The schools' enrollment in 1908 was 14 teachers and 196 students, 19 of which were studying theology. The university was under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church (North).<sup>2</sup>

In expressing his philosophy of education, McCrorey said that since Blacks had started improving themselves, they ran the risk of doing it the wrong way, which could reduce them to a worse state of affairs. He said, "The way of wealth alone is unsafe, the way of politics treacherous, and the way of education apart from moral training is dangerous."<sup>3</sup> McCrorey's philosophy on a sure way to succeed was to adhere to the Bible. "The Bible is the only safe way," McCrorey contended, for living a meaningful and useful life, "since it is the revelation of the character and will of God." He

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<sup>1</sup>Johnson, "Francis Cardoza," p. 228.

<sup>2</sup>Era of Progress, p. 202.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 202.

advocated learning religious education in the formative period of life so that what is learned will automatically be a part of ones life and character in adulthood.<sup>1</sup>

Another school administrator was Charles W. Brooks, who in 1908, was principal of St. Mark's Academic and Industrial School in Birmingham, Alabama. The school was under the auspices of the Episcopal Church. The enrollment was 266 students and 7 teachers. Annual expenses totaled \$3,400. The schools' courses of study were primary, intermediate, academic, and industrial--cooking, sewing, and vocal and piano lessons.. The schools' objective was:

to bring Christian education within the reach of the children of the church and all others who may be committed to its care; to surround them with all that tends to the upbuilding and dignifying of character; to furnish their minds with sound learning;

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 203.

\*\*Names of some Black administrators of schools under the auspices of the Southern Presbyterian Church in 1908 were: W. H. Franklin, President of Swift Memorial College; U.A. Frierson, Principal of Kendall Institute; and W. J. Rankin, Principal of Sarah Lincoln Academy. Names of some black administrators of schools under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church (North) were: John Brice, President of Academy of Athens; J. H. Tarter, President of Cleveland Academy; W. P. Ware, Principal of Wallace Schools; and C. H. Johnson, Principal of Miller's Ferry Normal and Industrial School.

to so train them in domestic branches of life that they may be useful men and women.<sup>1</sup>

The philosophy of the school was to make school life pleasant for the students by thorough teaching and strict discipline. The schools' teaching method was biblical and evangelistic.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, P. P. Alston founded St. Michael's Church and Industrial School in Charlotte, N. C., in 1882. The school was under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church. In 1908, Alston reported 8 teachers were instructing 265 students. The schools' curriculum included, industrial, domestic, economy, and literary studies. The purpose of the training was to enable students "to make honest livings for themselves and have no trouble in procuring employment."<sup>3</sup>

#### Summary To Chapter III

The liberal Black preachers founded schools and were the administrators, presidents, teachers, and principals of schools who dared against social pressures, economic restraints (limited financial resources of Blacks), and the Black races' educational retardation (illiteracy and limited vision of racial prosperity), to establish

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 255.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 256.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 257.



educational institutions and provide resources for fostering education among Blacks. This group of educators helped to lead the untutored ex-slaves toward a new appreciation of self in hopes that they could contribute and participate in the American society at advanced levels. The classroom teachers sought to have the largely untutored students achieve an education that would enable them to become better citizens. The traditional Black preachers were concerned with the moral and social improvement of Blacks. They believed that many whites looked with disfavor on the education of Blacks and that the subordinate educational condition of Blacks would improve when God willed it. Their personal convictions were guarded, and they would not complain nor criticize white control over Black affairs.

The illiteracy of Blacks in the south was reduced from ninety percent in 1861 to seventy percent in 1880, through the work of the freedmen's societies, denominational schools, and the Freedmen's Bureau. These agencies awakened the ex-slaves to the need for education, and proved Blacks were capable of higher learning. By 1908, fifty-five percent of Blacks were literate. The white society and denominational schools provided industrial, academic, and religious education for the social,

intellectual, and moral improvement of the Blacks. Although academic subjects were taught by both Black and white teachers, both groups thought religious and industrial training were the chief needs of the Blacks. By 1909 many of the literate Blacks were imbued with moral instructions and a technical training rather than equipped to serve in the top decision making centers of power in America. Nevertheless, many Blacks advanced in education and rose in social status and wealth along with other Americans.

## CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

This study used primary and secondary resources to verify the claim that the Black preacher was an influential educator, possibly the most significant, during the period 1787 to 1909, when Blacks were seeking to make their place in America secure and worthwhile. The Black preacher became a valuable person in the Black community as a result of the development of Black religion and the Black church.

Most Blacks from 1787 to 1909 did not have access to the same higher education facilities and personnel as whites. Before the Civil War Blacks in the north did not own nor operate any schools for higher education. A small number of Blacks received admission into, and were graduated from, white institutions. The formal education Blacks received from Black preachers was limited to elementary and secondary education. Occasionally in the south a white slave owner or white mistress would secretly teach a favorite slave the fundamentals of education. Frequently, aggressive and above average Black preachers taught themselves to read and write. From 1787 to the Civil War, in both the north and the south, the formal and informal Black preacher-educators were militant, liberal, moderate, and traditional.

Most of the formal education Blacks received from the Civil War to near the close of the Reconstruction was provided by whites. Between 1880 and 1909 many Black preachers became reputable formal educators. From the Civil War to 1909 the liberal Black preacher-educators were formal and informal. As formal educators they were school administrators and teachers. As informal educators they were educational philosophers and propagandists and founders of schools. There were also traditional Black preacher-educators, who were informal. As informal educators they established churches and offered a moral philosophy to Blacks.

From 1787 to 1909 each one of the types of Black preacher-educators led Blacks through various methods into cooperating with one another to develop and sustain their moral values, education, political power, and economic base. These Black preachers served as educators to Blacks by providing them with the incentive to improve their opportunities for a better life. This educational goal was achieved through what the Black minister did in fostering a religious life among his people and through formal and informal teaching. The little education Blacks received from this system of education inadequately prepared them for citizenship in mainstream America. Nevertheless, with the education Blacks received from the

Black preacher-educators and other sources they began to improve their economic status, develop their own intelligentsia, free some of their movements and activities from the effects of discrimination and criminal assaults, and build a life for themselves.

In the course of writing this study several conclusions have been derived. The following are the conclusions that have been reached.

The first conclusion is that the Black preacher-educators were among the first Blacks to provide a substantial educational foundation for Blacks. With the beginning of the nineteenth century Blacks were receiving educational instruction from Black teachers, who consisted mostly of preachers. A contributing factor to Black preachers teaching was that they generally had more formal educational training than the laity. Another reason for the large number of Black preacher-teachers was the limitations placed on Blacks for leadership in other vocations.

The importance of the Black preacher's status in the Black community has been seen as a clue to his effectiveness. The Black preacher has more authority and influence among both Blacks and whites than any other Black person.

Black preacher-educators identified in this study who had considerable influence with Blacks and whites, and

who were successful in providing educational opportunities and an educational foundation for Blacks were John Chevis, Daniel Coker, Samuel Cornish, Prince Hall, Jupiter Hammon, Josiah Henson, C. S. Brown, Frank Quarles, J. W. Loguen, Frederick Douglass, T. S. Wright, Charles B. Ray, Daniel Payne, Joseph Charles Price, and L. H. Holsey. Of this group of preachers, J. W. Loguen, Frederick Douglass, and C. B. Ray were the first within their community to be known to have provided a substantial educational foundation for Blacks.

The second finding in this study is that the purposes of the teaching methods used by Black preacher-teachers were to have their students accept their self-worth and to motivate the students to aspire to their full potential. The term "method" as applied to this conclusion means the approach or technique used by the teachers to motivate their pupils to want to learn and to help them maintain their interest in learning. With the use of various teaching methodologies, the central concern of the black teachers was to improve the educational status of Blacks. Four preacher-teachers included in this study who had specific methodologies for teaching students were Daniel Payne, Samuel E. Cornish, Jermain Wesley Loguen, and Joseph Charles Price.

Finally, an essential part of Chapter III described the Black preacher-educator struggling against whites in

executive and legislative positions to achieve quality education for Blacks. A principle reached from this phase of the study is that two fundamentally different educational objectives cannot co-exist without stress; the stress vanishes when the differences vanish.

This principle was an argument against the "Separate but Equal" problem in education that was in formation prior to the 1896 Supreme Court decision affirming the separate but equal status of Blacks. Some Black preacher-educators observed in this period that most Blacks were unable to achieve equality and status because whites were controlling the standards that would grant the Black teachers the privilege to render certified service. Many of the white educators exercised a type of paternalism over the Black graduates that caused many Black preacher-educators to rebel.

Associated with this problem was the qualification standard of Black teachers. Many white teachers were not fully applying themselves to preparing Blacks to become eligible to teach Blacks in certified institutions. The rationale of some whites for this behavior was that the Black students were slow learners. Some Black preacher-educators with various responses to these problems were J. W. Smith, E. K. Love, Francis Grimké, and Frederick Douglass.

It is hoped that this study has improved on the stature of the Black preacher's tradition and has illus-

trated the continuous concern of Black preachers for the development of Blacks, especially in the area of education. Therefore, hopefully a new criterion for evaluating the past, understanding the present, and challenging the future roles of Black preacher in the educational development of Blacks in America has been established.

Recommendations of this study:

1. American educational history could expand its understanding of a locus for learning or the process of educating from the limitations of a controlled educational setting, such as a school. From this study one may glean that the Black church is also a learning center. There they learn how to conduct business and master many meaningful basic phases of life. Thus a study on the contribution of the church to the education of Blacks would be helpful.
2. Black women Preacher-Educators are not included in this study. There were Black females such as Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman who were officially declared preachers or who fulfilled the role of a Preacher-Educator prior to the turn of the twentieth century. A study, therefore, of the educational contribution of Black female preachers would be a significant addition to Black educational history.



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