

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

U·M·I

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Order Number 9218646

**The evolution of the education of exceptional children in
Charleston, South Carolina from 1900 to 1975**

Hunt, Jane Doggett, Ed.D.

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1991

U·M·I

300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

THE EVOLUTION OF THE EDUCATION OF EXCEPTIONAL
CHILDREN IN CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA
FROM 1900 TO 1975

by

Jane Doggett Hunt

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

Greensboro

1991

Approved by


Dissertation Advisor

HUNT, JANE DOGGETT, Ed.D. *The Evolution of the Education of Exceptional Children in Charleston, South Carolina from 1900 to 1975.* (1991) Directed by Dr. John Van Hoose.
pp. 327.

The purpose of this research was to identify and describe the services provided for exceptional children in the public school system of Charleston, South Carolina from 1900 to 1975. An historical approach examined the events which resulted in the establishment of special classes before services were federally mandated. Classes were established during this period incorporating a variety of interventions for the mentally retarded, the deaf and hard of hearing, the blind and vision impaired, the speech impaired and eventually the learning disabled, the behaviorally disabled and the gifted.

Admission procedures, teacher qualifications and parental involvement were investigated. The attitude of the administration, the interaction between the regular and special classes and the various shifts in placement were described. Pertinent economic and political factors directly or indirectly influencing the evolution of special classes were also discussed.

The highly complex society of Charleston and the inherent conservatism of the area were noted as they impacted upon the development of special education. The vestiges of a number of practices such as mastery teaching, early identification and early intervention were traced from their origins in this period.

Approval Page

This dissertation has been approved by the following
committee of the Graduate School at the University of
North Carolina at Greensboro.

Dissertation Advisor

John VanHoose

Committee Members

Thomas C. Fitzgerald

Elizabeth A. Bewley

Barbara H. Stooft

Eda Helicson

Oct 23, 1991

Date of Acceptance by Committee

Oct 23, 1991

Date of Final Oral Examination

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to express sincere appreciation to Dr. John Van Hoose, chairman of this dissertation, for his interest and support throughout the writing of this research project. His guidance and enthusiasm were constant sources of encouragement. Thanks must also be extended to Dr. Elisabeth Bowles whose continued insights were reminders of the value of historical research. Dr. Barbara Stoodt not only provided insight but also many practical suggestions which greatly improved this study. Dr. Thomas Fitzgerald deserves many thanks as a representative from another discipline who graciously consented to serve on this committee. Finally, Dr. Ada Vallecorsa, chairperson of this doctoral committee, is acknowledged for her help in preparing me for this undertaking.

A note of wonderment and respect is expressed for the archivists, librarians and historians who contributed to this dissertation and infused within me an awe for their professions. Deepest appreciation is reserved for the most important person in my world, my husband, Louis D. Hunt, M.D.. This effort is dedicated to him and to our offspring, The Hunt Children, Janie, Louis, Julie, Roy and Judith, their spouses and our grandchildren, here and yet to be.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
APPROVAL PAGE	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
 CHAPTER	
I. THE STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY	1
Introduction	1
Justification	2
Significance	3
Research Questions	3
Definition of Terms	4
Methods	6
Assumptions	6
Limitations	7
Procedures	8
Evaluation of Data	9
Organization of the Study	9
Summary	10
II. REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE	13
Overview	13
The History of Charleston	16
The History of Education	21
The Development of Special Education	25
Primary Sources on Special Services for the Handicapped in Charleston	28
III. THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHARLESTON	30
Overview	30
The Colonial Period	31
The Revolutionary Period	41
The Post Revolutionary Period	48
The Antebellum Period	51

CHAPTER	Page
The Civil War Period	61
The Reconstruction Period	68
The Retrenchment Period	73
The "New South" Period	75
The Period of the World Wars	77
The Rights' Era	80
Summary	84
 IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN AMERICA AND IN CHARLESTON	 85
Overview	85
Early Attempts at Education	86
Education in the 19th Century in the United States	 100
Twentieth Century Education in the United States	 110
Civil Rights and Educational Rights	120
Education in Charleston in the 17th Century	 123
Education in Charleston in the 18th Century	 126
Education in Charleston in the 19th Century	 131
Education in Charleston in the 20th Century	 136
Summary	144
 V. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIAL EDUCATION	 145
Overview	145
The History of Special Education in the United States	 147
The Handicapped in the Distant Past	150
The Handicapped in the 17th Century	155
The Handicapped in the 18th Century	156
The Handicapped in the 19th and 20th Centuries	 157
The Education of the Deaf	162
The Education of the Blind	164
The Education of Other Handicapped People	 165
Facilities for the Handicapped	166

CHAPTER	Page
The Education of the Gifted	167
Teacher Training	167
Problems in the Establishment of Programs	168
Public Opinion Toward the Exceptional	169
The Montessori Method	170
The Influence of Intelligence Testing	170
The Brain Damaged	171
Influencing Trends	171
Refinement in the Classification and Identification of Intelligence	173
The Learning Disabled	175
Legislation for the Handicapped	178
Research and Educational Facilities	180
The Handicapped in South Carolina	184
The Insane Asylum in Columbia, South Carolina	185
The South Carolina School for the Deaf and the Blind	193
Mental Health Facilities in South Carolina	196
Summary	198
 VI. THE BEGINNINGS OF SPECIAL EDUCATION IN CHARLESTON	 200
Overview	200
The Handicapped in Colonial Charleston	200
The Handicapped in the Revolutionary Period	202
The Handicapped in Charleston in the 19th Century	203
Charleston in the 20th Century	205
The Development of the Public School System	206
Developing Interest in Charleston in Special Education	208
Development of Special Classes	215

CHAPTER	Page
The Opportunity Class	217
The Influence of Sylvia Allen	221
Reaction of the Administration	227
Status of the Special Class	231
Selection for the Special Class	232
Summary of the Opportunity Class for 1917-1918	235
Teacher Incentives	236
Expansion of Interest in Special Populations	237
Expansion of Services within the Special Class	238
The Testing Program	239
Recommendations Concerning the Special Classes	240
Program Expansion	243
Curriculum in the Special Classes	244
Areas of Difficulty	245
A New Format	245
New and Old Faculty	248
Interest in Charleston's Program	249
Developing Classes in Other Schools	250
Reasons for Placement	251
Concerns Over Placement	252
Reorganization Plans	254
Designation of Special Students	257
The Introduction of Speech Services	260
The Initiation of Classes for the Visually Impaired	261
Admission Requirements for Vision Classes	262
The Initiation of Classes for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing	273
The Establishment of the Child Guidance Bureau	283
Provision of Services	292
Effects of School Consolidation on Special Education in Charleston	293
Summary	297
 VII. CHARLESTON AND SPECIAL EDUCATION	 298
Overview	298
Special Education in Charleston	300

CHAPTER	Page
The Primary Research Question	301
Handicapping Conditions	304
Identification of Students for	
Special Classes	305
Services for Exceptional Children	305
Eligibility for Special Classes	306
Teacher Qualifications for	
Special Classes	307
Educational Approaches in the Special	
Education Classes	307
Attitudes of the Administration	308
Parental Roles	309
Economic and Political Factors	309
The Relationship Between Special	
Education Classes and Regular Classes	311
Mainstreaming Efforts	312
Social Attitudes	312
Educational Trends	313
Child-Rearing Modes	314
Recommendations	315
Conclusions	315
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 318
 APPENDIX A. THE SIX MODES OF CHILD REARING	 324
 APPENDIX B. HISTORICAL MILESTONES IN SPECIAL EDUCATION IN THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, 1945 - 1975	 326

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Repeaters in the Charleston City School System from 1911-1913 and 1912-1913	208
2	Percentages of Repeaters in Various Cities in the United States	212
3	Composite of the Opportunity Class, 1913-1914	218
4	Schedule for the Special Class at Mitchell School, 1915	221
5	Classification of Intellectional Functioning of Children	225
6	Classification of Intelligence According to Terman	226
7	Early Classifications of Exceptional School Children in Charleston, South Carolina (1915)	228
8	Numbers of Retarded Students in the Charleston City Schools, 1917	233
9	Results of Intelligence Testing in 1919	239
10	Budget for the Special Education Classes in Charleston, South Carolina, 1920-1921	243
11	Results of Psychological Testing in the Charleston, South Carolina, Schools 1920-1921	246
12	Designations of Special Students	258
13	Demographics of Exceptionalities in the Charleston City Schools, 1944	258
14	Sight-Saving Classes in Baltimore, Maryland, 1933	262

Table		Page
15	Sight Conservation Classes in the South, 1933-1934	263
16	Survey of White Elementary Schools in Charleston, South Carolina, for Sight-Saving Classes, 1937	265
17	Report on the Sight-Saving Classes in Charleston, South Carolina, May 24, 1944	271
18	Sight-Saving Class Schedule, October 9, 1944	273
19	Report of Suspected Hard of Hearing Cases in the Public School System of Charleston, South Carolina in 1939	273
20	Report of Suspected Hard of Hearing Cases in the Public Schools of the City of Charleston, South Carolina in 1938	274
21	Statistics on Hard of Hearing Classes in South Carolina in 1939	274
22	Identification of Hard of Hearing Students in the Charleston, South Carolina Public Schools in 1940	275
23	Identification of Hard of Hearing Students in the Charleston, South Carolina Public School System in 1941	276
24	Report of Hard of Hearing Classes in 1943-1944	278
25	Audiometry Report, for the Charleston Public Schools, 1943	278
26	Numbers of Children in Lip-Reading Class in Charleston, South Carolina Public City Schools, 1944-1945	279

Table		Page
27	Results of Audiometry in the Charleston Public Schools, 1945	280
28	Demographic Composite of Children in the Charleston City Schools in South Carolina, September 30, 1949	284
29	Students Not Enrolled in Any School in Charleston by Race, 1949	286
30	Reasons for Non-Enrollment in Charleston, 1949	287
31	Charleston, South Carolina City School Census, 1950	288
32	Special Education Classes in the Consolidated Charleston, South Carolina, School System in 1967	294

CHAPTER I

THE STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to identify and describe the services provided for exceptional children in the public school system of Charleston, South Carolina from 1900 to 1975 and to determine the extent and nature of these services. This time span covered a significant period in the development of benefits for exceptional children, the period from just after the turn of the century in 1900 to the passage of Public Law 94-142 "The Education of All Handicapped Children Act" in 1975. The accommodations provided were important because they were the precursors that ultimately evolved into special education programs in the Charleston public schools.

The advent of P.L. 94-142 marked the end of an era. It was perhaps the single most emancipating and far reaching legislation ever passed in the United States for the benefit of the handicapped. It catapulted special education into national prominence and terminated it as a grass roots movement. Until 1975, special education had been subject only to state and local endorsement, but with the massive intrusion of the federal government into the education of handicapped children, the provision of services changed forever.

Charleston had voiced concern for certain handicaps almost from the initial settlement of the colony. There is, however, little information available before 1900 regarding the quality or quantity of the care provided and even less actual

documentation of it. By the turn of the 20th century, the fragile, controversial public school system had become increasingly viable, and as general educational services were expanded, the need for a more inclusive agenda was recognized. Organized efforts were initiated to provide some form of education for those requiring special interventions.

Justification

An examination of these preliminary endeavors in Charleston, provided a graphic representation of the status of education for the exceptional at this time. The historical approach utilized in this research provided the opportunity to scrutinize these conditions. New dimensions regarding these services became apparent and previously held perspectives concerning the handicapped of this era were amplified. By vicariously entering the past, an appreciation of a previous state of society was realized (Commager, 1965). Various educational experiences were examined through the acknowledgement of the multiple forces which shaped the education of the handicapped during this time (Commager, 1965). Charleston was investigated as a microcosm of existing care and as representative of likely statewide practices.

In order to achieve a deeper understanding of this microcosm, this research examined some of the conditions which shaped the social, cultural and intellectual environment of the period. It reconstructed the past in light of the present and analyzed past events for the purpose of providing information for interpreting the structure and organization of contemporary special education.

Significance

The structure and organization of contemporary special education, as well as that of general education, was the result of numerous transformations. These multiple transformations were designated by many educators as simple pendulum swings. Miehl (1964), however, proposed that the evolving educational practices could be more accurately described as upward spirals. In such a spiral, each ensuing loop extracted from previous loops, those practices which appeared successful and were amendable to further refinement. This study accepted this view as significant and also as an incentive to examine these practices. Special education has utilized this pragmatic approach of adopting successful techniques and adapting them to specific needs. The examination of past practices identified the spirals of this setting and traced their progressions.

Research Questions

The primary research question examined in this study was: What educational services were provided for exceptional children in the public school system in Charleston, South Carolina from 1900 to 1975?

The subsidiary questions examined in this study were:

1. What conditions were considered handicapping during this period?
2. How were these conditions identified?
3. What services were provided for the various handicaps?
4. Who qualified for these services?
5. What were the qualifications for the teachers of these special classes?
6. What were the educational approaches utilized in the various classes?
7. What was the attitude of the administration toward these classes?
8. What role, if any, did parents have in the educational process of their children regarding curriculum, support services, and parental involvement?

9. What economic and political factors, locally, nationally or internationally influenced these special classes?
10. How did the special classes interact with the regular classes?
11. What mainstreaming, if any, occurred between the regular classrooms and the special education classrooms?
12. Were the social attitudes of the community during this period reflected in the education of the handicapped?
13. What practices or vestiges of practices, initiated at this time, remain in today's curriculum?
14. How did the various child-rearing modes, as proposed by psychohistorian Lloyd deMeuse, relate to the education of the handicapped of this period?

Definitions of Terms

The following terms are defined as they are used in this study.

1. Exceptional or Exceptional Individuals - Any person who differs from the accepted norm in mental characteristics, sensory abilities, communication abilities, social behavior or physical characteristics to the degree that a modification of school practices or special educational services are required in order for the individual to develop to maximum capacity (Kirk and Gallagher, 1986).
2. Handicapped Students - Students who fail to profit from regular education because their abilities, skills, behaviors or personal characteristics do not allow them to encounter productive school experiences (Ysseldyke and Algozzine, 1984).
3. Low Country - The name applied to the coastal area of South Carolina.
4. Psychogenic - A term referring to alterations in personality instigated by gradual changes in child-rearing practices over generations, as adults

developed the psychological health necessary for meeting the requirements of their children (Cleland and Swartz, 1982).

5. **Mental Retardation** - The most commonly accepted definition is that of the American Association on Mental Deficiency. It refers to the mentally retarded as "significantly subaverage in general intellectual functioning." This condition must exist "concurrently with deficits in adaptive behavior" and "manifested during the developmental period" (Grossman, 1983). Over time, this definition underwent considerable change reflecting the attitudes of the various periods. Between 1876 and 1906 even professional societies had referred to the retarded as "Idiotic and Feeble-minded Persons". From approximately 1906 to 1938 the "Idiotic" was usually dropped but the term "Feeble-minded" remained. By 1938, the American Association for Mental Development proposed a dramatic change and "Mental Development" was suggested to describe the state of cognitive ability (Sloan and Stevens, 1976).
6. **Paresis** - This is a disease of the brain caused by syphilis of the central nervous system. It is characterized by an inflammation of the meninges, dementia and paralytic attacks (Dorland's Medical Dictionary, 1954).
7. **Reformers** - A political movement begun in South Carolina in the last decades of the 19th Century. It was ultimately led by Benjamin "Pitchfork" Tillman who despised Charleston and represented a group of the Democratic Party who felt excluded from the mainstream of political decision making. Merged with "The Farmers' Movement," the Reformers were able to monopolize upon class and racial hostility.
8. **Retrenchment** - The process by which black political control was systematically replaced ending the period of Reconstruction. White office seekers sought to remove any outside influence which would curtail their domination of government in the state.

Methods

This historical study presented a description of the status of the education of handicapped children and traced its development, prior to the adoption of mandated services, in the public schools of Charleston, South Carolina from 1900 to 1975.

Because the establishment of these services was the result of an evolutionary process, it was necessary to examine the history of Charleston as the setting and breeding ground for an atmosphere which was ultimately conducive to such an undertaking. Similarly, the conditions which fostered the establishment of a variety of educational practices were examined as a contrast and comparison to these experiences in Charleston.

The history of the treatment of exceptional people correspondingly demonstrated the difficulties they endured. These difficulties were long recognized but seldom amended. Charleston's awareness of at least some of these handicaps from earliest times, set her apart from the rest of the country especially in light of her social and educational history.

Assumptions

The following assumptions were made in this study:

1. Special education was a reflection of the period in which it occurred. This was considered implicit in the concept of its evolution. Berdine and Blackhurst (1985) and Kirk and Gallagher (1983) all support the premise that the historical forces that influenced the treatment of the handicapped reflected the prevailing social climate of a period.
2. The treatment of exceptional individuals in Charleston, reflected a highly complex society endeavoring to meet the needs of its citizens. To fully comprehend this effort it was necessary to understand the major contributing

factors which motivated and directed life both before and during this period and to consider their impact on the education of the handicapped.

3. History is a record of incidents concerning people and events and provides a kaleidoscopic view of the past. Under scrutiny the examination of these various incidents yield discernable patterns and provide a balanced perspective of the era being studied.
4. The treatment of the handicapped has been cyclical in nature and varies with each age. Each age has brought its own particular advances and declines as it deals with the treatment of the handicapped.
5. Psychohistorian Lloyd deMeuse (1954), defined chronologically, the social attitudes which impacted upon the treatment of children, both those regarded as normal as well as those regarded as exceptional. He suggested that at any given period in history, various methods of child-rearing practices could be discerned. He indicated that these various practices could be categorized into six types, each encompassing a particular era. Each of these "was exhibited by the psychogenically most advanced segment of the population in the advanced countries" for that period and signified the changes which have gradually occurred.

Limitations

The following limitations are applicable to this study:

1. The study focused on those children designated as exceptional. (see definitions of terms)
2. The City of Charleston and Charleston County are the geographical focus of this study.
3. The years between 1900 and 1975 are examined as the precursors of mandated services.

4. Services provided through agencies outside of the public school system were assimilated into the study if appropriate, but were not treated as separate topics.
5. Resources were limited to those available at the College of Charleston, the Citadel, the Medical University of South Carolina, the Charleston Library Society, the South Carolina Historical Society, the Charleston County School Archives and the Joseph I. Waring Medical Historical Library. It should be noted that many primary source documents do not have page designations. Additional limitations which emerged from these investigations were addressed within the study. This study focused on an overview of the educational history of the handicapped in the Charleston area between 1900 and 1975. It was elucidated through a history of the area, an educational history and the history of special education.

Procedures

The following procedures for gathering data for this historical study in this specific setting included an examination of the materials of the above mentioned institutions (see limitations). A computer search was undertaken. The data banks consulted were:

America: History and Life
Dissertation Abstracts
Eric
Government Publications Office Monthly Catalogue
Historical Abstracts
Library of Congress
National Newspaper Index
Psychological Abstracts
Religion Index
Sociological Abstracts

A working bibliography was compiled. Data sources included maps, newspapers, magazines, journals, diaries, letters, records, pamphlets, government reports, scholarly works, lectures and interviews dealing with the history and

educational practices of Charleston. Some of this information occurred as formal correspondence and communication, but much more was gleaned from informal letters, memos and personal notes in handwriting from scrapes of paper preserved indiscriminately in various files.

Evaluation of Data

The theoretical framework of this study was based on examination of primary and secondary historical sources, collectively and in sufficient number to obtain a reasonably accurate record of the past. All documents and materials were subjected to analysis to determine their authenticity as well as their accuracy. Four factors were utilized in this analysis (Gay, 1981). They included:

1. the knowledge and competence of the author
2. the time delay between the document and the event
3. the possible biases and motives of the author
4. the consistency of the data

In the synthesis of the data and in the conclusions and generalizations formulated, care was exerted to retain objectivity. The limitations inherent in historical research, regarding the examination of the past in terms of the present, are hereby acknowledged. Everything utilized in this study met the test of all four of these criteria.

Organization of the Study

This study was organized into seven chapters. Chapter One was compiled of an introduction with a statement of the problem and background information presenting the significance and justification of the study. A list of research questions was developed and was accompanied by a definition of terms. The methods and procedures employed in the research were stated including the purpose of the study, its assumptions and limitations and the procedures followed. The processes of data

analysis and synthesis were described. The organization of the study and a review of the related literature were also presented.

Chapter Two was devoted to a review of the related literature. It presented a discussion of the major differences of interpretation, viewpoint and trends related to this research.

A brief overview of the major historical events which impacted on the development of the area was presented in Chapter Three. This provided context for the study as well as fostered an understanding of the community and how it evolved. It also provided information for acquiring a perspective of concurrently occurring events.

A concise general history of education in the country, focusing upon the South and particularly Charleston, was submitted in Chapter Four. It did not include exceptional children.

Chapter Five discussed the history of special education. It examined the treatment of exceptional people including services in South Carolina.

Chapter Six was composed of the study of the educational services provided for the exceptional in the City of Charleston Public School System and the development of those services from 1900 to 1975.

Chapter Seven consisted of a summary of the study. Responses to the research questions, conclusions, generalizations and recommendations were presented.

Summary

Public Law 94-142 "The Education of All Handicapped Children Act" of 1975, prescribed and regulated not only the education, but in many instances, the overall treatment of exceptional individuals. Their education was no longer left to local and state discretion but was dictated by federal law. While this law was unable to guarantee immediate equity with general education, it was the impetus which set

special education on the road to full partnership with general education in providing necessary and appropriate services to students with exceptionalities. To adequately assess the current status of this partnership and anticipate future needs, it was essential to consider the history which led to its creation. A review of the prevailing attitudes and existing services as well as an examination of the extenuating circumstances which precipitated action in the struggle to meet the changing needs of exceptional individuals, dictated that the society as a whole also be examined.

The psychogenic modes of deMeuse provided a benchmark by which the events that occurred in Charleston could be evaluated. The socialization and helping modes fell within the framework of this study and provided insight into the attitudes of the period. They signified the accepted manner of treating children, both normal and exceptional.

At any given point in time, examples of all the previous modes could also be documented, usually as somewhat isolated incidents. This was especially true of exceptional populations.

While these modes represented the gradual changes which occurred in child-rearing practices over generations they also demonstrated the level of psychological health required of adults in order to meet the needs of their children in various periods. As such, they were part of the infrastructure of society present from 1900 to 1975.

As early as the first decades of the 20th Century, attempts had been made in the Charleston, South Carolina public schools to meet the needs of the handicapped. This study suggests that these attempts were spiral in nature and were a reflection of the

prevailing social climate of the period. It further suggests that these attempts were the culmination of an evolutionary process which ultimately resulted in the establishment of special education in the public schools of Charleston. These special classes were the precursors and foundations of the present mandated educational experiences. A review of the related literature indicated a variety of historical interpretations and viewpoints which shed light upon this evolution of educational services for the exceptional.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

Overview

This review of related literature is presented in order to differentiate the major distinctions of interpretation, viewpoint and trends of scholarly research related to this study. The review examined four relevant themes which provided the background necessary to the understanding of the study. It illuminated the events which contributed to the evolution of the education of exceptional children in Charleston, South Carolina from 1900-1975, by scrutinizing the history of Charleston, the history of education and the history of special education and by examining primary sources documenting the establishment of special educational services in Charleston.

Because this study focused on the evolution of the education of the exceptional, it was necessary to examine as many of the contributing factors of that evolution as possible. It was also necessary to explore a number of various events which occurred beyond the immediate area as a contrast and comparison to events developing within the area.

The development of this study commenced with this review of related literature representing a variety of sources. These sources, collectively and in sufficient number, provided the background against which services initiated for the handicapped in Charleston, South Carolina from 1900-1975 could be examined.

Within the last thirty years, a modified approach to the writing of history has gained prominence and has attempted to attract attention on heretofore unacknowledged segments of society, in the belief that they, too, influenced community and helped advance civilization. Many sources utilized in this research were drawn from these segments.

This current methodology included among its various domains urban, social, psychological, intellectual and women's history. They offered new avenues for exploring the silent strata of society of which little is mentioned. The diversity and interdependency of life in Charleston was examined through these, as well as through, the traditional means of geographical, chronological, political, cultural, institutional and biographical approaches.

This review concentrated on four distinct areas which illuminated the evolution of special education in Charleston. They included a history of Charleston from its settlement to 1975; the history of education from 1620-1975, both in the colonies and in the states; the development of services for the handicapped with a concentration on South Carolina and Charleston from early 1700 to 1975, and the examination of primary sources in the establishment of special services in Charleston from 1900-1975.

The history of Charleston well reflected two prevailing Southern characteristics, a sense of permanence and a resistance to change. These traits dominated the population until the advent of the 20th century when life became more diversified and society more pluralistic. The desire to raise standards and to

eliminate some of the long-standing deficiencies of the area became a paramount goal. This desire also permeated education.

Historians were at odds concerning the nature of this change. Doyle (1990), in New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Memphis 1860-1910 suggested that the view that Woodward (1980) expressed in Origins of the New South 1877-1913, offered a revisionist standpoint. This position maintained that a new tide was sweeping the area as it was all over the South and throughout the nation.

This view was antithetical to Cash's (1941) opinion as expressed in his work, The Mind of the South. Cash asserted that the essence of the Southern mind was plumbed through the continuity found in the area's social order. He stressed the dominance of a slow evolutionary process.

This controversy is merely one of many paradoxes which centered upon Charleston. Fraser (1989) reported in his text Charleston! Charleston!, a significant number of these inconsistencies, supporting the premise that Charleston was a highly complex society. Each contradiction represented valid and defensible yet opposing evidence concerning the city at the turn of the century.

Historians in general, have concentrated their efforts on more universal topics of the time. Even those who sought to record educational history, tended to focus either on philosophical or pedagogical dimensions or upon those geographical areas, usually found in the East, where record-keeping was more complete and access was more readily available. When their attention did center upon the South, they often explored the history represented by general education, education

for the elite, private education or higher education, and in more recent years, black education.

The verifiable aspects of the education and the treatment of the handicapped were rooted for the most part in the 20th century, yet the many historical studies researched in Charleston often entirely ignored the exceptional and they remained largely anonymous before services were mandated. Occasional articles presented keyhole views regarding education in Charleston, but there were few attempts to provide insight into the establishment of a curriculum for the exceptional before federal intervention.

The History of Charleston

Many histories and numerous historians have concentrated their efforts on specific periods in the development of South Carolina, with much emphasis placed upon Charleston. David Duncan Wallace was one of the most comprehensive of the chroniclers. Respected as the author of the three volume History of South Carolina (1934), he condensed and updated this history in yet another volume known as South Carolina, A Short History (1951). In this work, Wallace asserted that his goal in writing was to present to South Carolinians the opportunity to study their past, "with intellectual frankness". He also wished to allow others to "more fully realize the character and contributions of this original state and early colony, on the development of the United States". He made it his task to identify the successes and failures of the citizens of the state as he sought

to record the economic, political and social ideals of its citizens. It was this contribution that made the work a valuable source for this research.

One of the outstanding attributes of his labor was his scholarship. Effort to present events simply and directly, as they occurred, without benefit of justification, strengthened the work and resulted in an intellectual rendering which recorded the history of the area as it was, not as we might have liked it to have been. With little diversion, Wallace presented a scenario of events as they occurred.

This purpose contrasted greatly with that of W. J. Cash, whose treatise, The Mind of the South (1941), sought to explore something far more elusive than a chronology of events no matter how important this might be considered. Cash sought to identify, and perhaps destroy, the two major legends of the South which prevented an adequate analysis and an understanding of the region. The first legend concerned the romanticized idyll, popular in fiction, which took enough from reality to support the "stuff that dreams are made of" but did little to represent the actuality of the South. The second concerned the legend of the so-called "New South" which theoretically arose, like the mythical phoenix, from the ashes of the Civil War, making way for an industrialized and modernized civilization.

Cash maintained that neither legend bore much relation to reality, although he did insist that there was both a "New" and an "Old" South. He likened these to a tree with many age rings, its trunk bent and twisted by buffeting winds but with its tap root deeply buried in the past. He suggested that the mind of the

south was continuous. He noted its primary form was determined not nearly as much by industry as by the agricultural conditions of the past. In many instances he implied that the South had retreated from, rather than advanced toward, modernization. In this critical analysis, Cash interpreted the "temperament, social customs and philosophy" of the society.

If Wallace provided a skeleton for the area, then Cash breathed life into that skeleton. Controversial, from the point of view of the emotional component of history, Cash nevertheless brokered a "tour de force" on the history of the South. Many of his observations provided insight on the workings of the mind of those people who directed the development of services for the handicapped at various periods.

Catherine Clinton (1982) wrote her history, The Plantation Mistress, as a similar challenge to this mythologized South as she detailed the life of white women in their "ambiguous, intermediary position in the hierarchy between slave and master". She illustrated the need for the society to believe its own myths. Enticed by Julia Cherry Spruill's, Life and Work of Women in the Southern Colonies (1938) and Anne Firor Scott's, The Southern Lady From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1870 (1970) both of which explored the double standard applied to women in all arenas of life, Clinton was able to further define an often neglected, yet powerful source of influence. These authors provided insight on a segment of society which manipulated events in tenuous ways and which were seldom recorded in the male dominated history of the region. They added another dimension to the understanding of the area.

The comparative approach of Jane and William Pease, both in Ladies, Women and Wrenches (1990) and Web of Progress (1985) allowed an assessment of both regional differences and the effect of urbanization. One of their strongest premises focused on the concept that whatever their condition or role, women were still able to exercise a number of conscious choices. These choices directed their whole lives and often determined the lives of others.

It was the work of C. Vann Woodward (1980) that sought to document the influence of the South which emerged after the Reconstruction Period. He viewed the South as unique among the regions of the country and emphasized the importance of its "abrupt and drastic breaks in the continuity of its history". He identified the period from 1877-1913 as particularly traumatic in terms of social upheaval. This is the period when the stage was set for the provision of services to exceptional populations in the immediately succeeding years.

Woodward stated that by this very intensity of change, the "New Souths" which arose were quickly delegated to their places with the "Old Souths", and that the origins of the living institutions, with ties of continuity running back to the 1870s, were no longer apt. Woodward identified the difficulty as emanating from the fact that the "New South" was not "a geographic location such as New England", nor did it refer to a "precise or specific era" such as the "Confederacy". He declared it more closely resembled a "slogan" for those who were determined to seek the future as opposed to those who continued to revere the past. It emphasized a new nationalism and hoped for a more complete reunion with the rest of the country.

Woodward's definition of the "New South" included the original eleven former Confederate States and added Kentucky and Oklahoma to their number. He conceded that in some ways the "New South" made the region more distinctive than ever, especially politically, when it achieved a unity not possible before the Civil War. Economically, it retained its distinction for remaining lowest in the nation in per capita wealth, income and living standards.

Quoting Edwin M. Yoder Jr. of the Greensboro Daily News, George Brown Tindall (1967) in The Emergence of the New South: 1913-1945, noted that "the diagnosis of the 'emerging South' or the 'changing South' had become a flourishing minor industry". He argued that change had become a Southern way of life from 1913. Society, in the decades immediately preceding this period, experienced change in a steady and deliberate way in their every day lives, but they had not been constantly forced to make continual adjustments. This remained the case until after World War I when the pace quickened to such a degree, that even in the most remote pockets of the area, change became inescapable. The theme of "emergence" was the battle cry. Nationally and regionally, the area became more diversified and pluralistic. Some reacted defensively to this departure toward the new and unfamiliar, but others embraced the opportunity to escape the economic and cultural deprivation of the area.

A growing awareness of the deficiencies of the region led to the impulse to raise standards. This occurred on all fronts, not merely economic but cultural as well. All of these endeavors culminated in the growth of a critical attitude which helped to more clearly document contemporary problems.

The History of Education

Most information regarding the history of education has been concerned with those institutions found in the East. Easy access and better documentation have naturally focused attention on available materials, but interest in various subsets of the population have expanded this prospectus and led to the discovery of a vast amount of contributing information. Joel Spring (1987) represented a group of educational historians who viewed the public school system as an institution which reflected the social changes of an era.

In The American School 1642-1985, Spring presented the evolution of the modern school as a reflection of the social and political history of the American people. He cited the position of Ellwood Cubberly who viewed education as a struggle between good and evil. "Good" was represented by those who advocated public education while "evil" was representative of those who opposed it. Cubberly defended and advocated the expansion of the public school in American society. His opponents believed that the public school had been an instrument of control for the elite or ruling class for maintaining social and racial differences. They believed that the major interest of the school focused not on education as a search for truth but on education as an exercise in social control.

Both stances are represented throughout history and to understand the evolution of the American culture, its hopes and aspirations, it was necessary to explore its educational processes. The integration of the poor, minorities and immigrants in fulfilling the expectations of the society were aptly recorded within the history of the school. The reverse of the coin was similarly represented as

educational practices were designed, denied or designated to restrict the advancement of certain social groups and exert control of these populations. Spring, and a contingent of similarly minded historians, viewed the history of education as a struggle between those who sought to utilize the schools to dominate and perpetrate their own power and those who viewed it as a means of expanding freedom and improving social conditions.

Whichever view was advocated, neither existed in a vacuum. The very act of education was liberating, just as it was also restricting. Complete freedom posed the threat of chaos just as complete dominance threatened dismal repression. The process of education was dynamic and related to multiple social and political events and institutions. The public school system was neither a panacea for all social problems nor a mechanism for maintaining control. Spring, drawing upon the work of other historians, ably presented both views.

Glubok (1969) in Home and Child Life in Colonial Days concentrated her efforts less on the institutions of learning and more on the recipients of the effort. Her focus explored the lives of the youth who attended school in the colonial period. As Cash filled out the skeleton of Wallace's factual history, Glubok gave flesh to the school children of the early period of the country.

Throughout the various periods, the needs of the society changed. These needs were met or amended through educational facilities. These needs, in the beginning, were often place specific, but they came to represent a more unified experience as modern communications and transportation supported a more diverse yet intermingled society. While a number of authors illustrated these

various points, Spring presented an in-depth evaluation and analysis of the changing educational scene.

The history of education splintered as interest in specific aspects prompted not only chronological evaluation but racial and gender evaluation as well. The attempt to assess education in general required examination of specific components such as black education, women's education, higher education, church education as well as public education in different times and in different places. All of these interacted with each other, often reflecting a vested interest in their advocacy.

As the common school movement gained acceptance, a close affiliation between political and governmental agencies sparked interest in the control of these new potential sources of power. R. F. Butts (1955) chronicled the expansion of this interest in A Cultural History of Western Education: Its Social and Intellectual Foundations. Butts suggested that the success of the common school movement was based upon the acceptance of existing social and political structures. This purported that individual deviance or failure to conform to the dictates of society were the cause of societal problems. The common school movement was also used to serve the purpose of other segments of the population as they attempted to wrest some autonomy for themselves.

Education and educational institutions were often the breeding places for a number of new movements. Butts (1955) suggested that these movements influenced much of the foundation of 20th century American education. Life became viewed as the interaction between the culture and the individual.

Good (1962) in, A History of American Education extended the importance of this interaction to include the struggle for civil rights which dominated education from the 1950s.

While these events occurred throughout the country, Charleston was also undergoing various developments. South Carolina was unique, from its very inception, among the other colonies. Settled as a commercial venture, much of the persecution that haunted settlers to the other colonies, was absent. Unlike Virginia, similarly settled for profit, it was not a part of the "Cavalier" contingent. South Carolina was settled by ambitious and eager individuals looking to better their lot in life, and who were actively pursuing this desire in the most efficient way possible. They didn't, at least initially, reject their past. They wished to improve and extend their sphere of influence.

Doyle (1990) and Good (1962) both recorded the problems encountered as a result of the Civil War and Reconstruction. The problems surrounded education in general, but the question of education for blacks, and finally segregation, were overwhelming. Most black education in the post Civil War years was instigated and supported by the North, increasing native mistrust and suspicion.

Just as a "new" South movement was growing in the political arena, it was also being felt in education. Black education was viewed as important to economic growth but the white majority wanted to control and manipulate it. The extent and intensity of that education was hotly debated by both whites and blacks even after federal legislation forced integration of the schools. The Charleston County School District (1969) issued a report, Progress with Pride,

which documented the progress achieved after the consolidation of the city and county schools. This was undertaken at the suggestion of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to insure integrated schools, but it also served the purpose of improving schools and providing greater services. Some rejected this as giving into federal interference. A vocal minority led by Lawrence Rochsler and defended in his book, Educational Debacle in Charleston, South Carolina 1967-1970, made their fears and beliefs known, but time and legislation had already decreed the consolidation.

The Development of Special Education

Most writers of books on Special Education have made some attempt to develop the history of Special Education. While Gerheart (1980) noted in The Education of the Exceptional Child: History, Present Practices and Trends that special education as an organized and integrated program was very brief, he acknowledged that awareness of the special needs of the exceptional have been a source of consternation for a long period. The advent of the 20th century was often the time accepted by most educators as the beginning of special education.

The relationship between the exceptional classes provided in Charleston and those of other areas of the state, remain to be considered. The experiences of the exceptional in the 17th and 18th centuries contrasted greatly with those of the 19th and 20th centuries. These experiences were dependent upon a variety of factors including knowledge and attitudes regarding medicine, education, economics,

politics, society and religion. Experiences of exceptional people in other sections of the country were not investigated.

This study recorded the events which led to the initiation of the various services in Charleston provided before the federal government demanded them. Cleland and Swartz (1982), in Exceptionalities Through the Lifespan; Berdine and Blackhurst (1985), in An Introduction to Special Education; Smith, Price and Marsh (1982), in Mildly Handicapped Children and Adults; Reynolds and Birch (1982), in Teaching Exceptional Children in All America's Schools; Harding and MacCormack (1986) in Exceptional Children and Youth; and Kirk and Gallagher (1983), in Educating Exceptional Children were all examples of writers who sought to portray the historical significance of special education.

The history of the need for special services extended to the distant past and was recorded in works such as those of Harris and Weeks (1973), in X-raying the Pharaohs and Guerra (1971), in The Pre-Columbian Mind as well as in medical histories. Joseph I. Waring (1967), in his two volume opus on medicine in South Carolina, touched especially on the needs of the mentally retarded and the emotionally disturbed. His text was important for as much as it didn't say as for what it did relate. Waring in his work, A History of Medicine in South Carolina, painted a gloomy picture of medical life in the colony and later in the state. While probably no worse than in the rest of the country in the same time frame, South Carolina and Charleston had to cope with the vagaries of climate and terrain which contributed to illness and accident. Coupled with the elements were the difficulties arising from ignorance and poverty in an isolated, agricultural

setting. Illness, accident and malnourishment contributed to the need of special services throughout the settlement of the colony and this need did not abate.

Lloyd deMeuse (1974) in The History of Childhood attempted to understand the position of children and their relationship with those in authority by developing a framework he designated as "modes of behavior". By dividing the centuries of human history from antiquity to the middle of the 20th century he was able to provide a schema by which the care of children could be judged. As a psychohistorian, he chose to believe that the treatment of children represented a criticism of the society as it struggled to survive. Exceptional people were not selected as the target of his comments, rather, "normal" children were the focus of such care. The additional stress of providing for those who required extensive accommodations suggested that the exceptional faced far graver consequences.

While many people contributed to the establishment of the whole special education movement, a subtle change occurred as interest came to rely not simply on custodial care but on provision for the individual needs of the handicapped. Legislation contributed a great deal to the adequate provision of services. Numerous authors listed the bills and laws which impacted upon the handicapped and provided the protection and the pressure of the law.

Charleston, too, had a history of dealing with the exceptional. Harris (1981, 1985) attempted to document services for the mentally ill. A number of authors acknowledged the attempt to provide such services but few offered an explanation of why this need was so readily identified in Charleston. Harris (1985) in The Psychiatric Forum, provided insight into the facilities which were established for

the mentally ill. Pamphlets published and distributed by the state offered additional information on the School for the Deaf and Blind which served the state for many years. The adoption of state wide mental health facilities became important. Efforts were made to address the problems of those suffering from mental disorders by the establishment of satellite facilities in various communities.

Primary Sources on Special Services
for the Handicapped in Charleston

These sources consisted of a number of formal reports, notes, letters, journals and communications both within the school system and without. Many more however, consisted of informal memos, reminders and personal notations preserved in an unorganized manner in a variety of files. All were examined in the Charleston County School Archives. In addition to these sources, state and federal publications utilized by the educators and administrators during the time frame reviewed, were also scrutinized.

One of the most lasting impressions of the educational services provided for the handicapped in the period between 1900-1975, came from the dedication of those teachers and administrators who sought to address the needs of the handicapped in their system and to initiate services for them. At a time when Charleston represented an insignificant impact in the state, region and nation, a dedicated and far-sighted individual, A. Burnet Rhett, emerged to overcome his regional conservatism and introspection to reach out to serve more of his constituent school population. Although these services remained restricted to

white children, nevertheless, he identified the need and attempted to meet its challenge. He was able to rally to his cause a small, highly motivated, truly altruistic group of teachers and principals, who saw education as the most important factor in improving the lifestyle of the exceptional individual and for society in general.

A. Burnet Rhett, Sylvia Allen, Ida Colson and their colleagues formed a cohort of energy and enthusiasm which surveyed the services available in the country and attempted to establish them in Charleston. Abounding in dedication and interest, these individuals established the rudimentary forms of special education in the City of Charleston Public School System. They were among the earliest in the nation. In order to comprehend how these individuals might have emerged as leaders in such a movement, it is necessary to appreciate the nature of the place and the society that nurtured them. The development of Charleston provided that understanding.

CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHARLESTON

Overview

A short history of the setting and society of Charleston was a necessary prerequisite for understanding the evolution of educational services for the exceptional. Charleston's history has always been an intricate part of her present not merely from necessity or continuity but also out of preference. The city's ties to the past have given form to the present and are the foundation, still much intact of 20th century society.

Charleston was already 230 years old when the 20th century arrived and during that time had undergone a number of metamorphoses. She had arisen from a crude frontier settlement in the 17th century to the grande dame of the 18th. By the 20th century she had gradually assumed the role of an aging dowager more content to bask in her reflected glory than to adapt to new societal demands. Once the sentinel of the South, she lapsed into a somnolence which inhibited her development until well into the mid 1900s. The growth of the military presence, the port authority and tourism finally forced the city into renewed activity.

The Colonial Period

Charleston was established by the English as the successful colony of Charles Town, in 1670, after earlier aborted attempts at colonization by the Spanish and French (Wallace, 1951). King Charles II granted to eight of his most loyal supporters, to whom he was financially and politically indebted, a charter of ownership to a vast territory in the new world extending from the 31st to the 36th N latitudes and between the two oceans.

The names of these loyal supporters, who became the Lords Proprietors, are still prominent in the low country today. Names such as Clarendon, Albermarle, Craven, Berkeley, Ashley, Cooper, Carteret and Colleton remain as living testimony to the past.

The Lords Proprietors were Englishmen of ability and daring who sought to reap great wealth from their newly acquired grants, through a strictly commercial venture. With the exception of Virginia, this was in direct contrast to the settlement of most of the other fledgling colonies.

The band of adventurers, who set out to tame the wilderness in the name of the Proprietors, varied as greatly in their ambitions from the Puritans who had settled Plymouth in 1620, as did the lands they came to inhabit. These differences profoundly influenced each area accordingly, and many of their ramifications are still apparent.

The Proprietors had been empowered by the King to enact temporary laws for the settlement, and Lord Ashley directed his secretary, the philosopher, John Locke, to draw up a fundamental constitution as a model by which the settlers

could govern themselves. Although it was never legally accepted, it did establish orders of colonial rank and provided guidelines by which a constitution eventually emerged. From its inception, the colony defined itself in economic rather than religious terms thus attracting ambitious, independent men who were seeking financial security. The independent spirit of the colonists was manifest by 1683, and friction between the colony and the Proprietors steadily increased (Wallace, 1951).

The first thirty years were arduous, but the colony then began to thrive, especially with the aid provided from planters in the West Indies, particularly those of Barbados. The arrival of the French Huguenots from 1680 to 1695 brought skilled artisans and craftsmen, teachers and tradesmen who contributed greatly to the development of the community.

Freedom of worship had been authorized in the colony to encourage new settlers possessing desperately needed skills and trades even though the Anglican Church was understood to be the official church. The church directed and governed most of the educational and political practices of the ensuing period. It was from the Dissenters, however, that many of the colony's strongest early leaders and most stabilizing forces had emanated. The original tolerance which had been encouraged in the initial years of the colony paradoxically sharpened competition between the various factions and eventually acted as a diversifying and polarizing force in the community.

The white population had already settled itself roughly into three distinct areas. Berkeley, the Charles Town region, had become the bastion of the

Barbadian-Anglicans. Colleton, southwest of the Stono River, was settled mainly by the Dissenters and Craven County, to the north, became predominantly French Huguenot. The Barbadian-Anglican Church element emerged as the most successful of these groups both in terms of opposing the Proprietors and in acquiring benefits for themselves. They quickly accumulated the greatest proportion of wealth in the colony and the Barbadian contingent further strengthened their position with their superior knowledge and experience as veteran planters (Wallace, 1951).

While individualistic in spirit, a great number of the settlers were English by birth and as such they consequently sought to transplant much of the culture of their mother country to their new surroundings. However, they were also strongly tempered by dissatisfied English settlers in Barbados. Politically, all were schooled to a parliamentary form of government preferably administered by a landed class, and they desired to retain all the rights and privileges of such a government to themselves. Differences of opinion regarding proper alignment of allegiances encroached upon the settlement, and a less homogeneous society resulted from the conflict.

During the germinal years of the colony when common needs and interests plus the remoteness of England had fostered tolerance and minimized long standing antagonisms and sectarianism, strong factionalism was almost non-existent. But in 1703, the bigoted Anglican churchman, Governor Nathaniel Johnson, transformed a political quarrel over the navigation and trade acts into a religious one. The outcome of this was a law formally establishing the Anglican

Church as the state church to be supported at public expense. This consequently purged the legislature of those who were not active members of the church, most specifically the Dissenters. In 1711, the law was revised to establish the first free school in St. Michael's Parish House. The act distinguished between the Anglicans and the rest of the colonists endowing the former with privileges not accessible to the rest of the inhabitants (Wallace, 1951).

Not only the religious but the commercial base of the settlement had undergone dramatic change. Until 1685, the major exports of the colony had consisted of furs, hides, naval stores and timber. These were replaced by the introduction of rice cultivation. By 1700, three hundred tons of rice were being shipped to England and thirty tons to the West Indies. Production was further increased and two varieties were grown successfully creating wealth for those who grew it and firmly entrenching a plantation economy, culture and mind set (Wallace, 1951).

Prosperity flourished, but it was not without cost. The plantation system, similar to that in Barbados, spread throughout the region. The colonists had imported the institution of indenture from England and that of slavery from Barbados, and although both were known in all the other colonies, it was only in the South that slavery became accepted as the norm.

The superior quality of the rice, grown commercially for exportation, encouraged the plantation system and a labor intensive economy. These factors combined to necessitate a cheap, steady source of land and labor. The most conspicuous solution to this dilemma was employed; the massive subjugation of

the black man. These two elements: the plantation system and slavery, resulted in a unique culture in the south, further distancing the colony from the majority of its peers. The prime representative of the southern colonies was Charles Town, which became the seat and focal point of the plantation culture and society (Cash, 1941).

Slavery was immediately profitable partially because Charles Town, which received the greatest number of slaves, was geographically almost directly west of Africa and was the closest port to the West Indies. Also the black man, unlike the white indentured servant, could tolerate the marshes and endure the humid climate in forced labor better than either whites or Indians. Often coming from West Africa, the blacks were more valuable since many possessed herding and planting skills well suited to the new environment.

The immediate economic return served as a tentative explanation of slavery's popularity. This combined with expediency became a justification for its existence. At a later date, some would justify the situation on a basis of racial superiority. A precedent and pattern of life was established which ultimately became a burden and scourge to all participants.

Not only slavery but plague, pestilence, war and natural disaster were common occurrences in the low country. Even pirates plundered the shipping lanes of the colony, yet still it survived. The frontier was slowly pushed back, but the seat of wealth and power remained concentrated in Charles Town for some time (Wallace, 1951).

The grievances with the Lords Proprietors culminated in 1719, and the Carolinians, led by the Charlestonians, overthrew Proprietary rule. They became direct subjects of the Crown. The colonists believed that their Monarch was obliged to govern with the welfare of his subjects uppermost in mind. They strongly and stubbornly maintained that they were entitled to the same basic rights they would have enjoyed had they been living in England. It was this steadfast belief in their rights as Englishmen which overthrew the Proprietors and would a mere fifty-five years later result in their Declaration of Independence (Hewitt, N.D.).

As the 18th century progressed and the struggle for survival was a thing of the past, the able settler moved from frontiersman, to farmer, to planter. As such he sought to emulate the opulent lifestyle of the Barbadians and the English Lords. He built gracious homes both in town and on his plantations and decorated them with imported furnishings, silver, china and art from Europe and around the world. He developed a "noblesse oblige" attitude which depended upon his charity for its existence and nurtured in him a sense of ultimate authority and patronage. The planter "aristocracy" emerged. Each succeeding generation of this aristocracy developed a greater disdain for the practical aspects of life, considering these practicalities beneath their dignity and social standing. Factors, business representatives of the planters, executed much of the business of the plantations allowing the planter freedom to indulge in pursuits he considered more gentlemanly. Insulated and isolated on their rural fiefdoms, the planter

dominated society became full blown, transporting and importing the luxuries of their lifestyles (Wallace, 1951).

Not all of Southern society were members of this class. In general, the white population tended to fall into two classes: the gentry and the poor whites. The exception to this was Charles Town where an intermediate position comprised of artisans and merchants ultimately developed. Until the time of the Revolution it had not been uncommon to find a combination of planter and merchant, but from that period on contempt for trade resulted in these positions being filled mainly by Northerners and foreigners (Taylor, 1970). Little is known about the poor whites for they left few records. Olmstead (1860) observed that they lived mostly in "frame or log structures often without a window" and had little in the way of furnishings except for a few homemade things (Hudley, 1960). Besides the merchants and artisans who provided skilled crafts, most towns especially Charles Town, had a contingent of lawyers, doctors and ministers whose services brought them social rank and the dignity of their professions.

Charles Town by this time had already acquired the taste and reputation of a cultural and intellectual center. Transatlantic trade routes established with England and Europe accounted for more commerce than did coastal shipping (Wallace, 1951). Children were educated in England whenever possible and often whole planter families resided there while the young attended school (Spruill, 1938). Educational and cultural pursuits became the mark of a gentleman in the colony, and interest in intellectual ventures flourished in this class. This fostered a sophisticated and cosmopolitan life for the colony. As early as 1708, with the

population approximately only about 9,500 people, a library had been formed. By 1732, a printing press was established and during the same year, the first theatrical season was presented. The South Carolina Gazette was the first newspaper in the colony, and it began publishing in 1735.

By 1737, the boundary line between North and South Carolina, the only one not defined by a natural geographic barrier, was resolved. (It remains about the same today.) Thus the colony was acquiring a recognizable physical as well as a psychological dimension.

Manufacturing had never been encouraged in the province because England wanted a market for her manufactured goods. Finally, a wealthy and influential merchant class did arise but manufacturing remained deficit.

Social status changed as money reached the merchant class. Merchants attained desired social standing by marrying into the planter families, who by now had assumed and dominated the role of an aristocracy. Upon acquiring wealth, they bought up more lands when available and thus the two classes intermingled. Now, having achieved their desired status these merchants often relinquished their businesses to factors in favor of the planter role (Wallace, 1951). Politicians were usually from the planter class. Some were politicians first who aspired to become planters, some the reverse, but they controlled the political life of the colony.

This situation was largely confined to the low country. The rapid settlement of the back country between 1729 and 1750, gave rise to social and political differences between the rude society of the frontier and the more cultivated on the

coast. Differences of race, religion and politics combined with the lack of a judicial system and the isolation of this area, were an irritant between the two sections until well into the 19th century (Taylor, 1970).

Most of the blacks of the community were those held in bondage on the large plantations or on the smaller independent farms. There were a few blacks who had been given their freedom or bought it from their owners. These free men practiced a trade or farmed a small acreage of their own. Sometimes blacks themselves were slaveholders (Wallace, 1951).

Charles Town had developed into a thriving organized society but around 1739 it began to experience economic difficulties. The port was rapidly becoming one of the largest on the east coast, but imports far exceeded exports, creating a dangerous imbalance of trade. By this time, blacks outnumbered whites two to one, and the long dormant fear of insurrection was realized when a slave uprising occurred. The old slave code of 1670 was resurrected and revised. A new, more restrictive code appeared in 1740, but the slave trade had already been cut off temporarily by the prohibitive duties on the importation of slaves (Rogers, 1973).

After a devastating hurricane in 1752, Charles Town city officials began to fill in some of the low areas. A number of new building lots were acquired in this manner, and the town realized additional revenue. In this area alone, eleven hundred magnificent homes were built and furnished with beautiful and costly items. They were constructed in a style featuring balconies and piazzas often only one room wide to catch the ocean breezes, and they overlooked extensive private

gardens. Many of these represented the style which came to be known as the Charleston Single House (Hewitt, N.D.).

The lonesomeness of the country and the attractions of the city with its superior living conditions were skimming the surrounding countryside of its white inhabitants. They left their plantations and migrated semi-annually to their town houses in the city.

The Ashley and Cooper Rivers were now arrayed with plantations. They were reached by roads that were narrow and lined with live oak, pine and palmetto. Lanes, often a mile long and edged with trees, ended in a circular drive. This drive led to the main house which was always located on a river or marsh. Slave quarters, rows of small whitewashed cabins, stood forming an avenue down from the big house. Each unit usually had chickens, hogs and a small garden. On the other side of the big house stood the cook, smoke and store houses and at a short distance, a spring house where food was kept cool. It furnished both the family and their slaves with a water supply. An orchard provided fruits such as figs, oranges, pomegranates, apples and grapes which were eaten fresh and also used to make wines and preserves (Hewitt, N.D.).

In 1754, the young Eliza Pinckney successfully planted and harvested indigo seeds sent to her by her father in Barbados. She produced a crop comparable to the French dye, and the King paid a bounty on this product making many planters enormously wealthy. Indigo became the second largest profitable commodity and a staple crop of the area for many years. The Revolutionary War

destroyed the industry when there was no longer an available market for it in England.

The Revolutionary Period

The growth of the colony was phenomenal. It was considered by many as the most thriving and splendid in America. Numerous organizations such as the Charles Town Library Society and the Saint Cecilia Society were flourishing and both remain operational today (Wallace, 1951).

The thirteen colonies, South Carolina included, were more and more embroiled in squabbles over increased taxation. The British had won the Seven Years' War with France but at a very high cost, almost doubling their national debt. This led to a break in tradition when England decided to maintain a large army in North America to exercise strict control over their newly acquired western lands and to tax the colonies directly to help pay for the war.

In 1765, parliament passed the Stamp Act which levied taxes on a long list of commercial and legal documents, diplomas, pamphlets, newspapers, almanacs, dice and playing cards. Each item was required to have a stamp affixed to it to indicate that the tax had been paid. This appeared to the British to be an entirely logical, reasonable and acceptable way to pay for the expenses they had incurred. They felt that the Americans were being asked only to share in paying for a part of their own defense, especially in light of the fact they had been paying only minimal local taxes anyway. The Stamp Act would have doubled colonial taxes to about two shillings per person. Few other people in the world paid so little. The

British themselves paid the highest taxes in the world. The Act was "vigorously and violently" protested and Parliament was forced to repeal it. (McKay, Hill and Buckler, 1983)

The colonists viewed this attempt as a means to reassert British control and to limit the authority of the colonial legislatures. The colonies had slowly but surely evolved a people who considered themselves separate and distinct politically, if not culturally, from the home country. This breach caused splits in families and friends and between patriots and loyalists. (McKay, Hill and Buckler, 1983). This would be repeated in another war, the Civil War in 1861, which also managed to tear asunder the basic fabric of society.

By 1765, the settlement was spelling its name as one word: Charlestown. The inhabitants, however, called it Charleston. This spelling did not become official until 1783, after the British left the state.

Disputes over taxes and representation again surfaced in 1773. The British government allowed the East India Company to ship tea directly to its agents in the colonies, securing a virtual monopoly and effectively excluding colonial merchants from this lucrative business. It was resolved not to import or buy any tea taxed for raising a revenue in America. Similarly in Boston, colonists dressed as Indians, boarded the British ship "Dartmouth" in protest and threw its cargo into the harbor (The Boston Tea Party). England retaliated with the Coercive Acts which closed the port of Boston, Massachusetts objected and the other colonies joined in the outcry. The colonies teetered on the brink of war.

By 1773, the number of slaves in the Charleston vicinity had swollen to over 11,000. The white population, especially while residing on their isolated plantations, feared the blacks and lived in constant terror of an uprising, yet this did not alter their treatment of the slaves. It was becoming increasingly apparent however, that slavery was a costly proposition as compared to the labor for a fee that was contracted in the North. Ownership brought the responsibility of providing for vast numbers of people without regard for the success of a crop or the economic stability of the area.

To complicate matters, most blacks spoke little or no English when they first arrived in the colony. They picked up a language called "Gullah", a combination of African, West Indian and English, when they reached a plantation. Docile blacks were initiated into plantation life and routine. Resistant slaves were kept in confinement until it was safe to work them (Hewitt, N.D.).

Slaves were worked in gangs on the plantations with an overseer to supervise them or they were assigned a specific amount of work to complete. Once they finished their work they were allowed to till their own patch of garden. Most slaves became field hands but the more capable were trained for the house or as artisans. Older slaves were assigned lighter duties while old women, called "Grannies" (midwives) and "Dahs" (nursemaids) took care of all new babies and toddlers either for the mistress or for women field hands. Even young black children were used as runners and helpers and performed light work. Punishment usually required the approval of the master and whippings were administered along with brandings and other forms of mutilation. These were

usually last resorts for they often merely made unruly slaves incorrigible and could ruin their value. Those who misbehaved were more often put on short rations or punished in other ways if possible (Wallace, 1951). As a last resort, troublemakers could be sold.

All children of this period were strictly disciplined and severe punishment was not uncommon. The master was lord of his fiefdom and anybody defying his authority was held accountable. Actually, children in the colonial period were neglected and mistreated as often as they were punished. In the South this behavior was extended to the planter's slave family as well as to his immediate family. Some masters were very cruel and harsh but many were compassionate by the standards of the day. Strict discipline was the common practice of the time. The average slave adjusted to his environment and was accustomed to the climate. They provided the big house with game, fish and fowl. Sometimes they were allowed to sell their extra produce to obtain money for such personal luxuries as tobacco. Most planter families kept an Indian hunter on retainer as well to supplement meat supplies and provide game for the table (Wallace, 1951). The intelligent planter knew it was to his advantage to keep his slaves clean and healthy as they were his property as well as his responsibility. Above all else, they represented a large capital investment and were the key to his financial equilibrium.

House slaves fared better than field hands, but even they had to be trained and worked. In the average large household there was a butler and footman along with a valet and bodyguard for the master. Each female had a personal maid.

There were as many nurses as required for babies plus a coachman, grooms and stable boys. Also, there were numerous laundresses and extra help, depending upon the size of the family (Wallace, 1951). A tutor was hired to teach the young on most wealthy plantations and occasionally a few slaves were allowed to attend some of the classes, but in general, slaves were denied formal education.

House servants were considered socially superior to field hands and the majority of blacks working for the aristocrats felt superior to those they regarded as "poor white trash" or uncouth blacks. They were proud of their positions and snubbed anyone their owners snubbed. Their mistresses, although usually without formal education, were taught fine arts, music, needlepoint and all the graces deemed necessary in polite society.

The role of women was considerably complex. The mistresses were expected to appear demure and accomplished, they were fine ornaments to the plantation showcase. In reality, they were also expected to provide heirs, raise children and run large and complicated households. They were responsible for training household servants, running the dairy, supervision of the spinning, weaving and making of clothes, making of candles and soap and dispensing of supplies and medicines both to family and to the slaves. She was also responsible for ministering the sick and dying. These, along with a host of other mundane tasks, were necessary to the well-being of the plantation and which required, if not actual participation, at a minimum supervision. Often, when the men were away at war, traveling or participating in politics, the women were responsible for the running of the plantation itself, making decisions affecting the lives and

well-being of often hundreds of people. She accomplished this with a minimum of formal education. Most of her preparation for this gargantuan task was "on the job training" with tutelage from her mother, her sisters or other female relatives (Clinton, 1982).

In September, 1774, the First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia. Neither Britain nor the colonists would compromise and in April, 1775, the fighting broke out in Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts. The fighting spread and loyalties to the home country were replaced by loyalty to the colonies. South Carolina was now part of the Revolution. On July 4, 1776 the Second Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence. The South Carolina signers were Edward Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Jr., Thomas Heyward, Jr. and Arthur Middleton.

None of the other colonies had remained so tied to England as had South Carolina. Many Charleston merchants owed much of their wealth to trade in London. Thus, many Charlestonians were instinctively loyal to the British crown. This instinctive loyalty was eradicated when the government of King George III insisted upon greatly increasing taxes which threatened to cripple the colony's economy. This, coupled with the mistreatment of the colonists by the British commanders, facilitated South Carolina's participation in the Revolution (Wallace, 1951). The British invaded Charlestown on March 29, 1780. Clinton attacked the city by land and Arbuthnot by sea. The siege lasted until May 12, 1780. British troops were able to occupy Charlestown from May 12, 1780 to December 14, 1782. Francis Marion, "the Swamp Fox" and Thomas Sumter, "the Gamecock", waged a

guerilla war constantly harassing them. This impeded the British efforts to such a degree as to scatter their forces and render their attempts to control the countryside futile. Marion and Sumter were a decisive factor in the eventual defeat of the British. The city was under attack for 53 days; by the time it surrendered it was in complete disarray (Wallace, 1951).

Many changes took place during the occupation. Men who had never had a chance in the political arena assumed office and the same took place in the social world where they achieved prominence. A great deal of entertainment occurred between the British officers and Loyalists. Parties and balls, dear to the Charlestonian's heart, were given, and courting the British was acceptable behavior. The entire social and political structures had changed (Hewitt, N.D.).

The British withdrew from Charleston in December, 1782. The British forces bolstered with Loyalists and blacks, evacuated the area. In their wake, they left many problems. A great dilemma arose concerning the question of payment of debt to those leaving the city. Also, the newly appointed artisans, mechanics and merchants were reluctant to relinquish their recently acquired positions of authority. Now, too, the working class of the city wanted representation. Leaders were forced to consider the needs of these people especially with regard to "wages and hours" laws. One of the major grievances focused on slaves, who were offered for hire for less than whites could afford to work. This was also true of the indentured servants. Still other grievances concerned the imports which were flooding the country. Stores were inundated with foreign goods (Wallace, 1951).

While some of these difficulties were resolved, many remained and festered to erupt at a later time or to spawn related problems.

During the Revolution, plantations had been destroyed, fields ravaged, slaves run off and houses torched leaving the new state in dire financial straits. Later, after the adoption of the Constitution, Congress paid Charlestown for the debts incurred during the war, restoring her to good fiscal condition. Finally, in 1783, the city was incorporated, and the name officially became Charleston.

The Post Revolutionary Period

Many South Carolina statesmen participated in the creation of the Constitution of the United States. They were instrumental in the development of the political and economic system of the early republic (Wallace, 1951).

In 1783, the Treaty of Paris and a separate treaty with England were signed. It ceded all of the territory between the Appalachians to the Mississippi River in the west and Spanish Florida in the south to the Americans and recognized the independence of the thirteen colonies. (McKay, Hill and Buckler, 1983). This sparked disputes between England and Spain. As part of the settlement, America had received fishing rights in Newfoundland, a great coup for New England, but major problems concerning the distribution of lands, the Indians, the dealing with debtors and creditors, and the regulation of trade, had to be faced. The powers and weaknesses of government plus other controversial problems, such as the relationship of each state to the Union and to each other, demanded if not solution, grave consideration. Understandably, relations with Britain remained

strained. Many southern areas, including Charleston, wanted reimbursement for the 3,000 slaves taken out of the country during the war. The developing problems led the states to realize that the Constitution required amendment. In 1787, a Constitutional Convention addressed this task in Philadelphia. Forging a strong government was difficult and accomplished in great secrecy.

The argument relating to the slave trade was especially important to Charleston. The delegation from South Carolina insisted that this trade not encounter interference before 1808. Export taxes on tobacco, rice and cotton would be held at their existing levels, granting the South a great victory (Wallace, 1960). An audit in 1789, revealed that South Carolina's unsettled claims for supplies and military services were the heaviest of all the states. When Alexander Hamilton put forth a plan for the assumption of states' debts, South Carolina was vitally interested in its success (Wallace, 1951).

In Charleston friction between the artisan class and the planters increased and the upcountrymen were demanding a greater voice in government. The upcountry inhabitants insisted the capital be more centrally located in order to provide better access for all sections of the state. This was accomplished in 1790.

Congress met again in 1789 and added the Bill of Rights to the Constitution. The Constitution was based on a separation of powers, dividing the government into the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches, thus providing a checks and balances system. The country was to have a central government which controlled common problems while the states controlled themselves in local matters (Wallace, 1951).

Back in Charleston, politicians realized their long dominance was ending. A democratic movement against the old ruling class was stirring throughout the State but especially in Charleston. The more active of the masses in combination with the city merchants, joined forces with the back country farmers against the dominant and disdainful planters of the coast and obtained representation. The upcountry had already succeeded in rejecting the planter monopoly but it would be years before they could adequately execute a leadership role (Wallace, 1951).

This sectional struggle was in essence a class struggle, for the planter society dominated the low country and the small farmer dominated the back country. This class alignment developed into a political polarization and became a prime feature of South Carolina politics which continued well into the twentieth century. The leaders of the new Republican Party were largely from the wealthy planter class who had been ostracized when they defected. The Jeffersonian Movement which combined individual and states' rights, was a serious threat to the low country but the constitution of the state continued to favor wealth and conservatism until 1865 (Wallace, 1951).

The French Revolution began in 1789 and England declared war against France. The northern states were still furious at England because English trading posts remained in that region. The South was still angry because they had not been compensated for their slaves. Both sections resented England for inciting the Indians against them and the sympathies of the people were with the French (Hewitt, N.D.). Washington realized the country was too weak to become involved in another conflict so he sent John Jay to London as a Peace Officer. A

treaty was negotiated which pleased no one but was the best that could be achieved at the time (Wallace, 1951).

The Ante-Bellum Period

Shortly thereafter, in 1793 Eli Whitney, a Yankee visitor on a southern plantation, yielded to the request of his hostess to solve the problem of facilitating the effective separation of the cotton seed from the boll and invented the "cotton gin". This had previously been such a tedious process that the planting of cotton as a cash crop was greatly restricted (Wallace, 1951). This invention altered the face of the South and cotton subsequently controlled the entire area.

In 1795, a new method of rice cultivation was adopted which utilized the ebb and flow of the tides. This revolutionized the production of rice and opened to cultivation acres of barren, useless marshland (Wallace, 1951). These inventions provided the South with the opportunity of recovering the old ways of life lost in the Revolution and regain its wealthy past. The "gin" fostered the spread of the cotton culture to the midlands and uplands. A common bond between these two areas was forged for the first time in history. Cotton became "King" and replaced the bounties lost from the indigo culture. When the 19th century arrived, Charleston was the commercial, social and political center of the state even though the capital had, by then, been relocated at Columbia (Wallace, 1951).

Schools were established all over the state and farmers were encouraged to send their children. The low country aristocrats were determined to force education upon the upcountry if they insisted upon participating in the governing of the state. The upcountry acknowledged the validity of this need. For although

by now, the population of the middle and northern sections was fourteen times that of the low country population, these sections often lacked the political savvy necessary to counteract their more politically astute adversaries from the coast. Charlestonians claimed that they should exercise the greatest authority in the state since they paid the lion's share of the taxes. Majority rule became an issue not only in South Carolina but in the Union as well (Wallace, 1951).

Charlestonians were prominent in national as well as state politics. Charles Pinckney's name was suggested for President, in 1800, along with John Adams. Both were defeated by Thomas Jefferson, a Republican. Jefferson was popular with the frontiersmen, the workingmen and the farmers. He was a great supporter of agriculture and believed that manufacturing and industry would inhibit man's independence. He believed manufacturing forces represented majority rule and therefore, the repression of the individual.

For years the South had been forced to send its produce to northern manufacturing centers because it lacked the manufacturing capacity to process it. Southerners had to buy goods and borrow money from the North. The South was domestically weak and most commerce seemed to originate and terminate in New York (Wallace, 1951).

In the post Revolutionary days, the low country, which basically produced staple crops for export, suffered much more than did the upcountry with its self-sufficient agriculture. After a recovery period, the War of 1812 again raised havoc. South Carolina, strongly nationalistic, supported the federal government even when the embargo against goods shipped to England was ruining her

planters and merchants (Wallace, 1951). While the Industrial Revolution had been embraced by the North it had been rejected by the South, and manufacturing was not established in the Piedmont area until the second decade of the 19th century (Hewitt, N.D.).

Except for the brief period during the War of 1812 with Great Britain, South Carolina and the other southern states had been unaffected by such events in Europe as the French Revolution (1789-1799), but she did share the burdens, especially the financial ones, of the emerging nation. With the surge of cotton exports, the area recovered much of its past prosperity, but while the Industrial Revolution was making strides in the northern states, South Carolina stubbornly continued to resist industrialization. The civilized world was becoming increasingly vehement in its anti-slavery position which further alienated the South (Wallace, 1951). Britain had already abolished slavery at home and it was regarded by many as an ugly anachronism. Pressure was applied on the South to annul this practice.

By 1807, John C. Calhoun had gained political recognition. He had rebuked the proposals of the Northern manufacturing states to levy taxes on manufactured imports. With a devastating analysis of the evils of the industrialized world, he rebuffed this threat to South Carolina's economy.

President Monroe took office in 1817, and was partial to Charleston. He tried to place prominent Charleston politicians in his cabinet in order to appease the South.

In 1819, Missouri requested admission to the Union, but the slavery issue created a challenge to congressional authority to forbid slaves from entering Missouri. Maine helped diffuse this issue, and the matter was resolved when she applied for admission concurrently. The Missouri Compromise was approved and provided that an equal number of slave and free states would be admitted to the Union.

Ironically, the North needed the slaves as much as the South in order to provide raw cotton for the northern mills. In actuality, the free blacks in the North were no better assimilated into the mainstream of society than they were in the South. The slave in the South had, at least, a certain perverse kind of security. For regardless of the quality of his work or his master's success or failure, he or she received food, shelter and clothing. The specter of being sold, separated from family and friends and restricted in their activities however, constantly loomed over them. In the North, both white and black alike, had little or no security and their working conditions were sometimes equally unbearable, although for different reasons. Children in the North were also put to work, as early as the age of six, in unsanitary, unhealthy factories. Whole families often had to work fifteen hours a day and were required to buy all their supplies from a company store. Consequently, the family remained in perpetual debt to their employers which became an insidious form of economic bondage. No other way of life was available to them.

War was inevitable. The division between the North and South widened. The South believed they couldn't survive without their slaves. As they depleted their

lands, they moved to more fertile ones and acquired more slaves to clear and work these new lands. They made little effort to encourage or promote manufacturing and industry, much to their undoing when the war finally came. This was a major contributing factor in their defeat. They were willing and desirous of importing all their necessities and reserving all their resources for agriculture. They were as much in bondage because of their inflexibility and their lifestyles as were their slaves (Hewitt, N.D.).

In 1820, a mass emigration occurred from South Carolina to Alabama, Mississippi and Texas. The United States began to realize the necessity for territorial expansion for its own preservation and prosperity. The South needed the new lands. The emigres took with them the system of exporting slave-cultivated cotton and rice as well as their reliance on imported manufactured goods. Gradually, a coalition of the southern states formed. This coalition was fostered by a number of factors. Foremost among these was the skill of South Carolina leaders in convincing their constituents of their common cause. Coupled with this, was the colonization of a homogeneous group of settlers in the new territories. The desire of the Mid-Atlantic industrials to levy taxes on foreign goods in order to penalize foreign competitors plus the growing rejection of slavery by those who hadn't owned slaves or were not indebted to those who did, tended to cement the coalition. South Carolina eagerly accepted its leadership (Wallace, 1951).

There were many people in the state who never owned slaves and even a small minority who opposed secession from the Union. Many resented being

excluded from the modern way of life that they envisioned approaching. Nevertheless, the overwhelming southern fear of blacks united most white Southerners in defense of slavery (Wallace, 1951).

Daily life had continued largely unaltered during this period between the two Civil Wars: the War of Independence to the War Between the States. Arts and architecture had flourished. In the South, there had developed a unique appreciation of the rural and agricultural life as expressed by such writers as William Grayson and William Gilmore Simms. As a consequence of the restored prosperity a number of churches and public buildings were constructed and once again Charleston flourished due to the booming economy.

Charleston and the state of South Carolina made progress during these Antebellum years. But, even with a renewed spirit of nationalism, the problems were inevitable and accelerated. Cotton production resulted in an economy based on a single crop. By 1820, Charleston was exporting more cotton and rice, as well as other domestic products, than any other port in the Union. This improved economy had precipitated another building frenzy and Charleston realized, somewhat belatedly, that adequate transportation was necessary for the movement of raw cotton and other commodities onto the wharves in Charleston. Finally, money was appropriated to accomplish this feat (Wallace, 1951).

Soon, another long dreaded calamity befell the city. Blacks, now 58% of the population, rose in rebellion against the whites. It was claimed that a free black, Denmark Vesey, incited the group. Informers warned the whites of the planned

assault, and the blacks were subdued. New, stricter laws for the control of slaves were enacted (Wallace, 1951).

Although Calhoun had favored the tariffs in 1824, he and his supporters now fought for lowering these taxes on the South, claiming it would ruin them. When he realized he couldn't stop this law, he claimed it was an infringement on states' rights. When Andrew Jackson was elected President in 1829, the South was elated. The South anticipated he would correct this tariff situation especially since he had been born in South Carolina. Instead, he backed Congress and threatened to send troops into Charleston if South Carolina didn't comply (Wallace, 1951).

It was in this year that Charles Pinckney and Robert Hayne, respected members of the establishment, appealed to Charleston churches to organize missions to provide religious training for the slaves. This was successfully accomplished, and about fifty thousand people received instruction because of these men (Wallace, 1951).

Charleston continued to exert great influence over the rest of the South. The wealth and culture based on the rice, indigo and cotton production had spread from its origin on the peninsula throughout the south and the southwest but when Calhoun called for a Nullification Convention in 1832, he did not receive the support of the rest of the southern states that he had anticipated. South Carolina was left to stand alone. Henry Clay formulated a Compromise Tariff Act the same year to prevent the President from sending troops into the city. This appeased both parties for the interim but Calhoun knew this was only a stopgap measure and would not be permanent (Wallace, 1951).

Tariffs had continued to rise to a meteoric 75 percent increase which was potentially ruinous to the state. Calhoun, and his South Carolina delegates in Congress, battled against the northern manufacturers who controlled the government. The South Carolinians declared the Act unconstitutional.

Despite the adoption of the Compromise Act, many of the Nullifiers had remained active. Others however, in opposition to this stance, believed that one state should not have the power to dictate to the whole nation or even to the South. Charleston was split over the issue. These issues became more involved as tensions increased over the perceived unfair treatment the South was experiencing at the hands of the North. As new territories attempted to join the Union they were forced to decide if they would be slave or free states. The South felt this should be left up to the individual to decide. They maintained that if a planter sought to move his family into a new territory, he should have the option to take his slaves with him. The Missouri Compromise, in 1820, had delayed the inevitable, but the seeds of secession had been sown when Calhoun warned Congress that they had ignored states' rights and if the trend continued, South Carolina and the South had the right to secede from the Union (Wallace, 1951).

As stated earlier the need for transportation was apparent even to the most conservative and in response to these needs the first railroad in America and the longest in the world, 136 miles, was built in 1833. It ran from Charleston to Hamburg, South Carolina to Augusta, Georgia. It could travel 20 mph and carried about 20 passengers, along with produce and mail. It survived only a year when the locomotive exploded, and it was never replaced. Many years

elapsed before a turnpike was built to replace the railroad, so the problem of lack of sufficient transportation remained, but more importantly the lack of commitment to modernization continued (Hewitt, N.D.).

Steamboats were now plying much of the waters in the United States. They moved along the coast and even to Europe. Charleston became a stopover for many of these boats. The economy all over the United States was improving, even in the South and in spite of the high tariff (Wallace, 1951).

Talk of Carolina's secession from the Union caused quite a stir in the whole country, and antagonism was ignited over the issue of so small a state being capable of breaking up the whole Union. Jackson regarded this as treasonable and declared by law that South Carolina did not have the right to secede. Jackson was reelected confirming his popularity in all parts of the nation. Calhoun's health weakened. He was considered one of the most outstanding congressmen in the country. Only he could stand up to speakers such as Daniel Webster and Henry Clay who opposed him on nearly every issue. He was against the dissolution of the Union, but he wanted an amendment to the Constitution to satisfy the South that states would have the right to decide whether they would be free or slave and that Congress did not have the power to direct state affairs (Wallace, 1951).

Martin van Buren, a staunch Democrat, was elected president in 1837 while the whole country moved into a depression. He was followed by Harrison, who lived a year in office and who was succeeded by his vice president, John Tyler. Tyler was sympathetic to the South. As tariffs continued to rise, the price of

cotton declined and debate over whether Texas should be admitted as a free or slave state was adamantly contested. It entered as a slave state (Wallace, 1951).

James Polk assumed the office of president in 1844. Anxious to acquire the California and New Mexico areas he sent a delegation to Mexico with an offer to buy this territory. Upon refusal, he sent Zachary Taylor into Texas to settle the dispute over boundary lines. War was declared and after three years Mexico City was captured. California and New Mexico were added to the Union. Congress paid \$15,000,000 to Mexico for these territories and assumed the Mexican debts owed to Americans. South Carolina remained agitated with this federal policy (Wallace, 1951).

In the interim, while national tensions mounted, development along the Ashley and Cooper Rivers as well as on the waterfront lots in the port city progressed and much prosperity was in evidence. The South Carolina Agricultural Society was formed in 1845 to encourage growth of productive crops in the state (Hewitt, N.D.). The rhythm of life in Charleston proceeded as usual.

In 1848, Abraham Lincoln, from Illinois, had been a great admirer of Calhoun. In 1858, he even made a speech expressing his views of slavery which complemented those of Calhoun. He altered these views on the subject once he became President. Calhoun continued to fight in Congress for his beliefs in states' rights and for the right of South Carolina to secede, until his death in 1850. He died knowing that civil war was eminent. The political leaders in this time of crisis, just before the Civil War, were involved in an emotional dilemma involving principle and justice. Sound judgment eluded both sides. The question of slavery

in new territories was an academic one since from the onset much of the new ground was unfit for slaves to work (Wallace, 1951).

When Calhoun died he had believed he had fought for the Constitution and the principles it embodied. He had believed if the Constitution were destroyed the Union would be destroyed (Wallace, 1951).

The Civil War Period

Problems continued to arise. There was a bloody revolution in Kansas over slavery and in 1856, John Brown, a frenzied abolitionist, brutally murdered five innocent men at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. The North sympathized with him and, after his death by hanging, made him a folk hero. They used the incident as a rallying point for the abolitionists and as a condemnation of the culture of the South.

South Carolina, from its very beginning, had held chivalry as an important ritual in its cultural life. A cult of honor had grown as had the colony. Now with increasing tensions, a slight to one's honor, real or imagined was a serious threat and often provoked a challenge which was readily accepted. Duels were the means by which men of the South believed they proved their honesty and integrity. This manner of solving problems continued until it was outlawed after the Civil War (Wallace, 1951).

The tensions of the period were reflected and men were easily insulted and quick to take issue or accept a challenge. Tempers were easily aroused. The thin

vener of gentility was quickly stripped and men reverted to the outspoken unrestrained frontiersmen latent within the planter society (Cash, 1941).

In a dispute in Congress when absent South Carolina Congressman Andrew P. Butler was insulted, his nephew, Preston Brooks, thinking to protect his family name, attacked fellow Congressman Charles Sumner. This further antagonized the Northerners, who didn't comprehend what the confrontation represented (Wallace, 1951). After Calhoun died and was buried in St. Philip's Church in Charleston, he assumed the status of a hero of gigantic proportion to the south and became the focus of their cause (Hewitt, N.D.).

On May 5, 1851, a group met in Charleston to discuss the issue of secession. They needed other states to band with them against the government. Unsure of mutual support, secession was postponed for awhile. Meanwhile, as this was occupying much of the attention in Charleston, the rest of the country focused on the Gold Rush which had begun in 1849 in California and continued.

Both California and New Mexico had been admitted to the Union as free states. South Carolina claimed that only one fourth of the new lands were being admitted as slave states and this created an imbalance in power. The South vehemently insisted that slavery was necessary for the production of rice and cotton in the south and western states. South Carolina's senators continued the fight citing the need for equality between the North and South as the rationale for their demands. Calhoun had argued that the North's stance against slavery was merely a ploy to acquire political power over the South. He had believed that freeing the slaves would only shift the responsibility for them to the community

instead of its remaining with the individual. Even churches throughout the country, predominantly the Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians, were splitting over the slavery issue, creating Southern branches, which could accommodate slavery (Wallace, 1951).

In 1850, a concession to industrialization was made and a cotton factory was built finally in Graniteville, South Carolina where cotton production was intense. Rice and cotton were still the money crops of the South and particularly in the Charleston vicinity.

By November 1856, men had gathered in Charleston to determine the course of action to follow if Abraham Lincoln were elected president. Governor Gist declared the state should be prepared for emergency action. He had avowed that secession would be the first order. The state militia was reorganized and a call for 10,000 volunteers for service was issued. Every man between 18 and 45 was to be armed. Many federal officials from the State were instructed to resign their positions if Lincoln won and to return home to help fight the aggression of the United States (Wallace, 1951).

The Democratic Party met in Charleston in April and the party split into northern and southern factions which allowed Lincoln to win the ensuing election (Wallace, 1951). In 1860, the representatives from the state of South Carolina assembled and voted to secede from the Union. The members signed the Ordinance of Secession (Wallace, 1951). Before leaving Washington, pledges were made on both sides not to molest United States properties in Charleston or to reinforce them, a pledge eventually broken (Wallace, 1951).

Six states joined South Carolina. They were Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas and Mississippi. They met in Montgomery, Alabama to establish the Confederate Free States of the South. Jefferson Davis, a senator from Mississippi, was elected president of the new independent states. North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and Arkansas joined the Confederacy after Lincoln took office in 1861. At this point Lincoln sent troops south to stop the rebellion (Hewitt, N.D.). A Union ship sailed into Charleston harbor and a shell was fired, the first one in the horrific War Between the States. The act was considered the beginning of that war. General Pierce Beauregard was sent to take over the defense of Charleston in 1861. He awaited attack from the sea. The Union troops were repelled and Fort Sumter surrendered to the Confederates. In December of the same year, a conflagration broke out and swept over the city from the Cooper to the Ashley Rivers. The men were away at war and the remaining population could do little to contain the flames (Hewitt, N.D.).

Lincoln, before he became president, did not try to interfere in the slavery debate, but once in office his policies changed radically. He wanted to abolish slavery in all the states and forbid the secession of any state from the Union on only its own vote. He had carried out his threat to declare war to defend his position. Two thousand troops landed at Port Royal in November, 1861. A blockade prevented Charleston from receiving goods and supplies. The practice of privateering and smuggling became an important necessity and lifeline to the city (Wallace, 1951).

The Emancipation Proclamation was issued in 1863, freeing all slaves in the states that were at war against the Union, in effect, destroying planter property. The South feared a slave uprising but most blacks remained with their families until the Union armies came. It was then that they left their owners. Union General William T. Sherman, established his headquarters on Hilton Head Island. General I.I. Stevens attempted to save all valuables for the inhabitants but he was overruled by Sherman and the United States Treasury agents who were determined to bring in revenue for the Union treasury (Wallace, 1951).

Lee ordered all plantations to destroy any valuables that could benefit the North. As the Union army advanced homes and farms were deserted and the produce was destroyed. Twenty-five Union ships were sent to Charleston harbor loaded with stones. These were to be sunk to block shipping. This was considered unethical in wartime but, to the disappointment of the Union, the harbor was actually cut deeper by the large stones and the swift current swept away most of the debris (Wallace, 1951). General Sherman gathered all of the black slaves in the area of Hilton Head and immediately set them to work on farms to provide food for themselves. Unaccustomed to freedom and without supervision they proved irresponsible and unreliable. The Union men looted the plantations of all the valuables then turned the plantations over to the blacks to further loot and destroy. They tried to get the blacks to join them in their assault on James Island but most were too frightened to do so and fled to the woods to hide. In the meantime, the south lost New Orleans in a naval battle (Hewitt, N.D.).

In 1863, Beauregard returned to Charleston and reinforced the forts. These were the main defense of the city in case of invasion. The Union strategy was to invade the neighboring lands and waters of the port city and capture Fort Sumter. The Union army and navy left Savannah and slowly approached the Edisto and Stono rivers. They planned to move into the Folly Beach area onto Morris Island (Wallace, 1951).

On April 7, 1863, the new "Ironsides" and many Union ships passed over the bar to the southern end of Morris Island. Nine men-o-war readied to attack, while still others remained outside the bar in case they were needed later in the siege. The battle began in the afternoon and continued for two hours. The city watched from every rooftop. Many federal ships took direct hits and one was sunk. At four o'clock the ships retreated and the city again was spared (Hewitt, N.D.).

The next attack on the city came in July. The Union War Department had decided that Fort Sumter was the key to capturing Charleston. Federal troops took Morris Island and then Fort Wagner. Fort Sumter was under heavy fire. The Union troops threatened to turn their guns on the city but the fort did not surrender. The war raged in the harbor for seventeen months. Both the fort and Charleston suffered greatly. At this time the first submersible ship (submarine) was invented to attack the Union ships (Hewitt, N.D.). Charleston had been under siege since August 1863 and all government officers and inhabitants had been moved to the present Calhoun Street, out of the direct line of battle (Hewitt, N.D.).

By 1865, Mississippi was lost, Atlanta burned and Savannah captured. Sherman marched through Georgia to South Carolina. After 567 days Fort Sumter was evacuated and Confederate troops removed all residents from the city. On February 18th, Union troops entered Charleston singing "John Brown's Body." Looting, rioting and destruction continued until martial law was declared (Hewitt, N.D.).

Sherman's march cleared a path forty to fifty miles wide as his troops marched two hundred miles through South Carolina. He marched up the Ashley River Road leaving only Drayton Hall as a smallpox hospital, Jeny's House and Archdale Hall standing. The rest were set aflame and left in ashes. Many were left homeless and destitute (Hewitt, N.D.).

The Confederacy fell in 1865. Lincoln was assassinated at the Ford Theatre in Washington, D.C. on April 14, 1865 by John Wilkes Booth, a crazed supporter of the South. He died the next day. Following the war, the white population of South Carolina was 201,000. Sixty-three thousand soldiers had been enlisted. Out of that number 25% were killed. The destruction of the plantations was indeed a great loss to the state along with the loss of men, other property and the annihilation of the existing economic structure (Wallace, 1951).

Returning soldiers found desolation. Starving and homeless families were everywhere and many family members were dead. Multitudes of wealthy, educated Charlestonians were reduced to hard labor. Those, too proud to beg or accept charity, went hungry or starved to death. Plantations were leveled with no money or labor to repair the damage. Families were forced to sell off all their

possessions to provide necessities for existence. Citizens were left homeless and helpless, humbled and humiliated (Hewitt, N.D.). The Civil War represented one of the darkest periods in the history of our country. Emotionally, physically, psychologically, economically, militarily, whatever dimension chosen, all was devastation but none was so complete as that of South Carolina, and especially Charleston.

The Reconstruction Period

Capable leaders were forced to sit back and watch helplessly as unscrupulous scalawags, carpetbaggers and ignorant blacks took over the running of the government. From 1868 to 1876 taxes soared, state debt rose, administrators squandered money extravagantly and wantonly. Problems of racial strife, the rebuilding of homes and communities, payment of pensions to northern soldiers, as well as their own war debts, were overwhelming. A way of life had evaporated and disappeared forever (Wallace, 1951).

The South lost 258,000 men and 100,000 were wounded. Four million dollars were lost in slaves. No realistic price tag could ever be assigned to the losses suffered by the South (Wallace, 1951).

The Radical Congress entertained no thought of accepting Lincoln's, nor newly elected President Johnson's, reconstruction plans. Those plans urged universal acceptance of the South after it swore an oath of loyalty to the United States Government. These radicals declared that any plans of this scope must be determined by Congress not the President. They considered the South a

conquered province and the Union dissolved. They wanted to punish the South and in particularly proud Charleston which they declared was the "small, rebellious city-state where secession had originated" (Hewitt, N.D.).

Bitterness, hate and frustration were the earmarks of the Reconstruction Era in South Carolina. The Congressional Republicans forced stringent measures upon the area. This was a departure from the moderate plans favored by Lincoln and Johnson for the restoration of the South to its original status in the Union. Congress wanted to disenfranchise the Confederate leadership as well as guarantee civil rights for blacks. Johnson was nearly impeached in this matter for his views advocating leniency (Wallace, 1951). These actions which culminated in violence and lawlessness characterized Southern white resistance and led to the overthrow of the Reconstruction government. (Franklin, 1961)

The Freedman's Bureau was established in 1865 to liberate all slaves and help them become full fledged citizens. When Congress heard that the South was setting up living codes for blacks, they passed the Civil Rights Act to grant blacks complete citizenship. Congress passed the 14th amendment in 1866 to insure this plan and adopted it in 1868. President Johnson declared that this violated states' rights but Congress ignored him completely and overrode his veto (Franklin, 1961). The southern states were divided and controlled during the Union occupation through the establishment of military districts. In order to lift this status, the conquered state had to propose a new government which was acceptable to Congress (Wallace, 1951).

In December, 1866, \$10,000 was appropriated by the state to encourage European immigration. The purpose of this strategy was to develop the resources of the state while at the same time reducing the black majority. Although the Civil War had united the classes as never before, this measure was opposed by both the poor whites, who feared the competition, as well as the blacks (Wallace, 1951). New prosperity for the Charleston area and an increase in land values was the result of the discovery of phosphates in 1867, restoring many fortunes with this unanticipated boon.

In January 1868, a convention was held to formulate a new state government in Charleston. They adopted a constitution patterned on northern states. Sixty-seven blacks and 48 whites were present. This convention lasted for 53 days with Charleston kept under strict military law (Wallace, 1951).

This same year the "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" was formed in Tennessee. It was a secret society, supposedly organized to oppose black power and carpetbaggers who were making life unbearable in the South. It spread under various guises throughout the South to terrorize the blacks of the area (Wallace, 1951).

The Union League, which encouraged the doctrine of political and social equality of whites and blacks, as well as the Freedmen's Bureau, was viewed as special enemies. All semblance of political and economic stability was systematically destroyed (Wallace, 1951).

In 1870, to encourage industrialization the Radical Legislature exempted all cotton and woolen manufacturers from state and local taxes. This was further

liberalized in 1873 to encourage manufacturing, and factories were granted exemption from all taxes for ten years except for the two mills school tax on capital invested since January 1, 1872. The State's total manufacturing capital invested in 1860 was \$6,931,756. In 1870, this capital had eroded to \$5,400,418, but by 1880, the trend had reversed and it rapidly climbed to \$11,205,984. The largest cotton crop since 1861 was produced in 1879 (Wallace, 1951).

In 1871, South Carolina followed the lead of other southern states and enacted Ku Klux Klan laws to combat the counter-reconstruction efforts. (Franklin, 1961) The Third Enforcement Act passed in 1871 and became known as the Ku Klux Klan Act. It declared that "the activity of unlawful combinations constituted a rebellion against the government of the United States". It allowed then President Grant, to "suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus and proclaim martial laws" in the areas where such combinations existed. In South Carolina federal troops were used to make arrests and enforce the law (Wallace, 1951).

Congress passed a resolution establishing a joint committee of 21 members to "inquire into the conditions of the late insurrectionary states". People from all segments of the population were interviewed. The majority report, written by the Republicans, recommended continued protective measures to enforce federal laws until "no further doubt of the conspiracy remained" (Wallace, 1951).

The counter revolution became an overwhelming success. The 14th and 15th Amendments did little to protect the blacks or their sympathizers. The federal government more and more left the South to herself. Utilizing political pressure, economic sanctions and violence, the former Confederates resumed their previous

leadership and destroyed the radical Reconstruction movement very rapidly (Wallace, 1951).

Eight years later, in 1876, General Wade Hampton became governor with the aid of the red shirts (members of rifle and sabre clubs, who kept down disorder and defended white interests against the black militia). Under his leadership Charleston and South Carolina slowly rose again but was never to achieve the great power it wielded before the war. All they could do was bide their time, attempt to rebuild and hope for the best (Wallace, 1951).

The Compromise Bill of 1878 became the turning point for Charleston. The Southern Democratic party was persuaded to support Rutherford B. Hayes for president in return for his promise to appoint a southerner to his Cabinet, to revoke military government and to complete Lincoln's initial Reconstruction Plan (Wallace, 1951).

The war had resulted in many significant consequences. One of the most extensive of these was the new type of democracy which had evolved. The democracy which had once been based on worth vanished and was replaced by one based on the consensus of the majority. Once accomplished, this would not and could not be undone. The proud state sank into political oblivion. The very essence of her superiority, the factors which accounted for her leadership of the South, was destroyed (Wallace, 1951).

As late as 1879, Charleston had still not rebuilt the heart of the city which had been burned during the War (Wallace, 1960). Finally, after the election of 1880, an industrial revolution occurred in the state. A depression ended in 1879 and

capital from England and the North sought investment opportunity in South Carolina. Both whites and blacks represented to these investors an expanding market and a source of cheap labor to be exploited for a large profit. Surviving yet another depression in the final decade of the nineteenth century, a "New South" began to emerge (Woodard, 1980).

The Retrenchment Period

In 1885, Benjamin Ryan Tillman became prominent for a speech he delivered at Bennettsville on behalf of the plight of farmers before the state grange and the State Agricultural and Mechanical Society. Tillman called for a convention of the Farmer's Movement. Also, by 1892, the legislature limited the hours of work in cotton and woolen mills, which had slowly made their appearance in the state, to 66 hours a week or 11 hours a day (Wallace, 1951).

One of the lasting effects of Reconstruction was the solidifying of the politics of the whites. The memory of black rule and the threat of shared power with the blacks, forged an intolerance for anything except the organized white party. Fraud was used as a vehicle to overcome the blacks and ultimately became used by whites against whites, demoralizing the public and allowing Tillmanism and later Bleasism to thrive. Wallace, (1951) notes that these movements, however, did not create the ignorance and poverty which constituted a major portion of their following, but rather they revealed them.

The partial subordination of the blacks and the threat they represented by 1890, at last revealed the state for what it was: "a divided, conflicting and potentially class wrecked society" (Wallace, 1951).

The Tillman movement was more than simply agrarian reform. It represented the undercurrent of democracy as it worked its way into the forefront of the political arena. It was the proclamation of the common man as the movement sought to assume control. The only segments of the population not represented were the tenant farmer and the few factory operatives who were beginning to appear in the state. The movement degenerated and prejudice and class antagonism became the driving force in South Carolina politics. These events occurred because of a number of reasons not the least of which were the heavily mortgaged farms, the low price for cotton, (the lowest in history) and the appalling amount of illiteracy. Often crops were picked and were sent directly to the lien merchant, because of the lack of a fair credit system.

In 1894 during the presidency of Grover Cleveland, the newspaper media focused attention on the South. Cleveland came to the region to hunt and many of the wealthy of the northeast and midwest followed suit. Interest in South Carolina as a hunting preserve and as a good wintering place grew with much attention focused on the countryside (Hewitt, N.D.).

Politically, Tillman gradually lost control of his dictatorship in the state after his election to the United States Senate. He had entered the Senate on March 4, 1895, where he served until his death on July 3, 1918 (Wallace, 1951). On February 19, 1898 segregation was given official sanction when the supreme court

ruled on the case of Plessey v. Ferguson that separate coaches for blacks and whites on trains were legal (Hewitt, N.D.).

The "New South" Period

During the last twenty years of the century a new middle class had risen to prominence, and power had passed from the hands of the landowners to those of manufacturers and merchants. The new middle class was rising. It drew what it could, partially from the old planter aristocracy, partially from the elite mercantile class, but it was essentially the same new class arising throughout the rest of the country and was establishing itself in Charleston (Woodward, 1980).

The masses learned well the extent of their power. Charleston's politics reached an incredibly low level and the Reform party had lost its momentum by the 1900's. By this time changes were beginning to appear. Tenant farmers were more closely supervised and progress was achieved in meeting the needs for education, diversification in the workplace and initiation of a better credit system. Charleston sought to reestablish her importance as a seaport and the Southern Railroad leased the defunct South Carolina Railroad allowing better access to the interior of the State into Ohio and down to the Gulf.

In 1915, the State adopted prohibition before the rest of the nation. The period was distinguished by "humane, educational and progressive" movements that increased until after World War I. Politics, however, remained unstable (Wallace, 1951). From September 20 to October 2, 1900, race riots broke out in Georgetown and ended the Reconstruction system of dividing political officers

between blacks and whites (Wallace, 1951). On February 22, 1902 on the floor of the United States Senate, Tillman physically attacked the moderate and progressive Senator John McLaurin, who had been successful in securing favors for South Carolina from the Federalist government. McLaurin was eventually defeated before he could bring South Carolina back into the mainstream of national politics (Wallace, 1951).

Educational progress was made in 1907 when an act was passed to provide high schools for the state. In 1908, Ellison Durant (Cotton Ed) Smith took his seat in the U. S. Senate where he remained, almost until the day he died, in 1944. He got his nickname because he was so specifically identified with the representation of agriculture (Wallace, 1951).

Back in August, 1886, an earthquake in Charleston had killed ninety-four people. Then in August, 1911 another natural disaster, this time a hurricane, wiped out the southeast's attempts to grow rice commercially in the area.

In 1910 and again in 1912, Coleman L. (Coley) Blease was elected governor on a platform of extreme racism and disgust with the white gentry. He later became the leader of the movement earlier lead by Tillman. Blease opposed compulsory education, the use of white tax monies to support black schools and any further child labor laws restricting the work force. He urged the registration of marriages, the separation of the races in penal institutions, the right of a county to choose liquor prohibition or refuse it. He did support education with liberal but not extravagant grants based on his belief that a government should be poor and the people rich rather than the government rich and the people poor. He

demanded the power to appoint judges independently. He had no consistent program and did little for the people who elected him. His dictatorial methods alienated the legislature so completely that they refused to support his measures even when they had merit and were desirable.

The Period of the World Wars

In 1914 Germany declared war on France. Blease attempted but failed to unseat "Cotton Ed" Smith in the run for the U.S. Senate. In 1915, under the new governor Richard S. Manning, modern social welfare legislation began with the establishment of the State Board of Charities and Corrections (Wallace, 1951).

On April 6, 1917, the United States entered World War I and Governor Manning appointed a Commissioner on Civic Preparedness for War. Shortly thereafter National Guard camps were established outside the Greenville-Spartanburg area. A navy yard was built at Charleston and a U. S. Army Camp at Columbia. Both the navy yard and the army camp remained important economic factors in their respective areas. The armed services provided many South Carolinians with the opportunity of escaping the poverty and deprivation of the area. World War I ended in 1918. About 62,000 South Carolinians had served in that war.

Tragedy struck the sea islands in 1919, when the boll weevil destroyed 90% of the Sea Island cotton crop. Cotton was never again grown successfully on a commercial scale on these islands. A period of comparative calm descended in 1920 and settled into stagnation. By 1921, a long agricultural depression had

began (Wallace, 1951). In 1922, a law was passed limiting hours of work in textile mills, a gruelling and debilitating labor, to 10 hours a day or 55 hours a week (Wallace, 1951).

By 1923, whites outnumbered the blacks in South Carolina for the first time in over a century. This was the result of emigration of blacks to the north and midwest. Coupled with the results of disease and neglect, the black population had been substantially reduced (Wallace, 1951).

The 6-0-1 school law was passed in 1924 and did much to promote education. It fixed minimum requirements, standardized salaries, and imposed new taxes. The state would pay a teacher's salary for 6 months if the county would pay the salary for 1 month. The effect was to consolidate the weak schools, as well as to increase the number of high schools. Teaching standards were advanced and the common school was revolutionized. State aid helped to equalize the length of the school term and increased the number of services provided to students (Wallace, 1951).

On October 29, 1929 prices collapsed on the New York Stock Exchange and the country was plunged into the Great Depression. South Carolina may be said to have been truly rejoined to the nation in 1930. The severe economic depression did much to equalize the standard of living to the point where the chronic poverty of the area was not so remarkable. James T. Byrnes was elected to the U.S. Senate and in 1932 Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a democrat with Southern sympathies, was elected president. At last, the Democratic Party in South

Carolina was united with the branch of the national democratic party in power (Woodard, 1980).

The Federal Government poured money into the state. Public works were undertaken: pellagra, long a medical scourge was virtually eliminated, malaria was reduced and hookworm was curbed (Hewitt, N.D.).

In Europe, World War II began with the German invasion of Poland. The United States entered the war in 1941 after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. The country geared up for the war effort. Rising prices for farm products and war related industries brought extensive prosperity to the area for the first time since before the Civil War. The area was inundated with outsiders from all sections of the country as they underwent military training. Women in the south took their places on assembly lines as did women all over the country. Again the south rallied to the need of the country and men and women both black and white joined the armed services.

Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945 at Warm Springs, Georgia and Vice President Harry S. Truman became president. It was during this term as president that he authorized the use of the first atomic weapon against Japan. Running against popular republican candidate Thomas Dewey in 1948, Truman won the election to the surprise of many.

After the war, blacks were no longer willing to accept the indignities of segregation but whites still resisted increased civil rights. Most violent confrontation was avoided at this time and leaders were successful in attracting

new industries, especially foreign owned ones. A cosmopolitan awareness was once again introduced into the state's social and intellectual life.

The United States had emerged a world power in 1945 with policies such as the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the Berlin Airlift and the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The "hot" war cooled to the "cold" war with Russia. This flared into a "police action" in Korea when North Korean Communist troops supported by Russia attacked South Korea. The United States and a United Nations force aided South Korea. The last troops left Korea on June 20, 1949 leaving behind 500 advisors (Schlesinger, 1985). Truman lost much of his popular support when he adopted a policy to fight a limited war, but South Carolina had again responded to the need of the nation.

All of these things were important. Perhaps the greatest boon to the south came from the introduction of air conditioning. This improved working and living conditions tremendously (Fraser, 1989).

The Rights' Era

On February 7, 1950, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin commenced a "witch hunt" against domestic communism and began a process of "black listing" many innocent people. This culminated with a series of televised Army-McCarthy Hearings. On December 2, 1954, he was condemned by his senate colleagues. In 1951, Governor James F. Byrnes of South Carolina instituted a \$75,000,000 program to make black schools as good as white ones after 40 parents in Clarendon County filed suit asking the federal courts to declare school segregation

unconstitutional (Wallace, 1951). General Dwight D. Eisenhower, World War II leader and hero, was elected President defeating Senator Adlai E. Stevenson in 1952 and again in 1956. Eisenhower left office warning the people of the danger of the growing military-industrial complex. In 1954, the Supreme Court, in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, ruled that "separate but equal" schools were unconstitutional. The Civil Rights Movement became national news on December 1, 1955, when Mrs. Rosa Parks refused to relinquish her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama bus to a white man.

On April 30, 1957, a special Senate Committee selected five senators from the past to be inducted into a Senate Hall of Fame. Those selected were Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John Calhoun, Robert La Follette and Robert Taft (Hewitt, N.D.).

The Civil Rights Commission established the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and South Carolina Senator Strom Thurmond set a filibuster record of twenty-four hours and twenty-seven minutes on September 25, 1957 in opposition to it. A new act in 1960 encouraged voter registration among blacks and minorities (Hewitt, N.D.).

When the Russians launched "Sputnik" in 1957, a new emphasis was placed on science and space. More and more weapons were demanded by the Pentagon in an effort to outarm the Russians. Some English people, headed by philosopher Bertrand Russell, protested the atom bomb. This movement crossed the ocean along with British rock music and the Beatles. The peace movement quickly spread across the country. The military "advisors" sent to Vietnam saw the war there accelerated and many back in the United States marched to protest it and

America's participation in southeast Asian politics. Emphasis was placed on non-violent protest and there was renewed interest in Civil Rights', voter registration and environmental concerns. Draft card and flag burning polarized the nation into those supporting a peace movement and those supporting military intervention in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

Richard Nixon ran and was defeated for the Presidency by John F. Kennedy in 1960. Kennedy won by a slim margin of 122,000 votes. In 1961, he appointed his brother, Robert, Attorney General of the nation. Kennedy faced a difficult decision during the Bay of Pigs confrontation with Russia over missiles in Cuba. He was assassinated in Dallas, Texas in 1963. Lyndon B. Johnson assumed the presidency and won election in his own right in 1964 by defeating Barry Goldwater. He ran on the strength of a new society promising domestic programs to benefit the poor and minorities in education, labor and housing and equal opportunities for obtaining a better life. Affirmative action programs were initiated to give preferential treatment to blacks and minorities in an attempt to redress previous wrongs.

With the end of segregation came renewed interest in black heritage and its African antecedents. The African continent threw off colonialism and numerous independent nations arose. Apartheid was initiated in the Union of South Africa focusing attention on black subjugation throughout the world.

Richard Nixon was in office when the Vietnam War was drawn to a conclusion in 1973, but he was forced to resign in 1974 under threat of impeachment over the Watergate Scandal. Gerald Ford had been appointed as

Vice President when Spiro Agnew was compelled to resign over scandal. Thus, Ford was appointed to finish out Nixon's term. Ford granted Nixon an unconditional pardon in 1975.

When South Carolina celebrated its 300th birthday in 1970, the American folk opera "Porgy and Bess" based on life in and around Charleston appeared in the city for the first time. Both blacks and whites watched the performance, although some controversy still surrounded its portrayal of black life (Hewitt, N.D.).

The port of Charleston remained an important economic feature of the area. Once a small industry, tourism increased to become one of Charleston's strongest economic components. While the Myrtle Beach area had been a draw to the area for sometime, Charleston with her array of beautiful, pristine vistas, numerous historical sites and enticing beaches sought to capitalize on her history and ambiance. Preservation became an important feature of the landscape and societies, museums and historians worked to re-create and preserve the past. Since Charleston had never relinquished her past this wasn't difficult.

The outlying sea islands became enclaves catering to those willing to spend enormous amounts developing environmentally favorable communities just on the outskirts of the fashionable city. Resorts, featuring world class tennis, golf and boating facilities began offering year round playgrounds to the nation and established a new economic base for the area, creating a service oriented economy. Pressure for services comparable to those in the rest of the country was being exerted. Plans to develop the Spoleto festival were begun in the early seventies

by Gian Carlos Menotti to complement a similar art festival in Spoleto, Italy, potentially drawing to Charleston many of the great artists of the world.

Summary

Time had altered Charleston, but many of the features established in her early roots remain alive in her life today. In her early history, antecedents from her English and West Indies origins guided her development. These were relinquished as soon as she assumed a leadership role in the emerging nation, but her influence was short lived as she clung to her dependence on slavery. Her influence was thwarted as she remained wedded to her agricultural existence in an industrialized world. Finally, as the twentieth century progressed, the events that affected the nation impacted upon her equally, and slowly she assumed her rightful position as a full-fledged member of the Union once again.

Although again united with the rest of the Union, the city developed in a unique manner and established a complex society peculiar to the area. Not only was the society unique but also the development of institutions within that society were unique, as witnessed by the development of its educational facilities. By pursuing the development of education in the whole country as well as in Charleston, a new perspective was gained. This contrast and comparison offered a deeper understanding of the development of education, a preliminary step to the establishment of special educational services within the public schools.

CHAPTER IV
THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN AMERICA
AND IN CHARLESTON

Overview

While Charleston was developing an ambiance distinctly her own, so too, the rest of the country was emerging as a discrete entity politically, socially and geographically. This was also true educationally and the history of education in America was often presented as the rivalry between two opposing factions.

Politically, and education was seldom devoid of its political implications, some viewed it as a means of directing and perpetuating the existing power structure while others regarded it as an instrument for improving social conditions (Spring, 1986). It was probably quite accurate to conclude that at any particular instance in the history of the country both motives were vigorously represented. It was similarly quite conceivable that neither could have existed without the other to restrain it. Each operates as a check and balance on the other preventing either complete chaos or unbridled tyranny. Both positions were energetically defended over time in America and in Charleston.

The unique society that developed in Charleston spawned an educational system which propagated its essentially aristocratic and agricultural background. Because of its essentially rural and autocratic composition, based upon slavery and a plantation economy, it developed a philosophy of education which

increasingly differed from that of the emerging nation. This created a moral dilemma for both sides.

The history of Charleston eventually came to reflect incidents of state, national and even international dimensions and education exhibited changes instigated by many of these economic, social and political events. Charleston accepted some of the changes but rejected and ignored many others. A deeper understanding of the atmosphere which ultimately evolved is presented by contrasting and comparing these developments.

Early Attempts at Education

As the first settlers struggled to maintain a foothold in Carolina, the need for education was already apparent in other settlements. The Massachusetts Bay Colony, settled in 1630 by the Puritans as a model religious community, made education a primary concern. The colony recognized education as a principal means of preserving religious beliefs and as a method of increasing the stability of the community (Spring, 1986). By 1642, they passed a law reproaching parents and masters who neglected the education of their charges (Spring, 1986).

The trend was continued and in 1647, "The Old Deluder Satan Law" was passed which required communities of fifty or more households to appoint a teacher of reading and writing and those of 100 or more households to establish a grammar school. The intent of the law was to foster formal education. The colony's commitment to this goal was demonstrated when only six years after the

founding of Boston more than half of the annual income of the entire colony was used to found Harvard College (Spring, 1986).

The codification of educational concerns into law however became instrumental in initiating a dual system. In England, the dominant religious group had been closely aligned with the ruling authority. In New England they were even more so. The result was that the children of the elite which included the sons of merchants, clergy, lawyers and other professionals attended private schools while less fortunate children attended the public town schools. Young men from wealthier families advanced to grammar school and college while poor boys were apprenticed or placed as indentured servants. The former received instruction calculated to prepare them for roles of leadership and positions of authority while the latter were taught obedience and subservience. Thus, the established social and religious hierarchy of the colony was preserved (Spring, 1986).

The Bay Colony was not the only colony to address this need for education. Connecticut passed a similar law three years later in the "Code of Laws of 1650" and although the schools in both colonies were public, they were not free. They were supported at parental expense. If, however, parents were unable to pay tuition, then, the government intervened and provided it.

Tuition was not abolished in Massachusetts until the Revolution, but by the last quarter of the 18th century the cost of education in the state was usually assumed by the community at large and financed by the general town taxes. This

liberal endorsement of education was applauded worldwide but was seldom imitated (Glubok, 1969).

In order to help defray the cost of employing a teacher, communities sometimes set aside lands for a school and the surrounding fields were leased in order to produce income for them. Fees for the early schools could be paid in any exchange acceptable as legal tender. Often wampum, sometimes beaver pelts or even Indian corn were used. Wheat, peas, beans or any country product known as "truck" was acceptable. Later, lotteries were used to acquire revenue for the support of the schools (Glubok, 1969).

Over a century elapsed before any schools were established in the colony of Virginia. Governor Berkeley, obstinate and narrow-minded, bragged in 1670 that the colony had "no schools and no printing presses". He believed both encouraged disobedience and heresy (Spring, 1986).

In the southern colonies an even greater class discrepancy arose in education. The children, mostly the sons of the wealthy, were educated by private tutor or later in private schools. The others received only minimal if any, education. Ultimately, "field" schools were established and these institutions became widely used in Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. Under this arrangement a few neighbors banded together to hire a teacher, too often poorly qualified, to conduct a short school term. Subjects were presented in a hastily constructed cabin erected in an abandoned field, hence the name. These schools were similar to the old European hedge schools (Spring, 1986).

One of the earliest schools was called the "dame" school. The very young neighborhood children received their first instruction in these schools. The dame schools introduced the fundamentals of reading and writing. A more advanced level of these subjects plus simple arithmetic and merchants' accounts were offered in the "petty" or "reading and writing" schools. Instruction was given from the "Hornbook" and one teacher taught all students. Study was concentrated primarily upon religious and authoritarian themes. The children recited their lessons aloud as the teacher pointed to each section. For this reason they were sometimes referred to as "blab" schools. They were important because they were prerequisite for admission to the grammar school (Spring, 1986). The grammar schools taught a classical curriculum including Latin and Greek. Their aim was to reproduce the Renaissance ideal of the educated man.

All of these institutions could trace their beginnings to the English educational revolution of the 16th century. The premises of the Protestant Reformation had been incorporated into the philosophy of these institutions and the promulgation of these beliefs was their mission. This meant that these institutions recognized the individual as responsible for knowing the word of God and for learning appropriate religious behavior (Spring, 1986).

A counterbalance to this elitist orientation was established by the Quakers in Pennsylvania who believed that a minimum knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic comprised an adequate education. They disapproved of anything much beyond the fundamentals because they feared that too much knowledge would encourage undue pride and foster idleness.

The Germans in the same colony shared many of these fears. They had a few schools for the lower grades but they also believed that too much schooling would encourage laziness and discontentment with farm life. They believed education would contribute to a child's alienation with religion.

The Dutch schoolmasters of New York and Pennsylvania were not as severe as the English school masters. In 1682, the Dutch Church specified that the schoolmaster must be "friendly and patient" toward his students. Dr. Curtius, the first master of the Latin school in New Amsterdam (New York), complained that he couldn't discipline the students because their parents forbade his use of punishment. Occasionally, a master was so cruel that he was dismissed, fined or punished for his brutality. The death of at least one child was attributed to such extreme punishment at the hands of the schoolmaster (Glubok, 1969).

The nature of all colonial education had a strongly religious and authoritarian orientation. Submission to authority both spiritual and secular was emphasized and most learning took place through memorization. Students were taught to accept and not to question, to submit and not to challenge, to assimilate and not to analyze. Personal opinion was discouraged and only official interpretation was tolerated (Spring, 1986).

John Locke's book, "Thoughts on Education" was available in the colonies and held in high regard. Many of his suggestions guided the care of young children and influenced their treatment both in and out of school (Spring, 1986).

The laws of most colonial communities reflected an emphasis on civility and the children of this period were acutely aware of the expectations of adults. This

was a conscious attempt of those in authority to preserve the peace and to control unruly behavior (Glubok, 1969).

Colonial children had little knowledge of the world except that of their immediate environment. They were ignorant of events in Europe and when they did receive any news it was already several months late. They knew very little about their own country and only those living in seaports were aware of foreign or other native ports (Glubok, 1969).

Books on etiquette and manners were available in the colonies from which students learned acceptable school behaviors as well as the art of listening. Even children from quite unpretentious homes adhered to strict observances of protocol. Social position was acknowledged in all stations of life and in all situations. Rites and rituals surrounded wealth, family and social position and were rigidly obeyed (Glubok, 1969).

Parents, especially in New England, felt acutely the need for education and were often guilty of forcing their children to aspire to academic achievement far beyond their developmental ability. The various types of colonial schools, whatever their orientation, remained instrumental in preserving the existing social order (Spring, 1986).

The colonists, just as the English had before them, slowly came to recognize that education was something more than a method of restraining and controlling society. A new vantage point developed which expanded this perspective. The Renaissance intellectuals of the 16th century had bequeathed the idea that future leaders must be well educated. This premise had been translated into the

curriculum of the grammar school. The colonists adhered to this belief that these subjects fostered civic responsibility and prepared individuals for leadership.

Soon, an ulterior motive also began to infiltrate along with this concept.

Education now became recognized as a means of conferring status, not merely of confirming it as had been the case in the past (Crimmins, 1965). It was viewed as a means of increasing worth and achieving upward mobility in the community. It became the vehicle by which the masses might improve their social and economic standing. More importantly, it also coincided with the new political movement of the founding fathers which was structuring a more democratic atmosphere and a novel republicanism. This upward mobility within a class society was advantageous to those settlers who were personally and politically ambitious and education became the means by which they could realize their goals.

Much of this bode well for the males who received an education but females were almost universally neglected in this regard. Household management was considered much more important for women than academic instruction. Some could read, write and cipher a little but most were unable to perform even these simple tasks to any degree. Only a few intelligent, farsighted men carefully taught their daughters. This pattern prevailed throughout the century.

Many of the best schoolmasters in the colonies came from Scotland and their duties included much more than merely teaching. One contract drawn up in the Dutch settlement at Flatbush, Long Island in 1762 specified multiple duties. They included academic, religious and even janitorial responsibilities (Spring, 1986).

The schoolhouse of this time was usually a crude structure made of logs. It had a rough puncheon, or dirt floor, with a sloped roof to repel the rain. The teacher sat in the middle of the room and on the walls, three to four feet off the ground, were pegs where boards were laid to create crude desks. Here the older students sat with their backs to the teacher while the younger students sat on log benches. Few of the school houses had glass windows. Openings were covered with newsprint or greased white paper to admit a dim light. At one end of the room or in the middle was a "cat and clay" chimney and fireplace (Glubok, 1969).

Classroom furnishings were sparse. There were no blackboards or maps and only rarely a globe. Lead pencils were manufactured but were not in common use even in the city schools. Copy books were made of foolscap sewed into a book and ruled by hand. Often birch bark was used in place of paper which was expensive and scarce. The first slates used were frameless and had a hole at one side to hang a pencil or to suspend them from around the neck.

A good education was usually available only in larger towns or in the household of well educated men. Boys were often taken into the homes of kinsmen to be educated because of these limited opportunities (Glubok 1969).

Young ladies seldom attended the early public school and when they did it was during hours the young men were not using it. In May, 1767, a school was established in Providence, Rhode Island exclusively for the teaching of reading and writing to girls, but they were required to attend from 6:00 to 7:00 in the morning and from 4:30 to 6:00 in the afternoon (Glubok, 1969).

By the time of the Revolution boarding schools for girls were located in most large towns and filled a great void. The quality of these establishments varied greatly but those of the Moravians in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, were widely popular and well respected.

William Woodbridge, a Yale graduate, opened the first school for girls only, in 1780 in Middletown, Connecticut. Young ladies in Boston owed much for their education to Caleb Bingham, a famous teacher who came to the city in 1784 and advertised his girls' school for writing, arithmetic, spelling, reading and English grammar. It was well received and prospered (Glubok, 1969).

By the late 1700s small classes had been held in the larger cities for the girls of wealthy families where they were taught rudimentary educational skills. Also, a number of private teachers were employed for young women. In Boston, gentlewomen of limited income provided for themselves by taking little girls and young women from the country, especially those from the South and from Barbados, into their homes to board while they attended classes or recited to their teachers (Glubok, 1969).

At school, young ladies were expected to learn to sew, embroider, write and dance. Deportment and elegance of carriage were considered important elements for them to master. Music was taught but most of the extant compositions of the day required mastery of only the most elementary skills. Their audiences however, were highly appreciative of their efforts (Glubok, 1969).

Discipline in all of these schools was strict and arbitrary. The rod was seldom spared and the authoritarian figures in these institutions believed in stern

repression and sharp correction. Some of the instruments employed in the administration of discipline bordered on torture. Rods, lybberts and flappers were developed to enforce this fierce discipline. Pinching the nose with a stick, rapping the soles of the bare feet with a rod, hitting the heads of young students with a heavy thimble were some of the physical punishments. Psychological punishments such as degrading a child in front of the class, labelling him or her with a sign as well as name calling were common methods employed (Spring, 1986).

A "prymer" or primer succeeded the use of the hornbooks in the colonial schools and the New England Primer became used all over America. It had been authorized by the Anglican Church early in the colonial period and was written entirely in the vernacular. It contained devotions, prayers, the Commandments, some Psalms and instruction in Christian knowledge (Spring, 1986).

The New England Primer was first published in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in either 1689 or 1690, the exact date is unclear. It was an adaptation of the original primers published in England in the 16th century. Printers recognized the profitability of combining church manuals and school books and "The New England Primer" was the most popular of its genre for over one hundred years. The "Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Abbey" was reproduced in it and the authoritarian and subservient nature of the instruction was reflected in these sentences:

I will fear God and honour the King.
I will honour my Mother and Father.
I will obey my superiors.
I will submit to my elders. (Spring, 1986)

Blind acceptance of authority and compliance to existing rule was adamantly advocated for the vast majority of students. "An Alphabet of Lessons for Youth" followed these sentences. This contained religious and moral adages which students memorized.

- A wise son makes a glad Father,
but a foolish son is the
heaviness of his Mother.
- B etter is little with the fear
of the Lord, than great treasure
and trouble therewith.
- C ome unto Christ all ye that
labour and are heavy laden,
and He will give you rest.

These maxims were followed by the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments and a section called "The Duty of Children Toward Their Parents." Letters and numbers provided easy reference to appropriate chapters, verses and psalms in the Bible (Spring, 1986). The catechism section consisted of a series of questions and answers designed to present the basic tenets of the Protestant religion and had to be memorized.

The American Revolution represented a radical change in the political thought of the time. These radical changes in thought made possible a secular school system in the country. The First Amendment to the Constitution made freedom of thought and belief legitimate in American political life. It guaranteed freedom of speech and press. As a supplement to this psychological freedom science and technology were rapidly developing and were offering a richer existence to all classes (Spring, 1986).

In Europe, this combination of awareness of science and technology and the freedom of thought and belief propagated a new form of educational institution and "The Dissenting Academies" resulted. These academies were imported to America and adapted to fit the needs of the emerging nation (Spring, 1986). They presented the first alternative to the grammar school. The curriculum of these new academies was directed to practical skills and as the same schools were the predecessors of the modern grammar school, so the new academies were the forerunners of the American high school (Spring, 1986). They taught ideas and skills directly related to the practical aspects of life.

The academies became far more utilitarian than the grammar schools. First in the colonies and then later in the states, they put less emphasis on intellectual freedom than did their European counterparts and their greatest contribution centered upon providing a useful education. In so doing, they transmitted the essence of the culture and the behaviors required to gain admission to the mainstream of society (Spring, 1986). Their popularity spread rapidly and they became a mixture of public and private control. Sometimes they were small colleges, sometimes the equivalent of "high schools", but by the end of the 19th century they were generally accepted as secondary education. They lost their initial identity and they finally became associated with education for the elite (Spring, 1986).

The secular school system became a viable possibility only after the European revolutions in thought in the 17th and 18th centuries fostered the emergence of two major tenets regarding the purpose of education. These tenets argued that the

freedom of ideas was an essential component for the development of society and that education and learning were necessary for the improvement of society (Spring, 1986).

This change in political thinking contributed to the structuring of the new nation. The intellectual tools which were now provided fostered the development of new knowledge about the physical as well as the intellectual world. These ideas became linked with human progress and the notion that a nation's prosperity was largely a by-product of its levels of learning was readily accepted.

The scientific revolution of the 17th century gave impetus to an educational revolution and prepared the way for the newly developed ideas of the 18th century. A new outlook on childhood came into vogue based on the recently developed behavioral and romantic views. These behavioral concepts focused on the effects the environment exerted on the developing character of the young. The romantic movement concentrated its interests on the revelation of the inner nature of the individual. An attempt was made to establish an appropriate institutional environment in which both of these trends could be addressed in the search for the perfection of society. As a result in both England and America, political thinkers, scientists, inventors and industrialists interacted freely with the philosophical and intellectual minds of the day (Spring, 1986).

The increase in the number of schools being established multiplied the number of problems they were expected to solve. The importance of education as expressed through its agent the school, soon began to preempt many tasks

previously assumed by the family. There was a shift from the authority of the parent to that of the teacher.

Since women traditionally taught the young children this shift introduced new opportunities for them in the field of education. This also introduced a greater equality for women and extended to them rights far exceeding those of the past (Spring, 1986).

By now the poor were attending the charity schools and those better off attended private schools. Private schools in New York City in 1790 were neither exclusive nor limited to the wealthy. They were "common schools" in that they were the dominant institution in the educational system, they provided a common education and they were attended by children from all social classes. This continued until the early 19th century (Spring, 1986). The charity schools served an additional population as well as the poor heretofore not reached. It presented the first organized educational opportunity for freed slaves settling in the North. The freed blacks who had settled in the northern states attempted to establish schools of their own that were responsive to their particular needs. They had begun their struggle for education in Boston in 1790. During this period, out of a total school population of 18,038 there had been 766 black students and at the beginning of the 18th century there were no laws or traditions which segregated the races in the public schools. Some blacks attended public schools, others attended private; the vast majority, however, simply did not attend any school because of their low economic status and because of the hostility directed toward them in the public schools. In 1798, a group of black parents requested a separate

system for their children. The Boston School Committee rejected this request on the grounds that if they provided a separate system for blacks then all ethnic groups would have the right to similar claims. However, they received financial aid from philanthropists and opened a school. The school only survived a matter of months (Spring, 1986).

Education in the 19th Century in the United States

In 1800, thirty-six blacks again requested a separate system for their children and again they were denied. Two years later, the black community opened its own private school. Finally, the School Committee accepted the idea of supporting a segregated school and a permanent black school was established in 1806. This school was funded jointly by philanthropists and the School Board. In 1812, the School Committee voted permanent funding for the school and established direct control over it. By 1820, the black community had had enough time to rethink their original stance and began to question their insistence on segregated facilities. They recognized that the children attending the black school received an inferior education. In 1833, a report confirmed that black schools, in general, were inferior both in quality and physical condition. The resulting conclusion was that segregation was not a benefit to either race. The School Committee built a new school but by now blacks believed they needed integrated facilities if they were to become a functional part of the community (Spring, 1986).

David Walker, a black journalist, argued that there were four reasons for the poor position of blacks in the nation. The first was the result of slavery; the

second, the use of religion as a justification for slavery and prejudice; the third, the African Colonization Movement organized to return blacks to Africa and the fourth, the attempt of whites to prevent blacks from obtaining a significant education. To demonstrate his point, he cited laws in the South which declared it illegal to educate slaves, and he accused the North of deliberately keeping blacks ignorant to repress them (Spring, 1986). Segregation might have succeeded had the black community received any financial support and had they been granted any input into the schools their children attended. The issue of segregation was resolved for the time being in 1855 when Massachusetts passed a law stating that no child could be denied admission to the public schools on the basis of race or religion (Spring, 1986). The schools became integrated for the time being, at least in name.

The development of the charity school, the Lancasterian System and the Houses of Refuge represented a growing belief in the country that education was a panacea for many of the ills of society (Spring, 1986). The charity school had been a major effort to maximize the usefulness of the school system as a means of socializing children into an industrious lifestyle. The failure of the social structures, especially that of the family, was implicated in the petition for incorporating the New York School Society in 1805. The heart of the early public school system in New York City had been the provision of education for the poor (Spring, 1986).

The Lancasterian System for instruction also became popular during the 19th century. It was based on the premise that the school environment was important

in shaping moral character. Later, this became known as the process of socialization. It also reinforced the concept that universal schooling was a necessity if the existing political and social order were to be preserved. Most importantly, it contributed to the belief that all children should be educated in a single common school. The system was in use at this time from Massachusetts to Georgia, from Michigan to Kentucky (Spring, 1986). In 1822, it was required in Pennsylvania. It was designed to accommodate large numbers of students efficiently and inexpensively (Spring, 1986).

In this system pupils were seated in rows and received their instruction from monitors who had been instructed by the master, who sat at the end of the room. The monitors were the best members of the class and wore a badge to signify their status. In this system discipline and order were the keystone of success. The system gained favor because it was inexpensive in terms of money and manpower and it supposedly fostered order and obedience. Extremely regimented, it rewarded industriousness, submission, utility and function (Spring, 1986).

In 1829, a "House of Refuge" was established in Boston. This was used for any child who was declared to have an "improper family life". The purpose of this institution was to remedy problems resulting from parental failure and to prevent children and young people from being exposed to immorality by removing them from their inadequate homes (Spring, 1986).

After the Revolution, when the major theme in education emphasized patriotism and unification, Noah Webster had become its champion. Another

concept was introduced into the already burgeoning array of new ideas and continued to the present. It concerned the balance between freedom and order. Freedom became equated with the freedom to be a "good" individual and to act virtuously. There was an attempt to internalize this belief through education out of the fear that uncontrolled freedom would result in a decadent, chaotic society (Spring, 1986). Still, debate raged concerning the type of education needed. One side believed that the shaping of political opinion should be a function of the free market place and insisted that the individual had the ability to form his own political ideas. The other side argued that political opinion had to be shaped and guided in order to preserve the existing political structure. Schools were entangled in the argument over who should define the beliefs to be taught. Education was thrust into a pivotal role in the political and social process. The school assumed the duty of identifying and nurturing the talented who would become future leaders. By the 20th century this role had expanded to selecting talent for occupational training as well, and this became one of its most important functions. These concepts, plus those of duty to the state and the right of government to educate children, contributed to the concept of the common school system.

Webster, with his dictionary, spelling book and textbooks accomplished for his time the same thing that the New England Primer had done in its time except he replaced the emphasis on religion with a political orientation. He believed that the mission of the common school was to educate future citizens to be good, patriotic and productive. Nationalism was a major theme in his texts and through these he shaped American education for over one hundred years (Spring, 1986).

His ideas were in conflict with Jefferson's educational beliefs concerning the purpose and goals of education. Jefferson had believed the average citizens should be provided with the basic tools of education: reading, writing, history and arithmetic but that they should formulate their own opinions regarding their political ideas. He stressed that these should emanate from the individual based on their own reasoning abilities, needs and interests (Spring, 1986).

The 19th century was marked also by the proliferation of colleges in the country as well as by the evolution of the common school system (Spring, 1986). At this time American colleges were being established in record numbers and at an astonishing rate in response to interdenominational rivalries, local partisanship and public demand. Only nine colleges had been established prior to the Revolution, but between the Revolution and the Civil War two hundred came into existence. As a comparison, in England, there were four universities to serve twenty-three million people. A major issue centered over curriculum and the attempt to achieve some sort of balance between the practical and the ornamental (Spring, 1986).

In the colonial period, there had been little distinction between private and public institutions. Public and private financing combined with public and private control blurred the status of colleges especially with regard to their relationship with the government. Higher education had had but one purpose, that was to educate young men for the ministry and as public leaders. By the closing decades of the 18th century American colleges were exhibiting an astonishing amount of freedom. They exercised astounding vitality and fulfilled

well their public mission. By the 19th century this had been reversed and colleges pandered to local interests and adopted a restricted outlook (Spring, 1986).

In the colonial period there had been little debate concerning the extent of governmental influence in institutional management. Society was viewed as an entity, and government was the instrument whereby all the parts of that society were held accountable. The early years of the 19th century were dominated still by the events of the Revolutionary War. The temper of the times sought to restrict government and there was an attempt to eradicate government involvement within the system (Spring, 1986). Major conflicts occurred in the 1830's and 1840's regarding the expansion of the common school system. This centered directly upon the issue of government involvement in the educational system and had to be tested in the courts.

In the Dartmouth College case, the Supreme Court ruled that if a state desired to promote education to further its own purposes, then it must institute its own system and hire its own faculty. This was ruled for elementary and secondary education as well as higher education and perpetuated a sharp division between public and private schools. Private institutions could not be forced to serve the purposes of the government. (Other court decisions in the 20th century did allow some state regulation of private schools and home schooling).

Reform movements began to expand and public colleges were established to serve public purposes. One of the most noteworthy features of these movements was the Morrill Federal Land Grant Act of 1862. It allowed states to use the

proceeds from the sales of federal lands to support colleges emphasizing agricultural and mechanical arts (Spring, 1986).

The further expansion of the charity schools bolstered the belief that education could solve many social problems and contributed to the desire for public schools, especially with the increased distinction between the public and private systems.

The common school movement had been born in a period of intense change and rivalry. In 1820, the property qualification had been eliminated as a requisite to vote. Universal male suffrage and the establishment of powerful political parties had been initiated in 1828. Both of these changes were intricately involved with the progress of the common school movement (Wallace, 1951)

Along with universal male suffrage came the question of the education of future voters. One of the distinguishing marks of the developing political parties was their stance on the school system. Both parties advocated education but varied greatly in their perspectives on its goals and structure. Party affiliation became the single most important factor in whether a legislator would or would not support a school board (Butts, 1955).

The common school movement of the 1830s-1840s reflected a growing tension between those who wanted schools to reform the population and those who wanted it to expand knowledge. Antagonism existed in the charity schools over the stigmatizing of poor students and blacks. These were important themes in this movement throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

During these decades the common school finally reached fruition when many state school systems were standardized to gain specific public policies. They were

used to serve special social and political goals. The common school differed from any previous attempts to develop schools. It sought to educate all children regardless of social or economic status in the same setting. In this way the school could be used as an instrument for imprinting government policies and retaining control of the people. It could be utilized for the solution of social, economic and political problems as well as to create a centralized state agency to maintain control over local schools.

As the 19th century progressed this stance became increasingly acceptable. It fostered the belief that human nature could be manipulated by training and within the formalized school setting. More and more social groups became convinced that education could result in social and economic benefit, and this became the justification for public schooling. Education was now viewed as essential to survival and necessary for the propagation of new ideas.

Horace Mann spread the doctrine that moral education was necessary but acknowledged the need to avoid promoting any specific sect. He seized upon the common school as a means to teach a common political creed but recognized the importance of avoiding partisan politics. He emphasized the importance of exercising the right to vote and saw in the common school a means of increasing the general wealth of the community and creating a common class thus avoiding class conflicts.

There were, of course, inherent in this system, a number of problems which had to be confronted. There was the argument over which political and moral values would be taught in the classroom. The official ideology of the common

schools was essentially conservative and called for no basic changes in the economic and political structure of society. It relied on the education of the individual to initiate social reform.

The common school philosophy accepted the existing political and social structures. It purported that societal problems were the result of individual deviance or failure on the part of the individual to conform to the dictates of society.

From 1827 to 1835, the Workingmen's Party had demanded free common schools as a means to contribute to the advancement of their reforms. The Party saw the education offered in the common school as a moral and political stance for eliminating crime, poverty and social unrest. They felt it could provide them with equal economic opportunity and help to protect the workingman from economic and political exploitation. They decided that education was in essence the mechanism by which they might gain political and economic power for themselves. They knew that they must eliminate the wide breach which existed between the rich and the poor and promote equal economic opportunity. They were concerned that government money garnered from them would be utilized to provide a lesser quality education for the poor by offering a limited curriculum to keep them ignorant and deprived of their rights. They feared they would lose their share of economic and political power (Butts, 1955).

All factions agreed that education was necessary to maintain the republic and its democratic form of government. It would make the individual worthy of

democratic privileges and would help to maintain political harmony. It would allow the working class to share in this power and these rights (Butts, 1955).

There was a contradiction between the purpose and the practice of education in the common school. The attempt to make schooling common to all children really meant that Protestant values dominated the system which precipitated major disputes between Catholics and Protestants over the use of state educational funds. This arose from strong anti-Catholic feelings in Protestant communities. Catholics felt excluded and established their own system. In New York City, in 1840, conflict arose over school funds. Until this time Catholics had been operating a system as an alternative to the Protestant dominated school of the Public School Society. The storm focused on the use of the King James Version of the Bible and textbooks which contained anti-Catholic sentiments. Some favored supporting the Catholic school system because they realized that these were often the children of newly arrived immigrants and that one day these children would become citizens. Large numbers of them were not attending any school at all and it was feared that if they were not educated they would become burdens on the city. By this time Catholics had petitioned for a share of the funds. It was argued that "Popery" in books doubled taxation. The issue of religious institutions pitted Protestants against Catholics around the country. The Catholics established their own elaborate system. At the Plenary Council in Baltimore in 1852, 1866, and 1884, it was decreed that every parish would establish a school, and all parents belonging to a parish would send their children to that school. This eliminated any possibilities of a common school (Butts, 1955).

The common school was a combination of the political, social and economic concerns of the 19th century. Various segments of the society shared a belief that school was the hope by which a "good" society could be realized by improving economic conditions, providing equality of opportunity, eliminating crime and maintaining social and political order (Butts, 1955).

Twentieth Century Education

in the United States

By the 20th century there were a number of social ideas which influenced education. These were often translated into political movements such as conservatism, humanitarianism, socialism, communism and fascism. They provided much political reform and social change in the first half of the century. Things which were viewed as radical in 1900 were accepted as reasonable by 1950. Business and industry grew dramatically as did government power and control. The increased power of the federal government was the dominant feature of the era. This was also true in education (Butts, 1955). As the century began, there was a growing belief that it was the responsibility of the government to protect and promote the general welfare of the public through regulation and control.

Congress responded in an intermittent and irregular fashion to this belief. In 1914, the Smith-Lever Act provided for agricultural extension services throughout the rural areas of the country. In 1917, the Smith-Hughes Act supplied vocational aid through the establishment of agricultural, home economics, trade and industrial courses in the secondary schools. In 1929, the George Reed Act

introduced distributive education. Vocational rehabilitation for the handicapped was federally funded through the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1920 (Butts, 1955).

The era of the 1920s had been one of prosperity. Big business and industry had been able to resist government control and regulation. There was little interest in any extensive social programs although some gains were made.

In 1929, the crash occurred and President Hoover initiated a public works program. Loans were granted to large businesses, industry and property owners, but the public was not satisfied and Roosevelt, a Democrat, was elected president with an overwhelming majority in 1932. He remained in office for an unprecedented twelve years with his "New Deal" policies.

Many educational programs were established and supported during the "New Deal". The Civilian Conservation Corps (1933) and the National Youth Administration (1935) were begun. They were geared to aid disadvantaged youths. The Works Projects Administration (WPA) and the Public Works Administration (PWA) were similar economic ventures from which education benefitted. In 1939, the United States Office of Education was transferred from the Department of the Interior to the Federal Security Agency along with the Public Health Administration and Social Security. Although there had been an attempt to equalize education for all children in the early years of the 20th century, it became apparent during the depression years of the 1930s that the federal government would have to intervene. Many bills were introduced for federal aid to general education but none was passed up to 1954. The greatest impediment to

such aid centered on the religion. Some groups objected to providing public funds for parochial schools and the Roman Catholic Church opposed federal aid unless it included their schools (Butts, 1955).

Enormous change took place between 1933 and the beginning of World War II. The decrease in population growth was an important social trend. Immigration was also reduced. The declining birth rate came to a halt in 1941, and by the late 1940s and the 1950s, schools were greatly overcrowded. The highest birth rates were registered in the rural South. Ironically, this section was by far the poorest both economically and educationally in the nation (Butts, 1955).

By the 1940s, large amounts in federal spending were being distributed through the United States Office of Education. During the war years, Colleges and schools provided training to workers in defense related areas. This continued until 1945 at which point the government benefits for veterans became operative. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (G.I. Bill of Rights) provided tuition, living expenses and supplies for study in schools, colleges and on the job training. This Act was extended to Korean War Veterans in 1952 (Butts, 1955).

A postwar program for extending social security, social service and full employment were formulated in 1943. Roosevelt died suddenly in 1945 and Harry S. Truman became president. Truman announced his intention of continuing the policies begun in the "New Deal", and he proposed his "Fair Deal" policies, many of which focused on social issues. Employment practices, price supports, crop insurance, compulsory military training, slum clearance, federal aid in home building, medical care and education as well as rehabilitation of veterans,

conservation of natural resources and social security were earmarked. This program centered on the federal government as the provider of a better life (Butts, 1955).

The status of the family had entered a state of flux as great numbers of women had entered the work force. This trend had begun as part of the war effort in World War II and accelerated. Single parent households increased and the traditional family unit became challenged. Juvenile delinquency increased and physical mobility to and from all parts of the country further severed the stabilizing social factors of home and church. Technological advances, while forces for material betterment, were often disruptive in the interim, especially in terms of education. Fear of economic insecurity and loss of personal control fostered feelings of inadequacy and hatred toward those of different race, creed or national origin (Butts, 1955).

In December, 1952, five cases were sent to the United States Supreme Court to test the constitutionality of segregation. In 1896, the "separate but equal" doctrine had been incorporated in the "Plessy v. Ferguson" case. The United States Supreme Court upheld the right of the railroad to segregate passengers according to race. It became the most important precedent for supporting segregated public schools until the middle of the 20th century. The Supreme Court was asked to declare segregation itself unconstitutional and to over throw the "separate but equal" doctrine. These decisions were delayed for over a year. South Carolina and Georgia took steps to abolish their public school system, but this was declared

unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment (*Brown v. The Board of Education*, May 14, 1954) (Butts, 1955).

When General Dwight D. Eisenhower, a Republican, assumed office in 1952, it was with the intention of reducing the role of government and of promoting the role of business and industry. Prominent business leaders assumed key government posts. The Federal Budget and taxes were cut, and labor felt alienated from government. A proposal by Senator Lister Hill, to appropriate revenues from off shore oil lands to education, was killed by the new Republican Congress of 1953. In 1954, the spectacle of McCarthyism erupted. Educators were especially apprehensive. This was caused by the atmosphere of fear, suspicion and accusation of this fiasco. Attacks were launched upon freedom of thought and teaching and penetrated deeply into all institutions of learning (Butts, 1955).

In 1953, the Office of Education was transformed into the Department of Health, Education and Welfare as a cabinet level position. While the educational experience varied widely across the nation, there was a concerted effort to increase public education. At the beginning of the century most state systems had been organized with an eight year elementary school, a four year high school and a four year college. Some states had kindergartens and professional, technical and graduate schools as well. These had been expanded as the century progressed (Butts, 1955).

Enormous inequalities existed in the quality and quantity of education available. Wealthier states were able to provide greater educational opportunities. Within states, urban and suburban industrial areas offered more than the rural

and farming regions. Black children had less opportunity than white children. These inequalities existed either because a community did not have the money necessary to provide better facilities, or they didn't want to spend equal amounts for equal systems or both (Butts, 1955).

In order to combat some of these difficulties, equalization funds were established within states to distribute aid to local communities to help poorer districts. Some states utilized state income taxes and other taxes to meet the needs (Butts, 1955). Consolidation of smaller rural districts into larger units became another way to provide more efficient schools at less cost. Equalization of black and white schools could only be accomplished through the courts.

The needs for federal funding was conceded more and more, but fear of federal control retarded these appropriations. Southern states particularly resisted any bill calling for equal distribution of funds to black schools. Most Protestants and Jews opposed any bill that would grant federal aid to Roman Catholic schools (Butts, 1955).

One of the greatest aids to education had come during World War II with the Berry Plan. Colleges provided military training on college campuses and received reimbursement for educating those enrolled in the various programs. Similarly, the "G.I. Bill of Rights" provided educational opportunities for those who had served during World War II and Korea, covering a vast array of endeavors. The federal government was asked to contribute financial support to education but control was to remain at the state and local level (Butts, 1955).

By the middle of the century nursery schools for two and three year olds were added in some areas to the four and five year old kindergartens. The nursery school movement had gained momentum during the 1930s and in the depression when it was federally supported and a part of the WPA program. By 1938, 300,000 children had been enrolled in 1,500 nursery schools which were held in the public schools, but by 1948, the program was on the wane. About 60% of urban school systems retained the kindergartens (Butts, 1955).

The junior high arrangement began in California and Ohio. From 1910 on, the inequities of the elementary and high school organization had been criticized. The argument that the growth patterns of young adolescents (13, 14 and 15 years of age) required special attention as a transition period was successful and the junior high gained in popularity. This led to the adoption of the 6-3-3 plan which became the most popular form of organization by 1950, except in the very rural areas where sparse population and shortages of teachers and facilities, restricted its development. In some areas the consolidated rural school became common (Butts, 1955).

The junior college trend was especially popular in the West but spread throughout the country. By 1952, there were 586 such institutions attended by 575,000 students. This concept was extended and came to include technical institutes and community colleges. While there was variation in the organization of the school system, the end result of all such efforts was increased educational opportunities up to the age of twenty. Even this has been expanded and extended through reeducation, career changes and senior citizen participation (Butts, 1955).

The growth of the university system began to influence the curriculum of the traditional four year undergraduate institutions so that they exerted great energy toward preparation for advanced graduate education. More and more public funding was appropriated for the use of higher education. State education, land-grant colleges and municipal colleges began to overshadow private institutions. Some of these had been faced with a lack of male students and loss of income during World War II and had opened their doors to women. Educational opportunities in a variety of fields other than teaching and nursing became available to females (Butts, 1955).

Teaching gained in status during the century but in comparison with other occupations remained low on the salary scale. Efforts were made to provide better educational experiences in the preparation of teachers, and an attempt was made to foster greater professionalism within the field.

Adult education increased in the 1920's and initiated a trend toward lifelong learning. Personal, occupational, political, economic and cultural needs of the population were integrated into the educational organization (Butts, 1955).

Three philosophies dominated the educational orientation of the twentieth century. These were based on a traditional, scientific and cultural perspective. The traditionalists wanted a return to the past for guidance. In reaction to this stance some turned to science for answers and looked to natural laws minimizing the supernatural. The scientific method was applied to human nature. In reaction to both of these movements "cultural naturalism" gained favor. Under the leadership of John Dewey the philosophical basis of naturalism, empiricism and

pragmatism were combined with new findings in the social sciences and psychology. The concept of culture and its role in the development of the individual was stressed. The American culture was deemed found in the social ideals of democracy and the intellectual ideals of free yet disciplined intelligence. These were professed as the foundations of the twentieth century American education. Life was represented as the constant interaction of the culture and the individual. Behavior was considered the result of the unbalancing of the equilibrium between these factors. Behavior was viewed as not only changing the individual but the environment as well (Butts, 1955).

Education was now responsible for providing the vital connection between the school and the culture of the immediate community as well as society in general. The maturation and growth of the individual as a unique personality was fostered through an emphasis on active experience. Integration of the individual with his environment was stressed and intelligence came to be viewed not merely as a function of reason but primarily one of problem solving (Butts, 1955).

In response to these new perspectives, ability grouping was employed as a device to individualize instruction. This became popular during the 1920s and was based largely upon the new intelligence-testing which was gaining popularity and acceptance. The promotion rate remained constant with this method but the curriculum was adjusted to varying activities (Butts, 1955).

A number of methods were introduced through the 1930s such as the "contract" plan which became a popular classroom activity and continued as a

popular instructional method. This required a definite amount of reading, exercises and written work be accomplished within a specified amount of time, usually three or four weeks. In some systems a certain number of projects were assigned to each grade level and students could progress through these at their own rate of mastery. Instruction was individualized and became a matter of adjusting the time factor needed to achieve mastery while the content for mastery remained constant (Butts, 1955). During the 1930s activity programs were adopted based on the belief that an "experience" based curriculum should employ activities which were meaningful and interesting to the learner (Butts, 1955).

By the decades of the 1930s and 1940s the whole educational process was considered a social process. Cooperation and group activity were important components of education. Personal relationships, social and civic responsibility, economic and occupational concerns, health, recreation and leisure were now intimately involved in the educational process. New areas were developed including the treatment of special children ranging from the furthest above normal to the farthest below. These new areas addressed physical, mental and emotional characteristics and diversities (Butts, 1955).

By 1954, eighty-five per cent of youth of secondary school age received an education. No other nation had ever attempted such a grandiose scheme to educate the vast majority of its population to such an advanced age (Butts, 1955).

The implications of this massive undertaking altered the mission of the secondary school changed from simply college preparatory to meeting the needs of a wider range of students from diverse social and economic backgrounds and

with equally diverse goals in life. The introduction of an elective system had helped to meet these needs. This was extended to colleges and universities. In an effort to overcome a trend toward narrow subject orientation, a general education movement took place in order to provide greater integration and a basic common body of knowledge. Attempts to eliminate lockstep education were initiated through honors programs, tutorial and preceptorial plans and independent studies. Some institutions initiated plans whereby students received on the job experience in combination with academic preparation (Butts, 1955).

Civil Rights and Educational Rights

The question of integration had dominated the educational landscape for many years. In the South, schools were segregated but seldom equal. In 1920 only 15 out of every 100 black students went beyond fifth grade (Good, 1962).

By 1948, black students had slowly gained admission to graduate and professional schools and some undergraduate institutions, and by 1953, only five states were still actively resisting this change. These were South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Mississippi. During the school year of 1960-1961, the University of Georgia admitted two blacks, but the only campuses which enrolled large numbers of mixed students bodies were found in the border states of West Virginia and Tennessee. These states had modified their desegregation laws (Good, 1962).

In 1957, riots shook Little Rock, Arkansas to protest integration of the high school, but in the school year of 1960-1961, eleven blacks were attending this

school in relative calm. A new problem arose, nicknamed "white flight". This was an effort on the part of white parents to avoid integration, and it left the city in dire straits, as it tried to develop a pupil assignment plan to maintain the federal guidelines dictated by the Supreme Court (Good, 1962).

By 1958, over a quarter of the schools in the South were desegregated. Full integration had not been achieved, but at least, partial compliance was begun. In the fall of 1960 the schools of Prince Edward County, Virginia were closed for two years in an effort to avoid complying with the court order. In other states pupil placement or assignment plans were drawn to evade the order. Schools boards were granted the authority to assign students on a number of criteria except race. This was successful in North Carolina and Virginia in 1960 (Good, 1962). The Court took action against such tactics and insisted that such plans must be administered equally. Attempts were made to restrain the powers of the Supreme Court as a result of the unpopularity stemming from this decision (Good, 1962).

Many cases concerning education have essentially dealt with civil rights. The Court had been reluctant to interfere in the sphere of education as a states' right but they had a clear mandate to safeguard the liberty and application of justice to all the people of the nation (Good, 1962).

In 1958, the National Defense Act had provided funds for equipment, curriculum and teaching improvements in the lower schools. Its purpose was to improve instruction in mathematics, science, engineering and modern foreign language. The last was encouraged by world involvement in World War II and the rest, in response to the Russian launch in 1957 of the first satellite into orbit.

The Act was to cover only four years, but additional legislation extended it (Good, 1962).

On February 20, 1961, the new democratic administration of John F. Kennedy sent its education bill to Congress requesting aid to schools at all levels through college. The monies were to be spent for physical facilities, salaries, scholarships for the talented and needy students, construction of college classrooms, laboratories, libraries, and residential buildings (Good, 1962). It was during the Kennedy administration that greater attention was focused on the needs of exceptional people.

Increased pressure for desegregation and the various means to accomplish it, such as school busing, dominated the next ten years. Freedom of choice was utilized by some systems only to find that integration was often accomplished in name only until the courts threatened them with more drastic measures.

Curriculum also underwent a number of innovative changes notably "new math". While the concept was sound, few schools had personnel adequately trained to present it to students or to gain approval from the majority of parents.

In 1975, great efforts were being made to provide equal education for all segments of the population. Migrant children, blacks, those with English as a second language and refugees from strife ridden countries presented new strains on the educational system.

A further deterioration of the traditional family unit, the increase in latchkey children, drugs, crime and violence in the schools as well as a breakdown of the, heretofore, accepted values and discipline all contributed to greater burdens upon

the schools. Counseling and guidance services were increased as well as the provision of meals, sometimes three times a day in certain areas, were added to the school's responsibilities. Attempts to meet these needs gave rise to non-traditional settings. Classrooms and environments were developed to meet these new needs.

While these developments were transpiring throughout the country, education was also evolving in Charleston. Sometimes the trends arising in the other sections were embraced in the South, others were rejected. Political and social differences dictated a variety of responses.

Education in Charleston in the 17th Century

In the 17th century, the primary purpose of education in Charles Town was, at least overtly, to preserve the beliefs of the Anglican Church. Secondly, and perhaps more covertly, the purpose was to insure social stability (Spring, 1986).

Respect and obedience to authority were not new concepts for the Carolinians. They were a direct legacy from their English heritage with which the residents of Charles Town so strongly identified and avidly clung. This emphasis served to tame the independence and individuality of the colonists which although necessary to survival on the frontier of civilization, was also a threat to the domination of these same colonists. The settlers accepted the same practices with which they were familiar in England; the sons of those with position or power were educated while the sons of the poor were apprenticed or indentured. In Charles Town this was not questioned and was not challenged. Interest was

generated mostly toward the children of the wealthy. Little attention was directed toward the children of the artisans or the poor. This was the result of a combination of causes, not the least of which was the need for artisans and skilled craftsmen for the expansion of the community as well as the nature of the settlers themselves. Primarily seeking to wrest a life out of the wilderness, the skills offered by a classical education offered little inducement. Such an education for the artisans and the poor was simply not an option. A new lifestyle could be attained with more immediacy than that which required years in preparation and study.

Religious freedom was tolerated in the colony in order to attract settlers, but the Church of England was the official religion and the one empowered to receive funds from Parliament to build churches and support their ministers granting it a decided advantage. One of the primary duties of the ministers was to "teach as well as preach." Schools became the natural extension of this policy. With additional aid from the "Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" ministers, materials and money were provided to equip these schools. A few schools were established but the scarcity of ministers combined with the remoteness of the settled plantations, kept religion and education at a minimum. At a later date, other religions especially the Methodists, Presbyterians and the Baptists pursued a more evangelical course and attempted to fulfill the need of their congregations for education.

Wallace (1951) contended that private tutors were found in the colony as early as 1694, although no specific mention is made of schools or teachers in the colony

before 1700 (Spruill, 1938). It would be difficult to reconcile such an absence with the evidence. Communications and governmental needs would have dictated that at least a smattering of the fundamentals of reading and writing be transmitted to the next generation. The colony of Virginia, also settled as a "for profit" enterprise, makes note of tutors as early as mid 1600s. It is fair to assume that a similar situation also existed in South Carolina. Also, whatever learning was possessed by the patriarchal head of the family was more than likely transmitted by him or his agent, perhaps his wife, although women even in wealthy families were often illiterate at this time, to his offspring or at least to his sons. The English tradition of the father as the titular head of the family made him responsible for their well-being. It was by his authority and his alone, that all decisions concerning both his immediate as well as his extended family were made (Spruill, 1938). Education and schooling would certainly fall into this category. This tradition was strongly entrenched in South Carolina where the wilderness and isolation emphasized such authority. Extant wills and testaments signify that at least some attempts were made to provide for the education of future generations.

Unlike England at this time, class lines in Charles Town were relatively fluid and in some ways a more open social system existed. The viewpoint that education could offer more freedom and better social conditions was present, if germinal, as it was in the other colonies.

For an extended period the colony was not much more than a trading post so little sustained thought was given to its future educational needs. This

profoundly influenced the amount of education available and perhaps contributed to the restriction of a more organized approach.

Education in Charleston in the 18th Century

Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel (1906) in her book on Charleston, notes that John Lawson, surveyor general of North Carolina wrote in 1709,

The colony was at first planted by a genteel sort of people that were acquainted with Trade, and had either Money or Parts to make good use of the Advantages offered. They have a considerable trade with both Europe and the West Indies, whereby they become rich and are supply'd with all Things necessary for Trade and genteel Living, which several other places fall short of. Their co-habiting in a town has drawn to them ingenious People of most Sciences, whereby they have Tutors amongst them that educate their Youth a-la-mode.

Cash (1956) might have taken exception with his observation and argued the fact that the colony was settled by a "genteel sort of people" as being uncharacteristic of settlers of a new land. In a scant thirty-nine years, hardly more than a generation, perhaps the specter of gentility had ascended or perhaps it merely appeared genteel in comparison to Lawson's own experiences.

In a similar vein Ravenel quotes the same author,

The gentlemen of Carolina, had always had tutors for their sons; but now the necessity for more general education was felt, and after much discussion a free school was established, of which Mr. John Douglas was to be master, by the name and stile of Preceptor of Teacher of Grammar, and the other Arts and Sciences to be taught at the New School at Charles Town for the province of South Carolina.

The Free School Act to which Lawson referred was written in 1710 and was surpassed by a more comprehensive act in 1712. The term "free school" did not

mean universal education for all children without cost. It simply meant that the colony was now willing to provide for a few pupils at public expense while the school master charged for teaching other students. Each parish was allowed twelve pounds to help build a school and ten pounds for any master establishing a school if approved by the vestry. The basic requirements to qualify as a master were the ability to teach Latin and Greek and membership in the Church of England.

In this early period, there were only a few schools, but papers still existing in both private and public collections suggest that there were a number of well educated people residing in the area. Their surviving papers reveal a grasp of composition and the ability to comprehend and analyze a wide variety of topics. Many of these were often presented in a beautifully written script. Most people signed their own wills and a clerk in Commons doodled on blank pages in Latin (Wallace, 1951). Perhaps, these were the people Lawson described as "genteel". Wallace (1951) suggests that the illiteracy of a later date probably arose during the period of rapid expansion into the frontier regions to the north and northwest of Charles Town.

In 1712, Benjamin Dennis was the schoolmaster at Goose Creek, just outside of Charles Town where he taught 27 white students, 2 Indian students and 1 Black student (Wallace, 1951). This demonstrated the class fluidity of the area at this time but it was to change radically in the not too distant future.

While a few legacies were left for the establishment of free schools for the most part education was available only for a fee.

Forty-five boys were enrolled and sixty were anticipated by Christmas in the free school at Charles Town taught by the Reverend Mr. Morrith in 1723 (Wallace, 1951). The curriculum was similar to that of the English classical schools and Morrith complained of the newcomers in town with whom he had to compete for students. These newcomers introduced a more utilitarian course of study, an indication of a new awareness making its presence felt for the need of education as well as a reflection of trends appearing in England and on the continent (Wallace, 1951).

A wealthy, pious Presbyterian, Mr. Hugh Bryan established a school for blacks in 1740. It was taught by the Reverend William Hutson. Mr. Bryan, however, claiming to have conversed with an invisible spirit, was thought insane. He was charged and pleaded guilty to having assembled large numbers of blacks under religious pretenses. He had prophesied the destruction of Charleston and the freeing of the slaves. The trial was not pressed and the school was closed (Wallace, 1951).

On September 12, 1743, Dr. Alexander Garden expressed his desire to convert and educate the blacks and opened his school in Charles Town. This school was built through private philanthropy. In the interim, slavery was being undermined in the colonies. South Carolina consequently forbade the teaching of slaves. There was a long standing fear of a slave uprising. They also resented being dictated to by the other colonies. The school closed about 1764, having once had an enrollment of more than sixty pupils. (Wallace, 1951).

English authorities commanded that Lieutenant Governor Bull send a detailed description of the colony. On November 30, 1770, Bull complied and included in his message the following:

Literature is but in its infancy here. We have not one good grammar school, though foundations for several in our neighboring parishes. All our gentlemen, who have anything of a learned education, have acquired it in England, and it is to be lamented they are not more numerous. The expense, the distance from parents, the danger to morals and health, are various objections against sending children to England. Though there are many gentlemen well acquainted with such branches of knowledge as can be derived from the English language. We have a provincial free school, the master and usher whereof are paid by the public, but their salaries being established in the early age of the province, are insufficient to engage and retain fit men. The masters when tolerably well qualified have frequently quitted the laborious tasks of teaching boys, for the more easy office of preaching in some country parish. It is proposed by increasing salary and building a convenient house for boarders to put the master above the seduction of any ecclesiastical benefice here, and to invite able men, perhaps ushers from some of the great schools in England (Wallace, 1951).

In Charles Town at this time, there were teachers of mathematics, fencing, French, drawing, dancing, music and needlework. The Gazette, a Charles Town newspaper, listed over 412 advertisements for schools or schoolmasters in South Carolina from 1733 to 1774. There were over 200 individuals in the province claiming to be tutors, schoolmasters or schoolmistresses professing their ability to teach a wide variety of subjects both practical and cultural (Wallace, 1951).

South Carolinians did provide generously to higher education from 1735 to 1765, contributing about 50,000 pounds annually. They donated liberally to the establishment of Brown in 1760 and to Princeton in 1764. In 1764, Commons initiated proceedings for establishing a college within the colony. The political

atmosphere however, was not conducive to a better organized effort on behalf of education in general. Attention was concentrated on the mounting hostilities with Great Britain.

On January 29, 1770, Lieutenant Governor Bull, recognizing the need, sent Commons a message focusing entirely on education. He wanted the free school put on a more stable basis, a college created and schools established at Waxhaws, Camden, Broad River, Ninety-Six, New Bordeaux, Congaree or any other place needed for more general use. Commons supported these recommendations and agreed to a master for each proposed school. They substituted Enoree for Broad River adding Orangeburg and Cheraw. The master at each location would be required to teach twelve and later twenty pupils without charge.

Benjamin Rush left 500 pounds sterling in his estate for establishing a college and John MacKensie, a Cambridge graduate, bequeathed 7,000 pounds in 1771 as well as his library for the same purpose. A deadlock regarding funds as well as the Revolution halted all progress and necessitated postponement of these plans.

By the 18th century, there had been an increase in the number of tutors, boarding schools, seminaries and colleges in the colony. Many of the wealthy chose to send their offspring back to England to be educated, although Wallace (1951) believed that the custom has been overstated. He based this on the warnings found in the correspondence of the colonists which cautioned of the dangers of prolonged contact with eighteenth century England. The practice, at whatever level, lasted at least until the Revolution. During and after the Revolution many students were sent up North to receive their education. The

influence of the church was still strong and education remained essentially aristocratic. The curriculum for the children of the wealthy planters emphasized a classical orientation with the understanding that they would eventually assume the appropriate skills of leadership plus the affectations of polite society. The children of the poor or orphaned were taught by rote, in field schools or pauper schools, reinforcing their compliance to authority. Most of these children were bound out as apprentices or indentured servants, some in their infancy. Because of the labor shortages, the usual seven years of bondage were frequently reduced and even though masters were required to provide for the schooling of their indentured servants or apprentices, they were often negligent in this respect.

Education in Charleston in the 19th Century

In South Carolina there was still little interest in education for the masses. Throughout the 19th century, the South lagged in developing a government sponsored system of education. This was further perpetuated into the 20th century with the issue of segregation. The differences in the educational practices in the various regions extended to the political differences between the colonies.

In the 18th century, English political thinkers, inventors and industrialists interacted freely with the philosophical and intellectual minds of the day. This was seen in South Carolina, especially in Charles Town, where an elitist circle of self-styled intellectuals dabbled in a variety of scholarly pursuits ranging from botany to writing poetry. The fatal fallacy of this group appeared to be that rather than becoming more inclusive as might be expected with exposure to new

ideas, they became more exclusive, restricting and often rejecting the stimulating ideas of other areas, perhaps on some level of consciousness, recognizing these ideas would be the demise of their society as they knew it and wished it to continue. By attempting to preserve their "Camelot" they became more provincial neglecting to explore these new schools of thought and technology. Instead they limited their exposure to all but that which propagated their ideals becoming further estranged from the mainstream of the rest of the country.

This marvelously erudite, charming and sophisticated society chose not to acknowledge the evil upon which they prospered. The economic reality prevented all but a few from plunging into the changing industrial society. Because of outside pressures, they retreated into their own mind set and defended their right to continue as they were. Education suffered. No longer were the young sent North to be exposed to an exchange of ideas and experiences. Rather, these potential leaders were educated at home and incalculated with the truth of their fathers. Church related colleges based on fundamentalist principles flourished as did other church related institutions basically established as a means of preserving their own religious beliefs rather than primarily as a search for knowledge. The society and its educational system became stagnant. Tensions between sections mounted as opposing views on slavery, states' rights, agriculture, industry, tariffs, trade, urban and rural development escalated and plunged the countryside into war. During the War and immediately thereafter education became subordinate to survival (Good, 1962).

In the North enthusiasm for public schools had mounted in the 1830s where it was viewed as a means of preparing the work force for the developing urbanized and industrialized society. It was also seen as a method of Americanizing the influx of immigrants of the 19th century and instilling into this new population the work ethic and the ambition to achieve in life (Doyle, 1990).

The South especially felt this urgency for the newly enfranchised freedmen. They adopted the rhetoric of supporting public education but not the actuality. While black education was recognized as an economic advantage and as a means of gaining social control, even the leading Southern cities rejected the movement reflecting the regional suspicion, racism and conservatism. They regarded such an attempt as unnecessary and dangerous (Doyle, 1990).

Most black education in the South in the post war years was provided by Northerners increasing the mistrust and suspicion. Resistance by frugal taxpayers and frightened parents was reminiscent of the North thirty years earlier when they struggled with some of the same problems but on a lesser scale (Doyle, 1990).

In 1856, Wallace (1951) rated the schools in Charleston on a par with the leading cities of the country but this was not true for the rest of the state. One of the reasons for this inconsistency was the structure of the community itself which enjoyed a concentrated and wealthy population. C.G. Memminger and W.J. Bennett, both school officials visited New York and New England to study their systems. In 1856, the Commissioners began the effort to convert the "pauper schools" into a common school. This was modeled on the New York system and Northern teachers, familiar with modern methods were imported to help establish

them. Preparations were made for three hundred students but six hundred registered when the stigma of "pauper" had been removed. Textbooks were provided free of charge. A local tax of 15% of the general tax was levied to support the schools. One thousand five hundred children applied for admission by the end of the first year representing all social classes. By 1859-1860 the school census reached 2,786. Parents and tax payers were impressed with the good deportment and academic progress in the schools and fears of mixing the classes were allayed. The system was so successful that by 1860 a normal school was established in the city. The Civil War prevented Charleston from leading the State into a modern educational system (Wallace, 1951).

At this time the total South Carolina school enrollment was approximately 28,993 out of a possible estimated eligible population of 60,000. Illiterates over twenty years of age were estimated to be 14,792 people, a vast improvement over the estimated 20,000 illiterates in 1840. These figures stimulated interest in education and contributed to the doubling of the school appropriations in 1852 and the revolutionary strides achieved in Charleston in 1856 (Wallace, 1951).

Higher education was also stimulated and a number of colleges, mostly with denominational affiliations were established throughout the state. South Carolina College had grown but the College of Charleston fell upon hard times and sank to a grammar school. It was transformed into a real college in 1825 through the efforts of Reverend Jasper Adams formerly of Brown University. Financial difficulties led to its adoption by the City government in 1837. Boarding schools, male and female seminaries and academies proliferated. In 1860 colleges in the

South enrolled one of every 312 whites in the region as compared with one in every 651 in the North. Academies served one in every 54 in the South versus one in every 61 in the North and the public schools taught 1 out of every 8 whites in the South compared to one in every 4.8 in the North (Wallace, 1951). While these figures are impressive little is said concerning equivocal information. All this was drastically altered during and after the Civil War.

In 1868, the makers of the State Constitution ordained a public school system but it remained highly unorganized and underfunded. In spite of all its faults it was at least a step in the right direction (Wallace, 1951). For many blacks the segregated school system which arose while less than ideal, was nevertheless a stride forward from no education at all.

The depression and extreme poverty of the area made adequate public education next to impossible under any government but under the Redeemers the lack of social responsibility was rationalized. Public education was associated with the "Carpetbaggers" and was the first of the services to suffer under the Reformers' retrenchment policies (Woodard, 1980). After the Redemption Movement succeeded the school term was shortened and the one hundred day term, the highest since Reconstruction days, was not restored until after the beginning of the 20th century. The per capita expenditure rose to \$0.97 in the South by 1890 in response to the Farmers' Movement but compared to the \$2.24 spent in the nation as a whole, this was completely inadequate. Not even with the help of the North could this meager amount of money meet the need. Many Southerners advocated Federal aid and they argued that the problem was not of

their making but rather that Emancipation and black enfranchisement were national policies and therefore the burden should not be born entirely by the South. Appropriations were suggested by the Republican legislature largely as a foil to disguise a large Treasury surplus produced by a high protective tariff which the Democrats had rejected and which hurt the South. The Republicans dropped the bill when tariff reform was in progress.

South Carolina did manage to utilize voter registration laws to her advantage and was effective in reducing the electorate by adopting the eight box law in 1882. Ballots were placed in specific boxes for different offices. If a ballot was in the wrong box it was discarded. By constantly switching the placement of the boxes prearranged balloting was prevented and a literate individual was prevented from aiding an illiterate voter. At this time 55% of blacks in South Carolina were classified as illiterate (Kousser, 1974).

Education in Charleston in the 20th Century

In 1900, Booker T. Washington had come to prominence as a black educator. He extolled the maxims and benefits of thrift, virtue and free competition. His philosophy was based on personal worth and individualism. Regretfully this harkened back to bygone days and never accommodated for mass production, industrialization, large conglomerations or monopolies (Woodard, 1980).

As late as the 20th century an adequate school system had not been established in the South. Those schools which did exist were poorly supported, scarcely attended, badly taught and far behind any other social institution in the

region. While the expenditure for each child nationally was now \$21.14 it was only \$4.62 in South Carolina. While this represented the amount spent on the average white child only \$2.91 was spent on the average black child (Woodard, 1980).

To compound these difficulties the ratio of children to adults in the South was 100 to 61 as compared to Massachusetts where there were 135 adults to every 100 children. The average adult in the South had about twice as many children to provide for than did adults in the North. The South was appreciably poorer and had less financial means to meet these obligations. Added to these difficulties was the expense in maintaining a dual system much of which was located in a rural setting (Wallace, 1951).

Inadequate as the schools obviously were, the problem of low attendance had to be addressed. Less than one-half of eligible children of school age attended school on a regular basis. By 1900 almost all states outside the South had initiated some compulsory school attendance laws.

The worse educational gap occurred at the secondary school level. Charles W. Dabney, President of the University of Tennessee claimed that "except for a few cities the high schools were nothing more than the addition of a few miscellaneous courses to the common school". Students accepted for college usually attended private schools and academies, which of course were contributory factors in delaying the establishment and improvement of public schools (Woodward, 1980).

The South did not experience a great educational awakening until the 20th century and Woodward (1980) called it a combination of paternalism and noblesse oblige, the closest the South could come to Northern humanitarianism. The deficiencies of the Southern system were exposed at the 1901 meeting of the Conference for Southern Education. A propaganda campaign swept the area. Southerners became convinced that education was a panacea for a number of social ills. Pains were taken to eliminate the suspicion that the movement was Yankee sponsored but proclaimed it the fulfillment of Jefferson's philosophy of destroying ignorance.

Teacher salaries, preparation and performance were upgraded. The length of the school term was extended and white illiteracy of school age children was reduced to half its previous amount at the beginning of the century. Black illiteracy was similarly reduced although no attempt was made to provide equal physical facilities for blacks. Despite all the improvements the South remained woefully behind the national average for the period. Poverty, excessive numbers of school age children over adults and the necessity of providing for dual systems sapped the strength of the system leaving it poorly equipped to cope with the problems it faced (Woodward, 1980).

The inherent problem was not apathy but poverty. Philanthropic sources attempted to address the root cause of the poverty in the area with an extensive agricultural program designed to confront the plight of the working farmer on a direct level through the use of model farms and extension services (Woodward, 1980).

A survey of Southern institutes of higher learning undertaken in 1910 indicated a large number of less than mediocre schools spread the limited funds available very thin. It was estimated that twenty colleges of fair standing could meet the regional needs. Instead, there were twenty such institutions of various kinds in each state, miserably equipped and competing with each other and with high schools for the little available revenue available in the form of tuition fees. Many were kept functioning as a result of their preparatory departments and were colleges in name only (Woodward, 1980).

In 1913 bachelor degrees for thirty-eight Southern women's colleges were considered approximately equivalent to one year of college work while degrees from fifty-eight others were even more substandard and were not equivalent to any standard work at all. James Kirkland of Vanderbilt organized the Southern Association of Colleges and Universities and set entrance requirements and standards of scholarship. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching rated colleges according to their admission requirements and withheld benefits from those who failed to meet the standards. Gifts in the form of endowments more than doubled from 1901 to 1913 but the South's portion was no greater in 1913 than it had been in 1901 (Woodward, 1980).

The 6-0-1 law of 1924 was the greatest impetus for raising the criteria of general education. It established standards and equalized salaries throughout the state of South Carolina. The State would provide funds for six months if the county or district would fund the schools for one month. The consolidation of weak schools, the proliferation of high schools, the transportation of children and

the improvement of buildings, equipment and teachers revolutionized the schools within twenty years. State aid helped eliminate the differences in the length of term and quality of teaching as well as increased the types of services the schools could provide. By 1940 the State guaranteed an eight month school term and better salaries throughout the State. These benefits were enhanced even more in the more progressive districts and more affluent communities. In the 1939-1940 school year the public schools enrolled 65% of the black and 77% of the white population of school age children (Woodard, 1980).

In spite of the illiteracy of approximately 1/6 th of the population in 1914 South Carolinians still rejected compulsory education. In 1915 any district or group of districts were permitted to elect compulsory education for 8 to 14 year olds for 80 days. By 1921 this had been amended to included all 7 to 14 year olds. Difficult economic times descended and left most systems without any attendance officers to enforce law (Woodward, 1980).

The depression following the Stock Market collapse in 1929 had a devastating effect on education. Many felt that formal education was a frill which the State simply could not afford. Terms were shortened, salaries were cut and eventually teachers were paid in script or not at all. Some of this script was not redeemed for as long as thirteen years. South Carolina's general fund shrank. Federal grants helped to keep the schools open in 1934 with the Federal Emergency Educational Program (FERA) which provided relief programs for teachers by establishing nursery schools, literacy to vocational educational programs, general education programs and general adult studies. From 1934-1936 numerous new educational

plants were built for regular education (Tindall, 1967). At first stimulated by the "New Deal" and then later by wartime prosperity, state school expenditures began to rise from \$344,283,681 in 1930 to \$603,994,031 in 1946 in the South.

Blacks students as late as 1940 in St. Andrew's Parish sat on newspapers or on planks supported by bricks. A Peabody College (Vanderbilt) report in 1946 asserted that blacks in South Carolina were seriously hampered in college because of the unsatisfactory preparation they received on the elementary and secondary levels (Tindall, 1967).

The decade of the forties saw great strides in education on all levels. Attendance both black and white increased, salaries were improved and terms were expanded.

In 1947, the Federal District Court denied the petition of a black to be admitted to the law school at University of South Carolina but ruled if by the next session the State had not provided a law school at the State College for Negroes he must be admitted to the University of South Carolina. The result was the establishment of a black law school (Tindall, 1967).

Medical education was provided and tuition furnished upon request to pay for black medical students desiring to attend institutions outside the State. In cooperation with other Southern States, South Carolina provided funds for Meherry Medical School in Nashville, Tennessee where high quality medical education was provided for blacks from the supporting states. Many black leaders rejected this arrangement and demanded admission without discrimination in their own states (Tindall, 1967).

The next twenty years were dominated by the Civil Rights' Movement and many incidents touched upon the schools. The quality of education became increasingly better for all segments of the population for the ten years between 1950 and 1960. Much of this was the effect of direct education policies on the federal level, some of it was residual effects from Civil Rights' Legislation.

In 1967 an act was passed establishing the Charleston County School District. A progress report issued in 1969 stated that the rebuilding of public education had been undertaken with an emphasis on better instruction. The number of accredited elementary schools was tripled, forty-two reading centers were opened, art and music classes for 29,000 students were begun and the number of adult education graduates doubled. A number of existing services were increased and new ones were established. The provision of health services doubled, psychological services tripled, special education services doubled and speech therapy was increased a phenomenal fifty times (Charleston District Progress Report, 1969).

The progress report indicated that the personnel and business offices had increased their efficiency and many of the goals which had been previously identified as problem areas within the system, had been met or were in the process of being met. Charleston at this time was the fourth richest district in the state. It covered an area approximately 110 miles long by an average of 9 miles wide. It had a population of 271,000.

The United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) in response to Civil Rights' decisions wrote and enforced guidelines to insure

integrated schools. The consolidation of the school district was an attempt to meet these guidelines as well as upgrade public education for all residents of the area.

Before this act, the area was divided into eight separate districts each with its own autonomous Boards of Trustees. One of the deficiencies of this system was the inequities of opportunities offered. Poor districts could not provide the number or variety of programs and services necessary if their students were going to be able to compete with people from other areas in the market place and in higher educational facilities beyond the region.

The bill to consolidate these eight districts into one created a district encompassing about 1,000 square miles and included 57,000 students. This made it one of the largest in the nation in terms of both area and numbers of pupils and it complied with the recommendations of HEW. Many local industries favored the move even though it would mean an increase in taxes, in the hope of a better educated work force. The League of Women Voters also supported the move as did the newspapers. There was opposition by many parents who had been pleased with the status quo and from a large and vocal group who feared integration and loss of control as well as increased taxation. Within two years the initially appointed board gradually became totally elected and numerous new opportunities especially in special education were offered on a more equitable basis. The system remained large and unwieldy requiring extensive busing due to its essentially rural character.

Regretfully, consolidation did not bring about the desired effect to the degree necessary to upgrade the system. South Carolina still ranked the lowest or within the lowest on all measures and compared nationally. This translated into an uneducated work force which inhibited the establishment of new, clean industry in the area. It increased its dependence on the military and service sectors in the economy which could be transient and insecure. Agricultural areas were eroded and the small independent farmers were being eliminated as the land was sold for real estate development especially as tourist and retirement areas whose needs were not the same as the permanent life-time resident in terms of education.

Summary

As education became an important aspect of American life the South demonstrated an inability to remain in competition with the rest of the country in providing these services. Charleston reflected a reluctance to educate at public expense large segments of her population which restrained her cultural, social and economic growth throughout the centuries and remained a problem. Despite this considerable drawback, educational services grew and along with them, special education.

CHAPTER V

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIAL EDUCATION

Overview

The establishment of a free public school system soon gave rise to the creation of special education. The history of special education as an organized and integrated program is very brief (Gerheart, 1980), in many instances the events which influenced the development of general education attracted the attention of those who would initiate efforts on behalf of the exceptional. A number of handicaps had been recognized for generations and attempts at education for the blind, the deaf, the retarded and the mentally ill were the first to be undertaken. These attempts were, for a long period of time, sporadic and isolated. Before any extensive programs could be developed compulsory school education had to become a reality. This occurred only slightly over a hundred years ago.

In 1856, fewer than 5% of American children between the ages of five and seventeen attended school. Those who did attend seldom went for more than a couple of years and usually for only a few months during those years (Spring, 1986). In the rural, agricultural society which was the foundation of the United States during this period, interruptions for planting and harvesting took precedent over educational demands. Schools were often located far from the homes of prospective students further discouraging attendance. Urban areas fared no better and had their own problems which prevented participation in educational

activities. Factory workers received such meager wages that even very young children worked to bolster family income. Children as young as six years old were expected to work ten to fourteen hours a day (Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985).

To compound these difficulties, the curriculum of most of the existing public schools seldom fit the needs of many who attended; specifically the poor, the newly arrived immigrants and those with disabilities, yet, little thought was given to altering the regimented course of study or changing the instructional techniques for any of them. This predicament continued until education was demanded for all children. School attendance gained acceptance after industrial technology and economic conditions created an atmosphere conducive to participation (Smith, Price and Marsh, 1982).

In 1840, Rhode Island became the first state to enact compulsory education laws and was soon followed by other states. By the early years of the 1900's public education was established in America, and by 1918 compulsory education was a reality in all states.

These early years of the 20th century became known as the "Progressive Era". Educational reformers joined with union leaders to force the adoption of the first of many child labor laws which advanced the cause of public education throughout the nation. This period also saw spectacular change in the social attitudes toward children. The growth of child psychology and the development of educational theory and practice was supported by government policy and new technology.

The History of Special Education
in the United States

These psycho-educational advances were accompanied by changes fostered by extended medical knowledge in areas such as epilepsy and cerebral palsy. These plus other diseases and syndromes, along with developmental studies, confirmed the uniqueness of childhood and adolescence (Harding and McCormack, 1986). There were, however, a number of children who still would not or could not conform because of their special gifts and talents or because of their handicapping conditions. These children were often excluded from the benefits of education until the public schools began responding to their needs (Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985). Until then, those possessing attributes of giftedness were believed capable of fulfilling their own academic, psychological and social needs. Those at the opposite end of the spectrum were considered unable to learn or unworthy to be taught (Reynolds and Birch, 1982).

In recent years attempts were made to provide for the needs of these individuals. The commitment to educate all children had been new and controversial, but the concept of educating every child to his or her highest level of performance was radical (Kirk and Gallagher, 1983). The whole process was evolutionary and its many transitions were dictated by the prevailing philosophical attitudes, religious doctrines, values, customs and beliefs of the time (Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985; Harding and McCormack, 1986 and Smith, Price and Marsh, 1983). Even the term used to designate the status of the handicapped,

"exceptional", indicated the sharp reversal in society's perception of those who did not conform to preconceived ideas of normalcy (Kirk and Gallagher, 1983).

Accompanying the new scientific and technological advances were theories focusing on the nature, cause and treatment of many handicapping conditions. A clinical approach altered and influenced the services rendered (Harding and McCormach, 1986), but the greatest impetus for the improvement of services came through the adoption of relevant laws and government policies. The laws and policies were often the result of militant demands on the part of parents and others concerned with handicapped and disabled people. These advocates and organizations not only focused attention on the needs of the exceptional, but they also emphasized the importance of stressing the abilities of the handicapped and not merely their disabilities. The impact of the movement was felt with greater urgency as the handicapped were increasingly integrated with the general population in educational, social and personal settings. The expanded need for services was created by greater demands for literacy, compulsory school attendance and renewed interest in civil rights (Smith, Price and Marsh, 1983).

In the very early years of the country there had been no public provisions for children or adults with special needs. Often they had been "stored away" in a poor house or other charitable center or left at home without educational provisions. By the 19th century, reformers such as Horace Mann, Samuel Gridley Howe and Dorothea Dix were instrumental in establishing residential schools for the handicapped. From 1817 to the beginning of the Civil War in 1861, a number of states had established residential schools for children who were deaf, blind,

mentally retarded or orphaned. These categorical schools were similar to those found in Europe and remained the dominant pattern for over one hundred years (Reynolds and Birch, 1982).

In 1817, Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet founded the American Asylum for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf as a residential institution in Hartford, Connecticut. Later the name was changed to the American School for the Deaf. In 1829 Samuel Gridley Howe established the first residential school for the blind in Watertown, Massachusetts and called it the New England Asylum for the Blind. This became the Perkins School for the Blind. Thirty years later, in 1859, a residential school for the mentally retarded, the Massachusetts School for the Idiotic and Feebleminded Youth was established in South Boston, Massachusetts. These schools offered training and provided a protective environment throughout the lifespan of the individual. They also provided for their own staffing through in house training. Many states established public residential schools after these private institutions demonstrated the educability of their students. Still, there were great numbers of disabled children unserved. Some states lagged in establishing their own public facilities and many families simply could not afford private ones. For some families the issue of separation, usually at an early age, was an obstacle which extracted too great an emotional toll and educational opportunities were relinquished in favor of keeping their children at home (Reynolds and Birch, 1982).

In the beginning, most of these early residential schools excluded the severely handicapped and those with multiple handicaps. Now, these schools exist only

for such populations or for those who reside in isolated communities without specialized resources. In these cases parental advocacy forced public school financing of education in private institutions (Reynolds and Birch, 1982).

While progress was made in the first three quarters of the century, nevertheless, the fortunes of special education rose and fell with those of general education (Harding and McCormack, 1986). All factors impacting on general and special education were highly integrated and changes in one area influenced those exerted in all areas. Hewitt (1974) suggested that the treatment of the handicapped followed a cyclical pattern which exhibited advances and declines of each era. This may be extrapolated with Miehls' (1964) view that general education was not only cyclical but also upwardly spiral in nature. A parallel theory is appropriate for special education.

The Handicapped in the Distant Past

There is little evidence available concerning how society dealt with these problems in the distant past. The practices of early cultures toward their handicapped people are largely unknown but there is ample evidence to document the existence of such a population (Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985). An Egyptian papyrus dated 1552 B.C. known as the "Therapeutic Papyrus of Thebes" contains the earliest extant references to the handicapped (Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985). The ancient Egyptians believed in life after death, and in conjunction with this belief mummified the bodies of many of their dead. Recent X-rays of these mummies have revealed that some had cranial and skeletal anomalies consistent

with the signs of mental retardation (Harris and Weeks, 1973). The Pre-Columbian civilizations of the Incas, Mayas and Aztecs left written evidence that they, too, had retarded citizens in their cultures. Guerra (1971) reported that in this civilization the retarded often fulfilled various assigned social, religious and educational roles. This was determined through extensive examination of clay figurines and vessels shaped in human form dating from the Pre-Columbian Era. Physicians and scholars concluded that syphilis and perhaps von Recklinhausen's disease (neurofibromatosis) were present in the society. Both of these diseases can be manifested in mental retardation and mental illness (Smith, Price and Marsh, 1983). The researchers postulated that the preservation of these clay models suggested that they may have been employed for teaching medicine and/or possibly in religious ceremonies (Polsky, Rippman and Overton, 1965).

There is little evidence to indicate that any improvement in the treatment of the handicapped had occurred as late as classical times. During this era the ancient Greeks and some Romans sought to preserve and improve the prowess of their society by eliminating its weaker elements. This was most often accomplished by drowning. The handicapped were regarded as cursed by the gods and at various times throughout history it was believed that those incapable of caring and providing for themselves simply should be allowed to die (Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985).

In the Greek city-state of Sparta, every citizen was trained for war and its army was its power and pride. Their philosophy was formed around its army code, "To be good was to be strong and brave." To hone men to such a vigorous

discipline it was necessary to indoctrinate children from birth. The first step in such an enormous undertaking involved eugenics. Every father had the right to commit infanticide. He did this with the approval of a state council of inspectors. Children that appeared defective were executed. They were thrown from a cliff on Mt. Taygetus to their death on the rocks below (Durand, 1966). The Spartan Code had emphasized physical fitness, dominance in warfare and an educated citizenry as primary goals. The physically or mentally disabled, unable to conform to this code, had no place in the society. Even peculiar birth marks and less obvious deviations were sufficient to merit extinction (Smith, Price and Marsh, 1983).

These methods continued well into Roman times although Baumeister and Butterfield (1970) indicated that some wealthy Romans retained a few of the "dull-witted" or "physically marred" for their entertainment. This custom filtered down into the middle ages where the handicapped were kept as court jesters and fools to create diversion and entertainment (Kirk and Gallagher, 1962; Cleland and Swartz, 1982; Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985).

Alexander the Great had exhibited an interest in the exceptional at the opposite end of the spectrum. He prompted a search throughout his kingdom for young males who demonstrated unusual talent. He was looking for those possessing keen minds and demonstrated the potential for development. His desire was to train these young men to strengthen his national concern for commerce, arts and military might (Smith, Price and Marsh, 1983).

These drastic procedures occurred from antiquity to approximately the fourth century and were classified as the Infanticidal Mode by deMeuse (1974). They continued until Christianity introduced a new means of dealing with the handicapped, mainly that of abandonment.

The Talmud, the Bible and the Koran, which contain the teachings of three of the major religions of the world, exhorted Jews, Christians and Moslems to treat the handicapped with compassion but this was seldom the case. Saint Nicholas Thaumaturgas, who later served as the prototype for "Santa Claus" became the patron saint and champion of the mentally retarded in the Christian era (Kanner, 1964), although there is no indication of his special involvement with the handicapped.

In both the Moslem and Christian religions there were those who believed that the mentally retarded and mentally ill were "innocents of God" and as such deserved to be treated with kindness and care but these were the exceptions. If care was given at all, it was received in crowded, unheated asylums. In these places the residents were poorly clothed, underfed, cruelly treated and often chained or beaten.

By medieval times, demonology or the belief that the retarded or mentally ill were possessed by evil spirits abounded. Efforts were made to "cure" the retarded or mentally ill by exorcism or by beatings. Sometimes the "possessed" were taken to visit holy places and were forced to endure being spat upon by priests and other clergy. A few of the retarded were more fortunate and were placed in monasteries or homes of the wealthy but by far the greater majority were confined

in prisons and institutions for the mentally ill or similar facilities which in those times sheltered a very heterogeneous census including criminals, prostitutes, mentally retarded and mentally ill all in a single accommodation.

During the Middle Ages the handicapped were viewed with a mixture of fear and reverence. They were believed to be in some way connected to the unknown. Some were wandering beggars; others jesters in castles. It was during this medieval era that a few of the more advanced segments of society began to provide the basic necessities to the disabled. It was the embryonic beginnings of institutionalization, a manner of treatment which was to endure for centuries. Organizations, primarily churches and monasteries, charity houses and asylums, began to consider the care of the handicapped. While the attempts were far from adequate they did demonstrate a new awareness on the part of a small minority of the society (Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985).

Wars and treating injured veterans became the leading and traditional manner in which the care and training of the handicapped was advanced. Louis IX, in 1260, had initiated such treatment when he provided care for his soldiers blinded in the Crusades (Scheerenberger, 1983).

During the Renaissance and later in the Reformation a change for the worst took place. Exorcism, demonology and persecution of the handicapped again flourished. Martin Luther (1517) and John Calvin (1541) accused the mentally ill of being "filled with Satan." Many, as a result of this doctrine, were confined in chains and thrown into dungeons (Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985).

The Handicapped in the 17th Century

Fortunately, as the 17th century began these attitudes underwent a more positive shift. In the early 1600's a hospital in Paris began to provide treatment for the emotionally disabled. One of the earliest attempts at special education occurred as early as 1651 when an aid for teaching the blind was invented utilizing tactile discrimination for communication and the first manual alphabet for the deaf was also developed in this time.

These developments had not as yet been transported to the new world in the 17th century but the colony of Massachusetts in 1670 did established the office of the tithingmen which sought to protect children. Respected, judicious members of the community were selected to fulfill this office. They were responsible for observing family life in the colony. They monitored the behavior of children and parents and were similar to today's "child advocates" who act as protectors for the rights of children. The development of a humane approach to the care of children, which began with the tithingmen, prepared the way for additional professional aid to those with handicapping conditions (Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985).

It was John Locke in 1690 who became the first person to differentiate between people who were mentally retarded and those who were emotionally disturbed. This English philosopher was also a physician and exerted great influence on attitudes and practices of both childbirth and child-rearing. His philosophy emphasized the rights of individuals, and he was concerned that children be raised with thought and care. He recognized the child as an emotionally responsive being and acknowledged the importance of an empathetic

understanding of the child (Illick, 1974). The wide dissemination of such ideas among the middle and upper classes began to penetrate even the less educated strata of society. Locke's concepts of child-rearing became firmly embedded in the cultural traditions of Western society and eventually served as the source of an attitude of caring for the needs of the special child. It was Locke who described the child as "tabula rosa", a blank slate to be written upon. He emphasized the importance of nurturing and the effect of the environment in child development (Harding and McCormick, 1986). Still, it was not until the end of the Renaissance and the Reformation that the retarded person's station in society began to improve. This transitional period covered approximately the 14th through the 17th centuries and is classified as the ambivalent mode of child rearing by deMeuse indicating that life for all children not only the exceptional was in a state of flux.

The Handicapped in the 18th Century

By the 18th century, a number of new developments were being explored. The empiricism of John Locke (1632-1704) with his "blank slate" hypothesis paved the way for the theories of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) who professed his philosophy of the "innate goodness of man". Both propositions emphasized the importance of the environment and the significance of a nurturing atmosphere.

On the opposite side of the coin, Jean Lamark (1744-1829) was similarly adding to the wealth of knowledge just beginning to appear with his studies concerning the inheritance of acquired characteristics. His work was devoted to

determining the role of nature and heredity in human development (Cleland and Swartz, 1982).

Although these changes were occurring in Europe, they were slow to cross the Atlantic. In the American colonies, people with mental disorders which caused them to act violently or irrationally were treated as criminals. Those who were harmless were generally treated as paupers and placed in poor houses. The retarded were confined at home and given partial public support; put into poor houses or auctioned to the highest bidder who would support them at the lowest cost to the community in return for whatever work the bidder might extract from them. This practice was eventually eliminated but often to the disadvantage of those it was designed to help. The retarded not remaining at home were put into workhouses where conditions were equally unsavory and often worse than the ones they had endured when auctioned (Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985). This mode, classified by deMeuse as intrusive, was prevalent throughout the 18th century as children became increasingly involved with their parents and with authority figures.

The Handicapped in the 19th and 20th Centuries

The Age of Enlightenment swept into the 19th century charged with reform, and idealism. It focused on the importance of the individual and resulted in new interest in human liberty and equality. This ignited an entirely different perspective which permeated every aspect of society. This attitude was also extended to the handicapped and ardent reformers entered into their care. As the

world moved into the 19th and 20th centuries deMeuse classified the period as the socialization mode and parents began to accept the responsibility for the development of their children.

The French physician, Philippe Pinel (1745-1826) and his student Jean-Marc Gaspard Itard began their work with the handicapped. Pinel was the director of a Paris institute for the mentally ill. He became famous for his compassionate treatment of his patients and pioneered in the use of occupational therapy as a therapeutic regime. He was steadfast in his position proclaiming the virtue of such care in spite of the fact he was firmly convinced that children who were afflicted with "idiocy and insanity" were incurable. He fought for the humane care of the mentally ill (Kaufman, 1982) and began a movement toward a more moral treatment of them. He was the first practitioner to release them from their chains and attempt to reestablish their dignity and humanity (Harding and McCormack, 1986). He wrote his "Traite medico-philosophique sur l'alienation mentale ou la manie" in 1801 and it is considered a classic of psychiatry (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1970).

Pinel's principles and techniques for incorporating moral treatment and humane reform were being applied in America by the late 18th century by Dr. Benjamin Rush. When the country had first been colonized during the 17th century both the worst and the best of European tradition had been transported with the settlers. In early New England children had been frequently treated in a harsh and repressive manner. Later, Dr. Rush and his followers, those who were conscious of children as individuals and as emerging members of the community, sought to rectify this injustice and improve the lot of all children. Despite their

efforts, it is estimated that as late as 1850, 60% of poorhouse inmates were the deaf, the blind, the insane and the retarded (National Advisory Committee on the Handicapped, 1976).

Jean-Marc Gaspard Itard was strongly influenced by both his mentor Philippe Pinel and the English philosopher, John Locke. Itard is credited with developing the first special education program and was one of the first to investigate a variety of methods for educating the exceptional child. These methods were the results of his arduous efforts with a boy he named Victor, who had been abandoned and roamed naked in the woods outside Aveyron, France in 1799. Itard attempted to alter the wild and uncivilized behavior of this child (Itard, 1939; Lane, 1976). He recognized that his methods culminated in a less than completely satisfactory result but he was successful in documenting his techniques and left to us this important legacy. Through the promotion of his work the initial impetus in attempts to train the mentally retarded flourished. Itard believed that environmental forces were the dominant factors which shaped the unique development of the individual (Cleland and Swartz, 1982).

Itard's student, Edouard Seguin continued his study of children described as mentally deficient. In 1837, Dr. Seguin established a school for the mentally retarded where he extended Itard's ideas and became the first to proclaim that all mentally retarded people were capable of some learning.

Ten years after Seguin established his school, he left France and emigrated to the United States at the urging of Samuel Gridley Howe. The European activity in the education of the handicapped had evoked interest in the United States and Seguin became instrumental in establishing a school for the mentally retarded in

Syracuse, New York in 1854. He finished his medical training in 1861 and in 1866 he published his work on the physiological treatment of idiocy in which he stressed the importance of sensory training. Seguin collaborated with Samuel Gridley Howe and Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, two of the most important American advocates for the handicapped and with other Americans and continued to develop Itard's techniques.

Itard and Seguin are acknowledged as the pioneers in the field of education for the mentally retarded. Alfred Strauss, who at a later date led the work with brain damaged children, credited the neurologist and educator Seguin with laying the foundation for the education of the brain damaged child as well (Gerheart, 1977).

By the 1860s and 1870s researchers had defined a more specific category of handicapping condition. They recognized that lesions in particular areas of the brain caused predictable loss or severe damage to specific physiological functions. These discoveries prompted controversy over the question of feeble-mindedness and brain injury. There was little agreement on whether they were entirely separate entities or whether they were related and to what degree they were related.

From this work emerged numerous new theories regarding the acquisition of knowledge. In addition to the effects of brain injury, it appeared likely that in a large percentage of cases some retardation might accompany the injury. Further information was needed to determine whether it was necessary to distinguish between the two in educational settings (Gerheart, 1977). Concurrent with these

movements important stances were being assumed in other areas similarly exerting strong influences.

Charles Darwin and his cousin Sir Francis Galton shed new light on the old controversy waivering between the environment/nurture versus the heredity/nature argument. As a result of their work these men were instrumental in ushering in the modern period of special education. Darwin was convinced of the importance of the environment in development while Galton leaned more toward the importance of heredity. It was Darwin's emphasis on adaptive functioning on behalf of the organism which helped to explain the evolutionary aspect of behavior. He wrote a classical text on emotions (1872) which was a forerunner to comparative psychology and modern ethnological theory. Both of these were important in research on nonverbal retarded people and autistic individuals. It was Sir Francis Galton who initiated the systematic study of individual differences. He pioneered in biometrics and color blindness as well as on the study of twins (Cleland and Swartz, 1982).

It was the deaf and the blind however who were the first recipients of specific attention. In the 18th century, especially in England and France, many people became interested in working with them. Kanner (1950), noted that the earliest European references to the education of the deaf and hard of hearing were found in accounts of the work of the Spaniard Ponce de Leon in 1570; the Englishmen, Bulwer in 1648 and Wallis in 1653 and the German Camerius in 1642.

Education of the Deaf

Prior to this time, the treatment of individuals exhibiting hearing loss and its accompanied language deficits consisted of surgical operations on the tongue and regimes of fasting and penance. The fasting and penance were to atone for the "sins" that were assumed to cause the defect. Concentrated and documented educational focus which centered upon the deaf and hard of hearing did not begin until the 17th century and schools were not established for them until the 18th century.

The first school was opened in Paris in 1755. A parishioner sought the aid of a young priest, Abbe de l'Epee, to help educate his twin daughters. The girls were deaf and the Abbe was forced to develop a system by which he could teach them. He devised a method of manual communication by standardizing gestures and finger writing. His success was applauded in France and his school was expanded for other hearing impaired children. The Abbe admitted all students who applied to his school and was thereby forced to streamline his technique into a more rapid system of communication. He went on to develop a process which offered at least some education to all who came to him.

Samuel Heinecke of Germany, too, worked on a method of communication for the deaf. His technique attempted to give his students speech (Kanner, 1950). He became interested in the problem when a young deaf boy was sent to him and became his first pupil. Heinecke's approach was an oral one and he limited his studies to those students who were able to utilize such communication. The government of Germany finally gave financial support to his school.

Further activity in deaf education occurred ten years later when Thomas Braidwood established his school in Edinburgh, Scotland (Best, 1965). The

methods of both Braidwood and Heinecke had been studied by the Reverend Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet of Connecticut, who established the first school for the deaf in the United States in 1817 (Cleland and Swartz, 1982).

Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet initiated the efforts to educate the hearing impaired in the United States when he became involved in the education of Alice Cogswell, the deaf daughter of a physician. Dr. Cogswell spearheaded a campaign for the establishment of a school to educate the hearing impaired drawing on his experiences with his daughter. Gallaudet went to England to study methods there. He was interested in the work done by the Braidwood family but would not agree to the secrecy they demanded concerning their methods. He therefore continued on to France and was cordially welcomed by Abbe Sicard, successor to Abbe de L'Epee. He returned to the United States bringing with him one of the Abbe's outstanding deaf students and began to develop his program. He opened his school in Hartford, Connecticut as the American School for the Deaf. In it he utilized manual methods of communication. Soon after, three other schools for the deaf were founded one in New York in 1818; one in Pennsylvania in 1820 and one in Kentucky in 1823. They were established to serve the needs of the deaf and hard of hearing in their respective geographic areas. The schools were initially privately funded but ultimately each state assumed financial responsibility for them. During the second half of the 19th century others followed in rapid order. In 1857, in Washington, D.C., the Columbia Institute for the Deaf, Dumb and Blind was founded. From this emerged Gallaudet College. It was authorized to grant degrees and diplomas by Abraham Lincoln. Eventually the school concentrated on the hearing impaired and the blind were dropped from its curriculum. Both

undergraduate and graduate degrees in liberal arts were offered as was a teaching program concentrating on deaf education. This led to a degree program at the master's level (Cleland and Swartz, 1982).

Education of the Blind

The history of the education of the blind is of an even longer duration. As early as 1651, a tactile communication aid for the blind had been invented but it was not until 1784 that Valentin Huay, a French educator established a school for the blind in Paris. He became the first to use embossed letters as a means of teaching the blind to read. Louis Braille, the school's most famous student, developed the tactile reading system which bears his name. It is the system most widely used today. Huay founded schools in Russia and Germany and by 1820 there were schools for the blind in most European countries. Huay inspired much activity in this field throughout the world.

Samuel Gridley Howe, the founder of what was later to become the Perkins School for the Blind, not only developed new teaching methods for the blind but convinced the Massachusetts legislature to fund a program for the mentally retarded as well. Howe gained prominence for his work with Laura Bridgman, a deaf and blind child. Howe had been educated at Brown University and received his medical training at Harvard when he was hired in 1831 by the New England Asylum for the Blind to devise methods for educating the sightless. He established his school with two children but soon served larger and larger numbers of blind students. His extreme sensitivity to the subjective experience of the special child coupled with his unique ability to understand the child's inner world enabled him to make a significant breakthrough.

Laura Bridgman, who was both deaf and blind, entered Howe's school in 1837. This was the first professional attempt to educate a child with both of these handicaps. His documentation of her educational progress and development are his legacy to special children and their education (Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985). Dr. Howe relinquished his medical role in favor of that of a political and social reformer and became an advocate for the deaf and blind.

The Education of Other Handicapped People

Together Itard and Howe had managed to establish an organized body of procedures to use to educate children who appeared immune to training and education. Their recognition and development of such procedures set the stage for the establishment of special schools for the training and education of disabled children (Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985).

In 1840, another contributor to special education, Jacob Guggenbuhl opened a facility in Switzerland for the mentally retarded with thyroid imbalances known as cretins. He became known worldwide but was later discredited and ostracized. Despite these circumstances, he is acknowledged as the originator of modern institutional care for the retarded (Cleland and Swartz, 1982).

Alexander Graham Bell (1847-1922) made extensive contributions to deaf education and the education of the hard of hearing. Sara Fuller, principal of the deaf school in Boston asked Bell's assistance in teaching methods of oral communications to her teachers. This method was used to teach the hearing impaired to talk. Bell had developed a theory of "visible speech" which was composed of a series of symbols that indicated the most advantageous positions of the throat, the tongue and the lips when reproducing speech sounds. He

conducted a school expressly for educating teachers for the deaf in 1872 and continued his interest in deaf education as a professor at Boston University (Cleland and Swartz, 1982). In conjunction with his work with the deaf Bell initiated efforts at speech correction (Heyn, 1976). From 1871 to about 1920 interest mounted in this area and its related problems. Efforts were made to rectify some of these problems in both Detroit and Chicago (Paden, 1970). In 1925 the American Speech and Hearing Association was organized and today this association publishes several journals for professionals and researchers (Kessler, 1966).

Aristotle observed that vision is importantly associated with survival, but intellectual processes are greatly influenced by hearing. Helen Keller who experienced both these handicapped agreed (Goldenson, 1970). While approximately 90% of our information is visually perceived, aural input even though of lower quality, is quantitatively important (Cleland and Swartz, 1982). It is also directly correlated with speech difficulties.

Facilities for the Handicapped

Most of the works undertaken at this time were with individuals or at best with small groups but by the 1870s the movement for institutionalization was encouraged to provide greater service. This movement succeeded and residential categorical institutions were the standard for providing for the handicapped.

The movement toward deinstitutionalization did not fully mature until recently after decades of debate. In the 19th and 20th centuries the dominant general feeling was that the exceptional should be educated in segregated institutions.

The weaning away from this treatment however did begin at the turn of the century when community based special classes and schools especially for exceptional children were begun. These early establishments were dependent on the preexisting residential schools for their leadership, curriculum and teacher preparation and drew heavily from their example.

Kirk and Gallagher (1983) and Cleland and Swartz (1982) use 1900 as the date by which special classes have been organized in many public schools throughout the United States. The establishment of the special day classes drew the public's attention to the importance of such services. Such programs demonstrated the positive impact they exerted in the preparation of disabled children for functioning more adequately in society.

The Education of the Gifted

The opposite end of the scale was also demanding and receiving more attention. In the early years of the 20th century, Sidney L. Pressey, Lewis Terman and Leta Stetter Hollingsworth publicized the educational potentialities of gifted students as well as their neglect. Tracking and separate classes for the most able students, were begun in St. Louis, Missouri in 1871; and in Elizabeth, New Jersey in 1886. These classes were known as "opportunity rooms" when they were established in Cleveland in 1922 and in the Los Angeles State Normal School in 1924 (Newland, 1976).

Teacher Training

Teacher training to staff many of these programs for the exceptional had begun in the last quarter of the 19th century. In the 1880s Gallaudet College

began their training program for teachers of the deaf, (Craig, 1942) and in 1904 Vineland Training School in New Jersey began summer training sessions for teachers of retarded children (Hill, 1945).

Problems in the Establishment of Programs

Early programs reflected bare tolerance of exceptional children in community schools except for the gifted who remained mostly unnoticed. The special class and special day school movement had begun but it started slowly. In the first fifty years of the 20th century children with discernable handicaps were allowed to attend school but usually for only minimum periods. Accepted policy dictated that children who fell behind or were unable to progress in academic subjects were retained in the same grade until their physical growth became an embarrassment. Special classes did not alleviate the problem but gave rise to another. The labels assigned to the classes became charged with derogatory meaning. School systems were not prepared to provide the extensive accommodations necessary for the exceptional. They had only recently adjusted to considering individual problems and needs when the depression of the 1930s deepened and schools budgets were curtailed. Special classes were not expanded (Reynolds and Birch, 1982).

Sloan (1963) attributed the general neglect of the exceptional child until well into the 20th century as characteristic of the lethargy and misinformation of the early 1900s. Despite this attitude new programs for training teachers of the handicapped were established in 1906 at New York University (Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985) followed by others in the 1920s and 1930s. Programs were

begun at Wayne state University and the Teachers' College of Columbia; then at Eastern Michigan of Upsilon and the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. It was assumed that teachers who would work with the exceptional needed to receive special training but no thought was given to the familiarization of regular teachers with special needs or to methods of identifying the children requiring special help (Reynolds and Birch, 1982).

Public Opinion Toward the Exceptional

About 1910, some public schools instituted special classes for the visually impaired but those for the mentally retarded were essentially ignored. In 1912, Henry H. Goddard published his much circulated study of the Kallikak Family. This study traced five generations of the offspring of a man who had fathered both a legitimate and an illegitimate child. A large percentage of the descendants of the illegitimate child were mentally retarded while those of the legitimate child were classified as average or superior in intelligence. The study was widely read and cited. It led to the acceptance of the belief that retardation was a hereditary trait. As a result public opinion interpreted this as a threat to the human race and institutionalization was adamantly advocated. The public wanted preventative measures and sterilization was introduced as a partial solution of the problem. A so called "Eugenics Scare" ran rampant throughout the country and Indiana introduced the first sterilization laws. Soon other states followed suit authorizing the sterilization of the retarded and of criminals. The fifty year period between 1910 and 1960 presented difficult times for the retarded especially those in institutions. (Cleland and Swartz, 1982).

Many societal woes were placed on the doorsteps of the exceptional, a population ill equipped to defend themselves and a ready target for the general public to vent its pent up anger and frustration. These woes, insidious and elusive, were difficult to identify or alter. The handicapped provided a tangible and vulnerable population. They absorbed actions calculated to alleviate widespread fear and were often blamed for the dissolution of established societal mores caused by economic depression, war and the breakdown of tradition and ethic. Somehow interest and research continued.

The Montessori Method

Maria Montessori (1870-1952) had become aware of the work of Itard and Seguin and this Italian physician, interested in early childhood education, developed concrete instructional materials for sensory training based on Seguin techniques. Her methods were extended to include normal children and schools were established utilizing her methodology throughout the world. Her classic study, "The Montessori Method" published in 1912 was acclaimed the world over and was an important contribution to special education. In it she detailed a sequence of instructional methods for working with the retarded child. "The Montessori Method" is utilized in the curriculum of many regular and special education preschool education programs.

The Influence of Intelligence Testing

One of the most influential developments in the establishment of special education was the initiation of the first standardized intelligence tests published in 1908 by Alfred Binet in France. The tests were initially developed as a means of

identifying retarded children. Goddard later standardized the tests for American populations and published the results in 1910. Terman, in a 1916 revision of the tests, introduced the concept of the "intelligence quotient" which has been used ever since to identify intellectual development (Cleland & Swartz, 1982).

Binet had cautioned of the dangers of relying too heavily upon tests for identifying exceptional children and warned that other information was necessary to provide a complete picture of the individual. Finally, federal legislation became necessary to eliminate the exclusive use of the tests for the placement of exceptional children in special education programs based solely on the IQ score. This was not accomplished until much havoc was wrought from exactly this use.

The Brain Damaged

After World War I Goldstein's studies (1927) of brain injured veterans opened a new era of research and understanding of the brain. New information concerning the brain's relationship to learning behavior was introduced (Harding and McCormack, 1986).

Influencing Trends

The periods of progress proved to be of short duration in some areas. The number of special education programs begun in public schools increased fairly rapidly until 1930 and then began to fall. The impetus of the 1920's toward humane, effective treatment for the handicapped ultimately developed into segregated facilities being established. The economic depression that spread worldwide was one contributing factor to this. Another was the widespread

dissatisfaction with poorly planned programs staffed by inadequately trained teachers (Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985).

During this period, and as an outgrowth of these causes, the "Progressive Education Movement" exerted strong influence. This movement asserted that any "good" teacher could teach handicapped children and that special education teacher preparation programs were unnecessary. Unfortunately, this proved wrong. The consequences of this was that many special education programs were poorly designed because school administrators were uninformed. The situation was further confounded because many teachers employed for these programs were not adequately prepared to teach exceptional children who had needs that could not be met by the standard school curriculum (Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985).

Even while the number and quality of services were being cut back subtle important changes in attitude and awareness were occurring. Cruickshank and Johnson (1975) pointed out that the massive screening of young men and women for service in World War I and II had made it clear how many people were physically, mentally and behaviorally handicapped or disabled. Few had expected to find such a large segment of the population with significant disabilities. The return of physically disabled soldiers from the wars also made the public more sensitive to the problems of the handicapped and the acceptance offered to the veterans was extended to other groups in the population. The same phenomenon occurred after the Korean and Vietnam conflicts although to a lesser degree (Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985).

Following World War II, the federal government provided funds to veterans' hospitals and universities for research in such areas as clinical psychology, speech

pathology and physical medicine. There were many technological advancements in production of prostheses, especially limbs and braces and in mobility training for the blind. Success of these programs in rehabilitating wounded veterans generated new support for the idea of educating handicapped children (Harding and Mc Cormack, 1986).

Ultimately, halfway houses were established to bridge the gap between institutions and the community, follow-up studies were performed to examine the relative effectiveness of various programs and out patient clinics were established in hospitals all of which were beneficial to the handicapped. The use of social workers and other support personnel was increased. New diagnostic instruments were developed and comprehensive state wide programs were established to identify those with special needs (Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985).

Refinement in the Classification and Identification

As a result of some of these actions it was soon apparent that the range of retardation required further refinement in classification and the identification of the mildly handicapped grew out of theories of several individuals worldwide who scrutinized differences in children. In England, Francis Galton (1822-1911) had already taken the position that genius was an inherited trait. This stance led others to refine the definitions regarding the basic differences in children's abilities. In France, Alfred Binet (1857-1911), attempted to measure intelligence and was the forerunner of the subsequent work of Louis Terman (1877-1956) in America in his attempts to use intelligence tests to identify the gifted. Lilly (1979) indicated that their work marked the beginning of the modern concept of the

mildly handicapped and reported on the new definitions that were emerging. It was found that a certain segment of the population designated as "retarded" did not deviate outside of school but were nevertheless recognized as deficient. This represented the first definition of the mildly handicapped. It erroneously assumed that the conditions of failure should be placed with child and family rather than the interaction between the child and the environment. As a result of this misinformation, the mildly retarded received limited resources and usually dropped out of school. Some were actually denied admission to school. Dunn's research (1973) demonstrated that for well over a century after some compulsory attendance laws had been enacted, school authorities searched for solutions to the problems of these children. Most of these solutions seemed to focus on solving the dilemma for the schools and only secondarily on the interests of the children. The proposed programs included a number of solutions such as the residential school movement; the public school exclusion and exemption laws; the day school movement in special education; the sorting and tracking of pupils in public schools and the special services for deviant pupils without segregation. Out of frustration parents created private day schools for those excluded from the public schools. It was not until the National Association for Retarded Children was established that lobbying action and legislation had impact. Other handicapped groups too, fought for recognition and finally in the 1950s as a result of the work of Strauss who had dichotomized mental retardation into classes with different causes and different teaching methods, were efforts for providing education successful (Smith, Price and Marsh, 1983). This led to a further refinement of terms. "Endogenous" mental retardation was defined as "brain damage or trauma to the central nervous system" while "Exogenous" mental retardation was

classified as "learning disabilities". This definition sparked interest in reading disorders, language usage, other literate activities as well as in other major academic difficulties.

Finally, the emotionally or behaviorally handicapped were included in the growing list of identifiable disabilities. A program based on normalization (i.e. education provided as equally as possible) was undertaken for these children and evolved as such programs as mainstreaming (Smith, Marsh and Price, 1983).

The Learning Disabled

While public schooling expanded rapidly from the 1940s and programs were increased to include the various needs of heretofore educationally neglected children the most recent of these was Learning Disabilities. It dated back to only to 1963 when Kirk authored the term (1963). A forerunner to this category was Grace Fernald's work in sensory education. It began some 60 years ago, culminating in the publication of the essence of her approach to teaching reading and spelling (Fernald, 1943). This method was widely employed in teaching learning disabled students. Its distinguishing characteristic was its simultaneous focus on visual, auditory, kinesthetic and tactile modalities. It became known as the VAKT method and was a multisensory approach.

Another multisensory approach developed was the Gillingham Method. Based on the work of Orton (1937), the Gillingham method claimed benefits for teaching spelling and writing as well as reading.

For children whose deficits in reading, arithmetic or language might have been the result of the lack of opportunity to learn, exposure to the highly

structured, behavioral approach called Distar (Engleman and Bruner, 1969) proved valuable and became widely used.

Most of these programs were direct outgrowths of contributions in visual perception which occurred as early as 1801 (Gerheart, 1977). By 1895, James Hinshelwood, a Scottish ophthalmologist had published a report on word blindness which stimulated interest and further research in this field (Gerheart, 1977). As interest expanded, it was documented that children with normal intelligence could experience severe reading difficulties (word blindness). In 1896 two British investigators, James Kerr, a physician and W.P.Morgan, an ophthalmologist had reported cases of reading difficulty in children with normal intelligence. In 1917 Hinshelwood published a monograph on word blindness which was the first step toward full efforts to address the problem and finally achieved fruition in the 1960s.

In 1925, Dr. Samuel Orton, a professor of psychiatry at the University of Iowa Medical School, was involved in organizing an experimental mobile mental hygiene clinic to serve outlying communities. In the first of these clinics he came across an unusual 16 year old boy he referred to as M.P. The boy had never learned to read, despite adequate intelligence. Orton undertook a lengthy study into the matter and found a significant number of other children with similar disabilities. In laboratory testing it was discovered that many of them had difficulty with reversals (saw for was; b for d) and other confusion of visual symbols. Orton offered a hypotheses relating to reading methodology and its actual neurological component. He presented his field findings and theories to the American Neurological Association meeting the same year (Gerheart, 1977).

The next phase of development was the establishment of limited scale programs in private schools and university sponsored or related clinics. Notable among these efforts were those of Fernald, which culminated in a remedial text, published in 1943 and remained important in the early 1970s (Fernald, 1943).

Fernald was director of the Clinic School, a primarily remedial setting, at the University of California (Los Angeles). Started in 1921, the school first accepted children ranging in intelligence from trainable mentally retarded to normal children with severe reading problems. They also accepted normal and gifted children who had stuttering problems, were epileptics or were having severe behavioral problems. This program soon developed into one in which the major emphasis was on children of normal intelligence with extreme educational problems. Reading was the major problem and males represented a distinct majority of the student population. Out of this program came the Fernald method. It became one of the first actual learning disabilities programs in the United States although at this time terminology was not in use.

Dr. Alfred Strauss, along with Dr. Laura Lehtinen Rogan and a number of interested professionals and nonprofessionals, organized the Cove Schools in 1947. Strauss first became interested in brain-injured individuals as he worked to reeducate war veterans in Germany. After coming to the United States he applied his experience and expertise in medicine, psychology and reeducation to the problems of schoolaged children. He became aware that there were a number of children who were outcasts from the regular school program. Even when the public schools had special education programs, these children were not served. Their academic difficulties were highly variable, doing well in some subjects but dismally failing others. Most of the children referred to Strauss had problems

with hyperactive behavior along with specific problems in visual-motor or language capabilities (Gerheart, 1977).

Today, many private schools exist for the learning disabled particularly in the larger metropolitan areas. Private tutors also work on a part or full time basis in assisting children with their learning disabilities. The first attempt at teaching the learning disabled began from 1950 to 1960. In the five years between 1965 and 1970 research supported the need for programs for this population and documented the relatedness of many of the earlier efforts. In the 1960s some states began to pass specific legislation to provide special education programs for children with learning disabilities (Gerheart, 1977).

Even after the laws existed there were no guarantees that programs did. Often funds were not provided or only provided in a manner that offered little encouragement to fulfill the law. By 1974, all fifty states had identifiable programs for the learning disabled and by 1975 all states had legislation providing direct services for the learning disabled.

Legislation for the Handicapped

Through the period of 1950-1970 there had been an explosion of provisions for the handicapped which was supported by state and federal legislation and appropriations. Social attitudes began to improve toward the disabled. The legal system as an expression of the changing social attitudes began to define and treat children as people with inalienable rights and privileges. The rights of children became increasingly important in court decisions and in congressional and policy statements of national and international organizations.

As long ago as 1869, (*Fletcher et.al. v. Illinois*), parental rights were being defined. In this case the Court ruled that the law gave parents large discretionary authority over their children but it must be within the "bounds of reason and humanity".

The legal rights of children in general and special children in particular are still being defined on an individual basis. In recent years, the courts have required recognition of children's rights in a number of areas including equal access to educational opportunities (*Brown v. The Board of Education*, 1954); the rights of all handicapped children to a free public education (*Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children v. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, 1971); the right to adversarial protection in juvenile court proceedings (*Gault*, 1967); the right to treatment for individuals placed in institutions for the retarded (*Wyatt v. Stickney*, 1972); the right that issues of funding are not an acceptable reason for excluding the handicapped from training appropriate to their capacities (*Mills v. The Board of Education of the District of Columbia*, 1972). Regretfully, these court actions do not inevitably guarantee the rights of children.

Almost 80 years ago, in 1912, Congress created the United States Children's Bureau. It granted broad powers to the agency to investigate the interrelated problems of child health, child dependency, child labor and child delinquency. Gaining in influence in 1930, the Bureau brought about the first White House Conference on Children. The first conference addressed problems relevant to nutritional problems, inadequate medical care, infant mortality and conditions of poverty which were the consequences of the worldwide depression. Subsequent, White House Conferences continued their efforts to focus attention on the current needs of both normal children and special children.

Congress enacted more legislation establishing new agencies and commissions for the protection of the rights of children. In 1961, the President's Panel on Mental Retardation was founded. Its mission was to address the needs of the retarded child. In 1963, the National Institute of Child Health and Development had the responsibility of analyzing and encouraging research in child health and development. By 1965, the Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children became responsible for advocating children's needs. This period of intense activity was helped with the Presidency of John F. Kennedy whose experience with a mentally retarded sister had kindled interest in this area. A Presidential panel on Mental Retardation commissioned in 1961 brought many concerns to the attention of the public and made far reaching recommendations about prevention, deinstitutionalization, rights, dignity and care of the mentally retarded. Ten years later the United Nations adopted the "Declaration of General and Specific Rights of the Mentally Retarded". It represented international recognition of the rights of the mentally retarded and soon other handicapped groups gained similar support (Harding and McCormack, 1986).

Research and Educational Facilities

Outstanding educational research began in the 1960s. Many behavioral principles described in the research proved effective and were identified in this period. Important models, methods and curricula were developed and new professional roles emerged. Professional training programs were expanded and improved. In 1948 only 77 colleges and universities had provided training programs in educational exceptionalities; in 1954 there were 122; in 1973 over 400

and in 1975 over 600, amounting to a sixfold increase in the number of exceptional students who could be served from 1948 to 1972 (Reynolds and Birch, 1977).

From 1945 to 1970 there was a proliferation of the special class model. A remarkable surge took place after World War II. California, Illinois and other large states adopted programs on a broad scale to serve the exceptional child in public schools. Soon, others followed (Reynolds and Birch, 1982).

The increase demanded extended services. There were now large numbers of students with behavioral problems and emotional problems but without major disabilities or illnesses. At the same time the Educable Mentally Retarded (EMR), the highest level of functioning, grew substantially among the school populations. Learning Disabilities also flourished. (This category was difficult to define and it was sometimes used as an euphemism for mild retardation.) It grew more rapidly in terms of numbers of children classified than any of the others had or would.

In 1970 a heated controversy came about over the widespread assignment of students. Fundamental questions arose concerning the practices of labeling children. The assignment of students to mainstream classes is still at issue. In addition to the needs of the handicapped new positions were created in connection with the gifted.

From the beginning of 1965 these influences brought about the rapid development of public school programs. The nation became aware of the exceptional and made provisions for rehabilitation. New training and research programs were initiated especially in various institutions and by a variety of agencies. The Departments of Clinical Psychology, Speech Pathology and Physical Medicine in many colleges and universities were expanded with the newly

available federally supported rehabilitation funds. These funds and services spread to include exceptional children. In 1966, the new Bureau of Education for the Handicapped (BEH) had been established to administer new programs and in addition many states had passed legislation requiring instruction for exceptional children. "Excess cost" aid was distributed to local school districts that established the necessary special education programs. This aid allowed the districts to operate special education programs and consequently helped to improve services for the whole school population. This funding of local programs decreased the need for residential schools and hospitals.

The whole period was marked by rapid development based on past programs and new concepts from other countries. In the Scandinavian countries a concept known as normalization was observed which involved educating the handicapped in a normal classroom setting. Investigators also began to re-examine the definitions of the various categories of exceptionalities. Pressure was exerted to extend special education to greater numbers of children obviously in need but not yet served. In 1950, an important issue emerged regarding the appropriateness of serving trainable as well as educable retarded children and youth. A debate took place between I. Ignacy Goldberg who represented those who were in favor of including trainable students and William H. Cruickshank who was against including them in local schools (Goldberg and Cruickshank, 1958). Further judicial and legislative judgments mandated the school's responsibilities for all handicapped children ended the argument. Another questionable area in the 1950s centered around special education classes for the gifted (Reynolds and Birch, 1982). By the decade of the 1960s the existing categories were increased. They encompassed children not previously included in common special education

classifications. Categories did permit the extension of services to previously neglected children but as the services increased they gave rise to definitional problems. This proved to be a major professional embarrassment.

Characteristic of the postwar period had been the special education programs consolidated in single schools. While this made it possible to consider their interrelatedness, it contributed to numerous other problems. In the 1960s the administration of special education drew criticism, skepticism and hostility but there was seldom any organized or systematic evaluation of its existing programs (Reynolds and Birch, 1982).

In the 1970s the trend toward for more inclusive arrangements for the exceptional dominated and fundamental changes in school organization occurred. A new relationship was developed between community based and residential institutions. New attitudes were summarized as the least restrictive environment, mainstreaming, progressive inclusion and integration.

The movement advanced toward more mainstreamed education. Progressive inclusion and more integrated facilities emerged between the special and regular classroom. This reflected a worldwide influence as researchers studied the goals of Indonesia and China, not only to increase the frequency of contact with outside groups, but to actively create such contacts (Reynolds and Birch, 1982).

When Burton Blatt's "Christmas in Purgatory" (Blatt and Kaplan, 1966) exposed the squalid conditions of many American institutions for the handicapped there was a great psychological and social response. A decade later it was followed with another volume "The Family Papers: A Return to Purgatory" (Blatt, Ozolins and McNally, 1979) in which many of the injustices still existed. (Berdine and Blackhurst, 1985). The country became increasingly receptive to a more

progressive approach which was mandated in P.L.94-142 in 1975. While these were the historical trends which identified the plight of the handicapped, Charleston had established trends of her own in dealing with exceptional people.

The Handicapped in South Carolina

The establishment of care for the exceptional in South Carolina followed much the same pattern as that of the rest of the country. The first attempt to provide hospital care for the mentally ill had taken place in Philadelphia in 1752. Other facilities were established throughout the country and the South Carolina State Hospital was founded in Columbia in 1822 to provide services for the entire state. South Carolina recognized the necessity of providing for this segment of the handicapped and appropriated funds to build the asylum for the insane.

Little differentiation was made by most citizens between mental illness and mental retardation. Often the same terms were used to describe both conditions (Harris, 1981).

While the general public utilized such terms as "lunatic", "idiot", "fool" and "dumb", physicians employed phrases as "madness dyspepsia", "mental alienation", "delirium" and "mania a portu". Attorneys used the Latin phrases "writ de lunatics inquireudo" and "non compis mentis" (Harris, 1981).

As today, understanding and compassion for the mentally ill and mentally retarded varied greatly depending on the circumstances and the purpose of the speaker. It was not uncommon for politicians to accuse their opponents as "fit for bedlam" (Courier, 1812) or ministers to denounce evangelical meetings as "gangs of frantic lunatics" (Woodman, 1768). A kindlier, more generous view was expressed in the Star Gazette (1793) in a poem entitled "A Madman on Madness"

and in 1807, South Carolina College students ended a discussion on insanity with lines from Dryden warning of the closeness of madness and great wit (Grayson, 1866).

The initial proposal for the insane asylum had originally contained a recommendation for a school for the deaf and blind. This was to be established in conjunction with the insane asylum so that a joint committee could be employed for the administration of both institutions. It was soon determined that this was not an appropriate solution for either population and the school for the deaf and blind was dropped from the proposal.

The Insane Asylum in Columbia, South Carolina

A Board of Regents was established and made a corporate body empowered to make by-laws, rules and regulations for governing the state hospital. The Regents' duties included admissions of those citizens of the state designated as "idiots, lunatics and epileptics". Admission to the asylum required either a commitment order issued by the Courts or the testimony of a justice and two doctors. If the proposed patient was a pauper, admission could be made on request of a husband, a wife or the next of kin. Patients from out of state were admitted under the same conditions as citizens of the state (Waring, 1964).

During the asylum's first year of operation not a single patient applied for admission. This was probably a result of family reluctance to send their mentally ill to such a facility. The asylum was forced to place advertisements in the newspapers of the state and finally on December 12, 1828, the first patient was admitted. The patient's mother was employed as the first matron. During the next year three males and one female were admitted and on June 7, 1829, a few

black patients applied for admission. The Board of Regents agreed to this arrangement although the policy of incarcerating the races in a single facility was soon altered. By November 1830 the Regents recommended that the General Assembly pass an act "to oblige all persons and bodies corporate, having charge of idiots, lunatics and epileptics, to send them to the Asylum and support them there at the expense of the city, town, parish etc. chargeable with their support". The cost for the care of pauper patients was established at \$100 a year and for paying patients at \$150 per year (with the exception of clothing). When additional care or attendance or other amenities were desired this fee was increased. This act was an attempt to bring the asylum up to the desired occupancy rate and to render it self supporting. Although the records for many years are missing, those for 1836 indicate that the institution was well established and accepted (Annual Reports of the South Carolina Lunatic Asylum, 1829-1904).

The general public and those visiting the city of Columbia took great pride in the asylum. It became a major attraction for visitors and citizens alike for its spectacular view and as a token of humanitarian pride. There were never sufficient funds appropriated to properly equip the asylum but despite its slow beginning it began to thrive. A number of important visitors came to evaluate the asylum and found it to be more than adequate. The interior was declared to be "highly furnished, roomy and serviceable" but the most praise was reserved for the yard and grounds. The enclosed area was divided into separate walled sections for men and women. Seats and niches were provided in these places and were planted with trees. In pleasant weather patients spent their time here. Mrs. Anne Royall (1831), a British visitor, commented that the male patients were for the most part silent but they appeared happy. She reported that one of the well

clothed women was "singing delightfully" and expressed her belief that not one of them had experienced such a comfortable life as they now were then enjoying (Harris, 1981).

Few professionals came to Columbia to visit the new institution but the early staff occasionally visited other facilities to search for new techniques and methods for more effective care (Annual Report, 1847). The decades of the 1840s and 1850s represented a highlight in the treatment at the asylum. Dr. John Galt of Virginia Eastern State Hospital wrote enthusiastically of the amusements provided for the patients which included "walking, riding, exercising on the grounds and music". The administration was quick to realize that the pauper patients who cultivated thirty acres set aside for them "more for salutary exercise than for profit" had a lower mortality rate than the general census of the asylum. Dr. Parker, superintendent at this time, recognized this fact and incorporated a work ethic into his treatment. The diet served the patients was plain but wholesome and was served to all.

The preferred medications of the time consisted of "black drop" and "morphia" as narcotics; blue pills, cicuta, digitalis, tartar emetic and aloes (Galt, 1846). Dr. Parker's attitude toward restraint was seen in his comment "every liberty compatible with the safety of the patient and that of the community" was "freely given"; this demonstrated the progressive attitude with which he administered the asylum. By the 1850s the neighborhood streets which had been open to some of the patients had seen increased travel so this practice had to be discontinued for the females. It was viewed as improper and possibly dangerous (Harris, 1981).

Patients from out of state made up approximately 15% of total population of the asylum before the Civil War and they were admitted with little restriction up

to the 1850s. Another observer noted that many of the many attendants in the latter part of the century were Irish (Williams, 1929). Some of these were a source of trouble and consternation to superintendent Dr. Trezevant. In 1854, he recorded that some attendants would sneak out at night and get drunk and bring back liquor to the institution (Trezevant, 1854). In 1853, the annual report made note that the attendant staff was composed of a number of good individuals but that some were "incapacitated mentally and physically" yet possessed "strong, moral qualifications" (Trezevant, 1854).

Before the Civil War, the flower and vegetable gardens and grounds were highly prized. Many people from the town would visit (Annual Report, 1859) and the gardeners were held in high repute (Williams, 1929). Sometimes these visitors became a nuisance. By the 1850s the custom of allowing access to the grounds had to be curtailed as it was getting out of hand. Visitors often recognized patients and embarrassed them by calling them by name. Some were accused of throwing plugs of tobacco from the cupola to watch the patients scramble for the prize. Now, instead of coming to enjoy the gardens many came for the novelty and sensationalism involved, others just out of curiosity (Harris, 1985).

Controversy over visitation rights became prevalent and in the new "American Journal of Insanity" in 1845 they quoted Dr. Trezevant's statement that there was much dissatisfaction in the community for refusing to allow patients to visit friends while under medical treatment. He stated that this had been tried and found it injurious. He said that he did not allow access because:

it often irritated, seldom soothed, but mostly led their [the patients] thoughts to home, which is often the source of the problem and made quiet, good dispositioned and orderly patients, restless, unhappy and violent maniacs (Trezevant, 1854).

Another objection was that the visitors often left with an incorrect opinion regarding patient treatment. He noted that few of the visitors consider the great changes which occur in a patients' moral feelings and perceptions. He also noted that visitors often went away angry and threatened to remove their loved ones. He felt the visitors were often overly optimistic over moderate improvement and prematurely withdrew their relatives. These beliefs echoed the prevailing contemporary views that many cases of insanity arose from social conditions, possibly even conditions in the family itself. Therefore, treatment included at least some insulation from the family (Harris, 1985).

Although the Asylum was growing in popularity and acceptance, it did not serve all the needy. Dorothea Dix in 1848 in her travels across the state, twenty years after the first patient was admitted, described the lack of adequate facilities as the same abuses and necessities which plagued New York. She had found the insane in pens and bound with cords and chains. She found one patient who was eventually hospitalized after being confined to jail for twenty years. Another had been chained to a log and still another in a hut ten feet square, deprived of clothes or any comfort of life. A young girl was found in a dismal cabin, filthy and totally neglected, her hair matted into a solid foul mass, her person emaciated and uncleaned, "nothing human could be imagined more entirely miserable and more cruelly abandoned to want" (Harris, 1985). The Asylum was often used as a last resort for long standing cases and in 1850 Dr. Parker "grieved" that both patients and families still viewed the "horrible association" of the "mad House" with the Asylum (Annual Report, 1850).

One of the greatest points of contention concerning the asylum revolved about whether or not it should be located in an urban or rural setting. Dr. Parker favored the urban setting. He believed that the noise and atmosphere of the city could be "stimulating to the disconsolate, bring about a wholesome train of thought and facilitate recovery" while Dr. Trezevant advocated a pastoral site. This issue stimulated much discussion in the area but the asylum was allowed to remain at its same location (Waring, 1967).

Dorothea Dix, reformer and advocate for the mentally ill, visited the asylum often, sometimes unannounced. Politically astute and nationally acknowledged, she assisted the Regents in successfully convincing the legislature in 1860 to unanimously pass a bill appropriating over \$155,000 for the asylum. This helped the asylum to weather the difficult War Years (Harris, 1985).

It was the Civil War years which were the most trying. Finances and attention focused on the War and the insane suffered just as did the rest of the population of the state. Many of the patients were on half rations for the duration and by 1865, Dr. Parker wrote that "destitution and starvation" threatened. He had maintained the institution for a long time from his personal resources and from the crops produced by patients on his land. For up to a year, employees did not receive any pay. The institution was opened to the refugees of the city who required sanctuary from Sherman's troops (Harris, 1985).

The last visit Dix made to the Asylum came during the Reconstruction Period, a time a great crisis and desperate need. The Board of the Asylum was now composed largely of newly freed and little educated blacks. They replaced Dr.

Parker as superintendent with Dr. J. F. Ensor of Maryland. Dix feared especially for the southern hospitals for the mentally ill as these institutions were already overcrowded and understaffed. The years after the war saw little progress and the period of Reconstruction had greatly increasing admissions. The asylum officers pleaded for more state assistance. In 1870, Dr. Wilkin's, a Californian assessed the Asylum as "the furthest behind of the age, of all in this country with one exception" (Annual Report, 1870). By 1872 conditions had deteriorated to the point where many of the staff had been fired and a Columbia newspaper expressed fear that there would be "no bread for the inmates" (Waring, 1967).

Later, as conditions improved attention became focused on patient work and amusement. The men were employed in the gardens, woodyards and farms and the women worked sewing, repairing and crocheting. Some of the women who were accustomed to doing laborious work were assigned to the laundry or dining rooms. Those unable to work were provided with diversions such as music, reading, billiards, cards, chess and like amusements (Harris, 1985). Volunteers from the community gave time and talents for weekly entertainments (Annual Report, 1877-1878). These activities were initiated to divert the depression of the patients.

In 1880, the asylum was refurnished and community interest was renewed to a degree. Despite the expansion the Superintendent managed to reduce the per patient expenditures to \$140 in 1888, down from \$202 in 1887 (Annual Report, 1897). There seems to have been little attention devoted to medical care and the focus was more on custodial care. The spending "cuts" reflected the increased use

of patients for the cultivation of the enlarged farm. Another source of income was realized from taxidermy done by the patients.

The hospital was renamed the "State Hospital for the Insane", and under the leadership of James Babcock, became known for "efficiency, knowledge and kindness". New facilities were added for blacks. Patients who were well enough to do so were allowed to roam the grounds at will. Rules for visitors required that only hospital officers could show visitors through patient areas. Employees could only have guests in the reception rooms after prior administrative approval. Communication between families and patients was carefully controlled and Babcock closed the asylum to visitors completely on Sundays. The first asylum security guards were hired in 1894 (Annual Report, 1895). Attendants were required to be ready for inspection at any time and cleanliness was ordered maintained everywhere even in all "out of sight" places, such as "bathrooms, clothing rooms and cupboards" (Babcock, 1891).

The hospital remained under the control of a Board of Regents, generally elected by the state legislature. Their duties were increased to include determining the fitness of the house officers, the accuracy of records, the supervision of buildings and grounds and the quality of diet and management details. They could visit and inspect the asylum at any time and they met monthly on the grounds (Waring, 1964).

As the institution grew so did its problems. Almost chronically underfunded by the end of the century the "liberal, humane and open atmosphere" of the early

institution was sadly lacking. This state of affairs remained until the middle of the 20th century.

The South Carolina School
for the Deaf and the Blind

The South Carolina School for the Deaf and Blind was another institution established as a separate private facility in 1849, at Cedar Springs, by the Reverend Newton Pickney Walker. Previous to the founding of this school the state paid for out of state care of deaf and blind children. Usually the deaf and dumb were sent to Hartford, Connecticut while the blind were sent to Boston, Massachusetts.

The Reverend Walker became interested in working with this population because three of his wife's relatives were deaf. He spent several months in Georgia observing methods of conducting a school for the deaf. In the winter of 1849 he opened his school with five students. He held his first classes in an old building which had been used as an inn when Cedar Springs had been a well known summer resort in the upper part of the state. In 1855, the department for the blind was added as were accommodations for black children (School for the Deaf and Blind, N.D.).

The school ultimately became a state institution and was operated under a Board of Commissioners consisting of four appointees of the Governor plus the State Superintendent of Education as an ex-officio member serving eight year terms. The buildings of the school were constructed with funds appropriated by

the state. The campus consisted of 151 acres and by the middle of the 20th century had 13 buildings including Walker Hall, the original building, three dormitories, an infirmary, a gymnasium, a laundry, the superintendent's residence, the maintenance shop and two trades buildings in the white school; Ballad Hall, a trades building and a gymnasium in the black school (School for the Deaf and Blind, N.D.).

The school admitted all children living in the state with loss of vision or hearing which made it impossible for them to be educated in the public schools. The admission requirements for the institution specified that children both white and black between six and twenty-one either deaf or blind, with a mental capacity capable of educational progress were eligible. Separate schools for white and black children were conducted initially but these were eventually combined. The younger children lived in dormitories with house mothers of between fifteen and twenty children. The older children lived in facilities with counselors in charge of somewhat larger groups (School for the Deaf and Blind, N.D.).

Both a medical history and physical examination were required before a student could be admitted. A case history and a psychological evaluation was desired. In addition to these requirements the blind were required to undergo an ophthalmological examination. Children applying for admission to the School for the Deaf could be asked to submit to an examination by the school hearing specialist as well as the psychologist (School for the Deaf and Blind, N.D.).

Parents were urged to visit the school and acquaint themselves with its educational program. There were no costs to parents for tuition or board. The

school was supported through state appropriations but the parents of the students were required to provide transportation to and from the school along with adequate clothing and personal articles. The program for the blind for the most paralleled that of public schools. Braille reading and writing was taught as a major vehicle of communication. Visually handicapped children were also taught utilizing sight saving methods. The school used all available special equipment and devices for the blind such as Brailers, talking books, slates and styluses and tape recorders. The school offered excellent physical education, vocational and music programs. The department for the deaf included training in lip-reading, speech, rhythm and when possible utilized individual and group hearing aids. Children who experienced difficulty with oral techniques were transferred to the manual or finger spelling classes. Vocational training and instruction was provided for all students. The following trades were offered: barbering, shoe repair, woodworking, printing, linotype operation, commercial textiles and home economics. A part time psychologist administered mental tests and offered guidance for children presenting emotional, behavioral or other problems. The School employed specialists in the fields of deaf and blind education. In cooperation with Converse College, opportunities were offered for students preparing to teach in this field providing valuable experience in an actual placement. The infirmary employed two nurses plus a pediatrician, an Ear, Eye Nose and Throat specialist and a dentist who made regular calls. Special emphasis was placed on a well rounded social and religious life. The school was in operation for nine months of the year from September to May with two weeks

vacation at Christmas and at Easter. A "Family Relationships Program" was established to educate and recognize the joint responsibility and partnership between the family and the school. Parents were urged to visit often and children were allowed to go home on weekends in order to encourage a complete home life. When children graduated or left the school placement and follow-up was implemented. These students were referred to the Vocational Rehabilitation (deaf) or to State Division for Blind (blind) for assistance in entering college or vocational placement. Follow-up of their life situations continued for a considerable period (School for the Deaf and Blind, N.D.).

Mental Health Facilities in South Carolina

Great advances in the late 19th century by Freud, Adler and Jung, the development of IQ tests, the use of shock therapy and the whole field of social psychiatry changed the picture for the mentally ill. Dr. James Babcock was Superintendent of the State hospital (1891-1914) and was vitally interested in pellagra and its nutritional components which contributed to mental disorders. Dr. C. Fred Williams his successor and superintendent for twenty years was perhaps the foremost social psychiatrist of his day. He pioneered in malarial fever therapy for general paresis (dementia) and explored the manifestations of juvenile paresis, a form of general paresis occurring in children as a result of congenital syphilis (Waring, 1964).

Interest in mental health began in the early 1920s and resulted in the establishment of a department of mental health at the insane asylum (since 1895

known as the State Hospital for the Insane and in 1924 became the South Carolina State Hospital). Mental health clinics were founded at the hospital and in various parts of State conducted chiefly by Dr. William P. Beckman (Waring, 1964).

Despite the fact that the dietary origin of pellagra had long been suspect and efforts had been made to reduce its unnecessary burden, its importance as a disease was evidenced by the mortality (637 deaths) from it as late as 1931 (a survey in 1968 discovered 72 cases of pellagra still in South Carolina). Programs to supply brewer's yeast by the State Board of Health to combat the deficiencies of diet causative of pellagra had been initiated as early as 1929 (Waring, 1964).

Under Governor James F. Byrnes an intense interest in the plight of Hospital and its occupants developed and the Governor was credited for providing through the legislature a considerable appropriation for improving the hospital plant and increasing its activities. This act began a period of relative prosperity for the hospital which continued for a considerable time (Waring, 1964).

In 1957 the South Carolina District Branch of American Psychiatric Association was established in the state with 24 members. This membership was doubled the following year indicating interest in Psychiatry as a medical specialty was increasing. Under the Statute of 1864 the South Carolina State Department of Mental Health had been given a more precise role and a State Commissioner of Mental Health was appointed in the person of Dr. William S. Hall (Waring, 1964).

By 1957 a Federal Act provided funds for mental hygiene services and fostered the establishment of permanent mental health clinics (Waring, 1964). The vast extension of the psychiatrists' sphere in last few decades reflected increased

activities in South Carolina. They instituted an "open door" policy in hospitals, as well as encouraged the increase of home visits. They established new clinics to advance these changes. These efforts moved care from merely custodial services to those furnishing rehabilitation. There was greater concern expressed over children's problems and the activities of social workers were widely expanded. This produced a new picture for the mentally ill. Time, place and duration of treatment changed dramatically. Hospital stays were shortened and the application of new drugs opened new fields of hope and accomplishment. Since 1926 the picture of the hospital population has changed radically. There were fewer institutionalized manic depressives and schizophrenics but cerebral, arterial and senile psychoses increased. General pareses of the insane fell to a very low level and pellagra has almost although not completely disappeared from the state (Harris, 1985).

Summary

Slowly, under the auspices of medicine, education and the law, the status of the exceptional underwent a transformation and almost all the citizens of the state of South Carolina were provided with a public school education or its equivalent from public support.

The existence of the plight of the handicapped underwent drastic change and reflected the changes in the society as a whole. Modern technology applied with advanced techniques drew the attention of educators and increased the attempts made to fulfill the needs of the exceptional. While services to the handicapped

steadily increased, it was not until the 20th century that the administration of the public schools in the City of Charleston contemplated services for the exceptional. By 1900, the seeds of such services had come to fruition. An enlightened administration actively pursued ways to implement and incorporate special education services into the curriculum and infrastructure of the school system.

CHAPTER VI

THE BEGINNINGS OF SPECIAL EDUCATION IN CHARLESTON

Overview

The establishment of classes in the public schools of Charleston was an act of vision, wisdom and courage. It was the result of an evolution of a society which, even under great duress, managed to produce a few individuals willing to attempt new and innovative methods to provide special services for those requiring special interventions.

Despite the relative brevity of special education concern for the exceptional had been recorded in Charleston almost from the initial settlement of the colony and though of a sporadic and often inconsistent nature was a reoccurring theme throughout the years. The documents selected for use in this chapter had to meet the four standards outlined by Gay and presented in Chapter I.

The Handicapped in Colonial Charleston

Beginning with a series of laws enacted in England in 1665 with "An Act for the Poor" modeled on the old English Poor Law, the colonists arriving in the new world were well aware of those unable to care for themselves. The growth of this concern was reflected in the colony itself when an act was passed in 1712 which allowed the vestries of several parishes to raise funds to care for the poor and the

insane (Odom, 1949). By 1736 provisions had been made which initiated the construction of a combination hospital, workhouse and house of correction to deal with the problem (Waring, 1964). Until this was completed the Vestry of St. Philip's Church collected fines and assessed taxes for the care of the ill and poor. The minutes from St. Philip's indicated that the Vestry had purchased "two Cabbins and two Chamber Pots" for the new facility and among the poor sick who were admitted "on the parish" and were listed:

a young man, Lame and Foolish,
 a man with dropsey,
 a lame man,
 a lame woman,
 a very old woman and
 a soldier's wife big with child

(Minutes of St. Philip's Vestry, 1737)

this indicated that both the physically and mentally disabled were treated in the facility. The Poorhouse/Hospital/ Workhouse served an additional purpose and was used also for punishment or for enforced labor for the indigent and disorderly.

Inmates were often shackled, whipped (up to 19 lashes a day) or deprived of food as inducements to conform. Needless to say, none of these did much to improve the atmosphere for the mentally ill or handicapped (Harris, 1980), consequently by 1750, the hospital, initially held in high regard had lost much of its esteem and people refused to go there (Harris, 1980).

By 1752, separate facilities called "outrooms" were erected behind the poor house to provide for the more agitated "mad" patients (St. Philip's Vestry Minutes, 1752). Ten years later the Fellowship Society was organized expressly for the

relief of the mentally ill. Donations were contributed for the building of an "infirmarium" for the mentally ill but there is no evidence of any actual construction of one (Waring, 1964).

The Handicapped in the Revolutionary Period

A separate facility was established in 1768, in order to remove the institutionalized poor and ill from the criminal element and to provide care for the mentally ill (Weir, 1854). By 1801, these people were housed in a facility on the edge of town opposite the old "Negro Burying Ground" (Fraser, 1854). This was expanded in 1807 and by 1809 the City Council had authorized the appointment of a "cell master" as an overseer for their care. In 1819 the first black person was admitted to the facility and by 1826 the hospital was serving twenty "lunatics" (Mills, 1826).

This institution was sometimes referred to as the Poor House, sometimes St. Philip's or sometimes merely as City Hospital, but it admitted both "mild" and "furious" patients of all ages, races and social class. The senile, the homeless, idiots, epileptics and lunatics of all sorts were cared for there.

Not all of the inmates required confinement. In 1809, only four out of the twelve female patients and six of the eight male were locked up. There is no evidence of the treatment they received, but a weekly inspection insured that both the patients and the facilities were reasonably clean and that the food was wholesome (Poor House Journal, 1809).

Over its history, but especially in the colonial period, the Vestrymen had occasionally used the madhouse as a disciplinary measure. Individual commissioners did not hesitate to override these incarcerations and release those they considered inappropriately placed.

The Handicapped in Charleston in the 19th Century

The facility was not utilized exclusively by the poor, sometimes it served the "well-to-do-insane" as well. It was used by local prominent, local citizens and their relatives who were unwilling or unable to receive care at home. In 1806, Mr. William Nott used the facility for precisely this purpose after consultation with Drs. Ramsey, Lynah and Noble, concerning his sister. He petitioned for her admittance and resolved to "provide for her wants and to render the remainder of her days as comfortable as the nature of her case will admit". He requested a suitable "apartment" and a private nurse for her. These were granted on the condition that he assume responsibility for all charges and supply her clothing. Later, a similar arrangement was made for the wife of a Dr. Debow. The institution's physician had diagnosed Mrs. Debow as "subject to Paroxysms of Mental Disorder" and she was admitted and discharged from the facility a number of times over the years. Apparently Mrs. Debow, although sometimes violent, was not always confined as evidenced by bills submitted upon at least one occasion requesting reimbursement for damages she caused at the facility (Poor House Journal, 1812).

In 1818, Ariel Abbott, a touring clergyman from the North, carefully documented a number of cases he found interesting in the hospital. These included "a Frenchwoman who did fine needlework when sane, a black man who could not be roused and a number of people ruined by alcohol". He found several "maniacs" he described as "too hideous in appearance to examine closely" and a former soldier who constantly bobbed his head and babbled incoherently (Moore, 1967).

It was difficult for medical practitioners to differentiate between many of the exceptionalities since medical practice itself at this time was still very primitive. Procedures such as bleeding and blistering were often the only procedures available confounding the nature of many illnesses.

Drug therapy was limited to the use of opium, quinine, calomel, rhubarb, magnesia, castor oil, ipecac, squill, mercury, turpentine, iodide of potassium and gentian. Physicians lacked even a rudimentary understanding of pathology, pharmacology, clinical diagnosis or statistical evaluation as these were techniques of the future. Only a few were acquainted with a stethoscope or a clinical thermometer and taking a pulse as a diagnostic procedure was exceedingly rare (Waring, 1964). Progress was slow and even as late as the middle of the century physicians still used phisic, bleeding and sweating as therapy for their patients.

As late as 1825, surgery was limited by a lack of effective anesthesia, and there was little understanding of the concept of antiseptis. Even in Charleston, the medical center for the state, the complexity of operations performed was minimal. Most consisted of amputation, superficial aneurysms, fistula in pernio,

lithotomy, harelip and trepanny of the skull. Trauma remained the chief cause of surgical intervention followed by reductions of fractures and dislocations. Infant mortality, as might be expected, was high for both the blacks as well as the white population. The most common ailments of children were convulsions, diarrhea, measles, teething, worm fever, spasms, tetanus, pellagra, hookworm and malnutrition (Waring, 1964). These problems coupled with birth defects, accidents and injury placed childhood in a precarious position.

Charleston in the 20th Century

The advent of the 20th century found Charleston floundering in dire straits, seriously debilitated by forty years of war, reconstruction, poverty, epidemic and natural disaster. The city was physically, psychologically and economically depressed. Its taxable real estate had declined from \$25 million in 1895 to \$19 million in 1904. Its rank as an urban center dropped from 26th in 1870 to 91st in 1910. Census figures indicated the population had grown by only 1,000 people in 1900 where as neighboring Savannah had increased by 10,000 and Atlanta by 25,000. New and old capital was invested outside the area and profits from within usually went to Northern investors. Northern syndicates acquired assets and bought up defunct railroads incorporating them into larger North-South conglomerates, raising shipping rates and by-passing the city. Rice and cotton prices dropped and markets moved further south and west as black laborers left the fields (Wallace, 1951).

By 1900, segregated facilities and institutions had become widespread. Black poverty spawned black illiteracy. There were 7,462 illiterate blacks in the city compared to 301 illiterate whites over the age of ten (Wallace, 1951).

City government was hesitant to support white public education and even less eager to support black. The prevailing attitude was that blacks would undermine the society if they received anything more than a rudimentary education or vocational training.

It was into this depressed atmosphere that educators were struggling to translate the common school and compulsory education into reality. A body of white commissioners controlled the city's three white and two black public grammar schools as well as Memminger Normal School for white females. A private Board of Trustees regulated Charleston High School for white males who were pursuing a classical or commercial curriculum. Funding for all of these schools came from state, county and city sources and approximately 10,000 students divided equally between blacks and whites attended them for a nine month term.

The Development of the Public School System

As enrollment in the public schools increased, education became less personalized. It increasingly relied on greater organization and regimentation. Numbers of children heretofore allowed to progress at their own pace were now required to comply with rigid superimposed standards for advancement. Many were forced to repeat a grade, often more than once. It was during this period

that an analysis of the school system set the stage for the advent of special education.

In 1907, the principal of Memminger Normal School declared to civic leaders that the public schools were a disgrace. He noted that the city spent less per capita on schooling than any city of comparable size in the nation. He also proclaimed that class sizes were 50% larger than the maximum for effective instruction and that only the city maintenance workers were paid less than teachers (\$35.00 a month). He declared that only 10% of the city's total budget went to education compared to 30% nationwide. Astounded by these figures Mayor R. Goodwyn Rhett, and the progressive leadership, sought to improve this image. A new school for whites was built in the northwest section of the city, a new building was added at Memminger and additional teachers were hired for all of the schools (Wallace, 1951). Further progress was reached when the city's last severe smallpox epidemic in 1910 spurred Dr. J. Mercier Green, of the city health department, to provide medical examinations and vaccinations for all school children (Waring, 1964).

The educational refurbishment continued into the first administration of Mayor John P. Grace in 1911 with the remodeling of schools which predictably was accompanied by an increase in local taxes. A vocational school for blacks had been constructed in 1910 but only two out of 130 teachers in the entire system were black. Not until the 1920's were additional black teachers hired and then only after persistent complaints by local black constituents. Salaries for black

teachers and budgets for black schools in the city during the first fifty years of the century were about 1/4 to 1/3 those of white teachers and schools.

Developing Interest in Charleston

in Special Education

The first information regarding special education in the city during this period came in the tenure of A. Burnet Rhett as superintendent of the Charleston Public Schools. Rhett, in a communique to the City Board of School Commissioners, expressed his concern over the large numbers of children who failed to be promoted and were retained in a grade once, twice or even three times. He stated that he had been aware of the problem for a number of years and had conducted a study of the situation for the previous two years (1911-1913). He had determined that the problem was significant enough to merit attention. He indicated that special interventions were necessary if these students were to progress in school. A number of efforts were already in place to encourage students to attain this goal including extra help and extra time for completing assignments, but they were not sufficient. Rhett compiled the following figures to collaborate his concerns:

Table 1

Repeaters in the Charleston City School System from 1911-1913 and 1912 - 1913

Year	Number of Repeaters	Number of Students Enrolled	Percentage of Total Enrollment
1911-1912	359	2,355	15%
1912-1913	326	2,532	13%

In the 1911-1912 school year 2,355 students were enrolled in the city public schools. Of these 359 or 15% failed to be promoted to the next grade. In the 1912-1913 school year, out of 2,532 total enrollment 326 or 13% would have to repeat the grade in which they were then placed.

Rhett identified six reasons for student failure:

1. Irregular attendance
2. Late entrance into a given class
3. Lack of ability
4. Poor Preparation
5. Neglect of studies
6. Misbehavior or inattention

He placed the blame for the first three directly on the home. He stated that the home had to accept the responsibility for having the students attend classes regularly and to see that they were enrolled at the proper time. Despite the cause or the blame, Rhett believed repeating a grade was seldom beneficial except in a minority of cases. These cases usually involved health problems. His view was that retention tended to "discourage" the student and to "tire the child with school life". He felt that these attitudes encouraged "truancy and dropping out"; therefore, he developed a profile of a repeater and characterized such a student. He suggested that they were "usually older than the rest of the children in the class", "often feeling out of place" and "disgusted with the work". As a result they formed "habits of idleness and misbehavior". He believed that the repeaters were often an "annoyance to the teacher" and "diverted the teacher from other students who were able and were trying to learn".

Appealing to the practicality of the Board and its fiscal concerns, Rhett pointed out that it cost \$18.00 per year to educate each student. The total

expenditure for the repeaters amounted to \$5,800. Acknowledging that the system would always have some students who were forced to repeat a grade, he nevertheless claimed that this expense could be substantially reduced and he proposed three possible solutions to accomplish this.

1. Establishment of a Vacation School (launched successfully in 1912)
2. Provision of coaching for the individual in specific areas of weakness
3. Establishment of a special ungraded class for these students in each school in the city

The vacation school was already a reality having been held in the summer of 1912, and it had been deemed a success. The second option was dismissed as unworkable since, in most instances, the parents of repeaters through lack of time or education were unable to help their children at home and through a lack of financial means could not afford to hire tutors for them.

He strongly endorsed the third suggestion as the most equitable solution, the establishment of a special ungraded class in each of the four white schools, where children who were "misfits" in other classes could be assigned. He advocated that the class be kept flexible and a student be promoted whenever possible. He wanted the size of the classes restricted and the teacher to be competent and experienced in order to successfully work with these students.

Rhett claimed the benefits of these classes in addition to providing for the participating students academically, would also help retain them in school for a longer time. They would also be eligible for promotion more frequently, and teachers in the regular classroom would be relieved of a "heavy burden". All of

this would contribute to a fiscally expedient solution to an academic and budgetary problem.

The legislature had already appropriated additional funds specifically designated for teachers' salaries and Rhett sought to take advantage of the opportunity for acquiring more teachers which he could then use for these classes.

In letters sent to individual members before the board meeting Rhett sought their support for his project, but he wished to make it clear that the authority to choose the teachers for the special classes would rest with him in consultation with each school's principal thus keeping the matter an educational rather than an administrative decision.

In a letter to Commissioner J. E. Smith in January, 1913, Rhett explained the extent of the problem throughout the nation and noted that it was not peculiar to Charleston. On the contrary, he indicated that Charleston compared favorably with a number of other cities and quoted the following figures:

Table 2

Percentages of Repeaters in Various Cities
in the United States

Percentage of Repeaters to Those Enrolled	
<u>City</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Trenton, New Jersey	10.5%
Memphis, Tennessee	11.0%
Columbia, South Carolina*	13.0%
Charleston, South Carolina	13.0%
Cleveland, Ohio	14.5%
Average of 16 cities in the North	16.0%
Richmond, Virginia	23.0%
Montpelier, Vermont	24.5%

* The figures in the case of Columbia includes the High School. The other figures apply to white elementary schools only.

The percentage of repeaters varied from 10.5% to 24.5% in the cities Rhett surveyed. While these figures present some demographic inconsistencies, he used them to emphasize the extent of the problem and the frequency with which it occurred.

Many of his views were garnered and supported by an article in "The High School Quarterly" submitted by A. L. Brewer, Superintendent of the Quitman, Georgia Schools. In this report a number of solutions were reviewed which had been employed to combat this problem throughout the country and Rhett, if not already aware, became aware of a number of possibilities.

In McKinley High School in St. Louis, Missouri, a system of alternating periods was developed whereby each daily subject was interchanged with "written recitation". Work was assigned based on the capacity and aptitude of the individual and allowed the teacher to closely monitor the student's work as it was

being done. Another plan utilized in Hartford, Connecticut; Providence, Rhode Island and Los Angeles, California placed the most "backward" students from all grades in a room with a teacher to administer to their individual needs. The students remained there until they were able to continue with their regular class. The greatest drawback to this program was the "deleterious" effect on the "spirit and self reliance of the pupil". The room was often stigmatized by derogatory labels, an unfortunate outcome for an "efficient method". Dr. Spaulding, Superintendent of the Newton, Massachusetts schools used an "Unassigned Teacher" arrangement. In this system a teacher was given a room in a school but was not assigned a class or grade. Pupils were sent there for a period after which they returned to their regular classroom. Each morning the teacher, principal and grade teachers consulted and drew up an outline of the day's work. Selection of pupils needing help was made and specific directions were supplied concerning their particular needs. This was an attempt to keep the students abreast of their regular class without exposing them to ridicule. In Batavia, New York still another method was developed. Superintendent Kennedy in an effort to relieve overcrowding in his schools assigned a second teacher to a class whose prime responsibility was to assist individuals in preparing their lessons. The arrangement met with immediate success and became a permanent feature of the system. Eventually the second teacher was eliminated but individualized instruction remained. Individual help was alternated with group instruction. The help was provided for only those who needed it: the slow, the discouraged, the difficult student or simply the ones who hadn't mastered the techniques of

studying. The effort was directed at helping these children become aware of their own abilities and how to utilize them.

The Superintendent of West Bay, Michigan schools, Mr. Palmer, had made an intensive study of these interventions and drew the following conclusions concerning the programs:

1. all students got promoted
2. there was no homework
3. children and teachers were happy
4. absenteeism was greatly reduced
5. grammar grades were as full as primary grades
6. there were few disciplinary problems
7. there were no reprimands for failure in class
8. there was remarkable uniformity across grades in all classes
9. high school enrollment doubled in three years

Whether these conclusions were accurate or not, they were Palmer's glowing perception of the effects of the various programs.

In the Pueblo, Colorado schools Superintendent Search developed another widely imitated plan for individualized instruction. Here class recitation was abandoned entirely. In the lower grades, respective subjects were taught in a definite order, but in the high school students worked at their own pace without regard for the rest of the class. The teacher heard individual recitations and progress was dependent upon the student's ability and determination. Students moved on to other work only after present materials were mastered. Grades or years were designated as in other schools but the lines were fluid and could be readily crossed. The student could be graduated at any time the teachers were convinced all work had been satisfactorily completed. The program carried

individual instruction to an extreme and deprived the students of the stimulus of interaction with each other.

The final method reviewed was that initiated at Cook County Normal School of Chicago by Professor Scott in his Social Education course and called "Self Organized Group Work". This program combined handwork/manual training with academics as a means of inspiring and interesting difficult students. This was accomplished by offering the opportunity for individual initiative and social activity. Students formed interest groups and formulated plans to carry out their projects. The teacher relinquished the leadership role and became a participating member. The method was designed to foster individual development and initiative in all students. It gave free reign to the creativity of the student and encouraged independence while at the same time it emphasized the need of cooperation and understanding.

Development of Special Classes

With this document in his possession Rhett had a concise survey of a number of programs he might want to adapt to his own school system. He had already determined it was physically feasible to locate a class in each of the white elementary schools: Bennett, Courtenay, Crafts and Mitchell.

Rhett had additional documented support for such a program from the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Division of School Administration. In City School Circular #28 of February 26, 1914, were various

suggestions for special classes including manual and vocational training for those not successful in the classroom.

Rhett sought more pertinent information in a letter addressed to Mr. James H. Van Sickle, Superintendent of the City Schools of Springfield, Massachusetts. He inquired about Von Sickle's experience in establishing such programs in his school system.

Von Sickle's response was one of caution since his program was just beginning and he claimed little expertise in the matter. He did make some suggestions and recommended that the special class include no more than 25 or 30 pupils. He felt that the school day should be divided into two sessions with the mornings devoted to book work and the afternoons to hand work. He suggested that the children admitted to the class be drawn from the grammar school grades with those presenting the greatest potential of leaving school given first preference so that they would have at least a minimum of vocational experience before leaving school. He stated that he preferred to select students who were "object-minded" rather than "symbol-minded" but who were otherwise normal. Although he sympathized and recognized the need to provide education for students who were mentally deficient, he classified them as less valuable to society and felt that preference should be given to the normal child. He acknowledged the desirability of having a class for the mentally handicapped where a simplified, adapted curriculum could be taught but only as a secondary concern.

For either type of class he advocated the need for specially trained teachers as his first choice. As a second choice he would accept a skillful, experienced teacher who had a wide range of vocational experience. He mentioned that the Fitchburg Normal School in Massachusetts specialized in training teachers for this work. He also mentioned that he believed that boys and girls should be taught in separate classes.

He stated unequivocally that the best method of identifying students for these classes came through psychological examination and felt that the most promising children for a special class were those whose work was characterized by a lack of ability to deal effectively with school subjects when taught in the ordinary manner and who were 2-3 years behind grade level on this account. A safe selection he felt could be made without the aid of a specialist merely on students' score of "backwardness".

A letter addressed to Montague Triest Esq. of June 2, 1914 indicated that Rhett had conducted a special class in 1913 at the Mitchell School and wanted the Board to expand the program to Courtenay and Crafts Schools. Remodeling at Courtenay prevented immediate fulfillment of these plans but there was no impediment to the establishment of one at Crafts. He recommended Miss Saint Amand as teacher for the new special class.

The Opportunity Class

A handwritten report of the special class at Mitchell School identified with the years 1913-1914 indicated that the special class was begun on November 24, 1913

and served 27 pupils. It appeared that this class was called the "Opportunity Class" and served both advanced as well as slow children. The following information was compiled regarding this placement:

Table 3

Composite of the Opportunity Class, 1913-1914

Grade	Advanced Students	Retarded Students
4th	3	8
5th	6	3
6th	4	3
Totals	13	14

Grade Total: 27

The children in the "Opportunity Class" comprised 4th, 5th and 6th graders. There were three advanced students and eight retarded students in the 4th grade; six advanced and three retarded in the 5th grade; four advanced and three retarded in the sixth grade for a total of 27 students, 13 advanced and 14 retarded.

Although there is no confirming evidence other than the similarity to subsequent reports in handwriting and format it is probable that Miss Sylvia Allen taught the class. In this class arithmetic, spelling and language were taught daily, geography three times a week and history twice a week (hygiene had been taught once a week for one month but was discontinued because of the stress of the rest of the work). Reading and writing were taught incidentally in conjunction with the other subjects. There were six arithmetic classes taught every day. While one group received instruction the others did seat work. A period lasted from 9:00 A.M. to 10:50 A.M. then calisthenics were done for 10 minutes. This was followed

by spelling for one-half hour. After the recess there were six 20-minute periods in which the three grades studied language, history or geography. While one group received instruction the rest worked on their assignments. Very soon it became apparent that the two groups were incompatible and could not be taught together.

By January, 1914, a course of study had been designed by the principal so that the advanced students were readied for promotion in February. Special emphasis was placed on arithmetic, spelling and language. In February ten of the excellerated students were promoted with all except three entered into advanced regular classes. Of the remaining three students one did not want to try the higher grade, one couldn't handle the work and one moved out of the school district. The class was left with the fifteen retarded students, and this was quickly expanded. The arithmetic period was extended, and more individualized attention was given to each child. The maximum enrollment for the year reached thirty and the minimum was fifteen. The entire number who received instruction in the class during the year was 47 plus one seventh grader who participated each day for one-half hour for arithmetic. Seven of the retarded students went on to their regular classes. Irregular attendance hampered others from proceeding to their regular classes. Six students left the class entirely. Of these six, one left to go to work, one moved and one transferred to another school, three others essentially were truant.

Attendance was a constant and discouraging problem and truancy, especially among the boys, was a particular concern. Parents appeared indifferent to the truancy as well as to the class in general which was discouraging both to students

as well as to the teachers. Some of the students steadfastly resisted education and the teacher noted there was constant need for drill, repetition, and review of each concept taught. There was always the uncertainty that things learned one day would be retained to the next. It was noted that the ability to reason was rare in the class. The special class closed the year with twenty-one pupils, twelve of whom anticipated promotion to a higher grade. The remaining nine, hampered by habitual absence, indifference, lack of ability and failure to study, remained in the same class.

By January, 1915 a report from H. O. Strohecker Jr., principal of Bennett School in Charleston, indicated the program at that school had been initiated and well received by the faculty and administration. The teacher, Miss Graham, taught twenty "very backward and dull" students for twenty eight days (from November 16th to December 23). In this time she was able to return four students to their regular grades and advance one fourth grader to fifth grade. In response to this success the principal increased the number of pupils in the class to twenty-two students. In February 1915, Julian F. Nohrden, principal of Mitchell School submitted the following schedule for the special class held at his school.

Table 4

Schedule for the Special Class at Mitchell School, 1915

SCHEDULE - SPECIAL CLASS

	<u>Time</u>		<u>Subject</u>		
	9:00 - 9:30		Spelling*		
	9:30 - 11:00		Arithmetic**		
	11:00 - 11:25		Reading		
* Three ten-minute periods					
** Three half-hour periods					
	<u>Monday</u>	<u>Tuesday</u>	<u>Wednesday</u>	<u>Thursday</u>	<u>Friday</u>
Grade 4	25 min		25 min		25 min
Grade 4		25 min		25 min	
Writing					
Grade 4		25 min		25 min	
Grade 5		25 min			
Grade 6		25 min		25 min	
11:25 - 12:05	Recess				
12:25 - 1:05	Grammar (three, 20-min periods)				
1:05 - 1:55	Geography (T,W,F/three, 20-min periods) History (M,R/three, 16-min periods)				

Spelling, arithmetic, reading and writing were taught in the mornings. Grammar, geography and history were taught in the afternoons. Groups were organized upon ability.

The Influence of Sylvia Allen

During this period Sylvia Allen, who signed herself teacher of the "Opportunity Class", had assumed much of the responsibility for the development of the classes. She supplied Superintendent Rhett with the answers to four pertinent questions he had posed concerning the special classes. She ascertained and determined many of the guidelines for the development of the classes. She advocated that both medical and mental examination should precede any

assignment to a special class and recommended that these examinations be repeated after six months of instruction. She noted that some schools carry out this schedule but others did not, but in Northern schools such examinations were made preliminary to placement. Medical examinations were given at regular intervals throughout the year in the Charleston School System by the school nurse and doctor.

Allen suggested that the selection process should involve investigating everyone over age in the system to determine the cause of their difficulty. She stated that the students who required special placements should remain in those placements until the cause was removed or permanently if the defect were not remediable. She acknowledged that while such a procedure was possible in a system the size of Charleston, it would require a great commitment of time. A less thorough plan used in some larger cities relied on the principal to make a list of all overage children and also those who did not appear to be profiting from instruction in the ordinary classroom. She believed that a trained worker could recommend all those who fell three or more years behind or those who were below the normal mentality, for a special class for "defectives". It was noted that students from two to three years behind might not need to be placed into special classes as "borderline cases", but before assignment these children needed to be further examined in order to make a final decision. Some students with physical disabilities might have to remain in special classes until after they received treatment or received the special help they required. No plan under consideration served exceptional students until they had spent three years in the same grade.

Miss Allen outlined the guidelines for teachers for these classes and related that in New York they were required to have 90 hours of psychology, 90 hours of manual training and 90 hours of physical training. In Washington, D.C. a competitive examination was used to select teachers for the special classes, but they were not very technical. Richmond, Virginia accepted such teachers upon recommendation for special work. Training and "natural gratification" appeared to be weighted as equally important in the selection process.

Most teachers who had special training received it at Vineland or New York University. Others studied in Boston, Philadelphia and at Columbia University. Courses in handwork were taken at Temple in Philadelphia, Pratt and Drexel and Mechanics. Chicago University also provided training.

As far as follow-up on the students was concerned Allen felt this was yet in an experimental stage and was a great cause for anxiety. She felt that follow-up was absolutely necessary. She also noted there was a need for a method of transferring students unfit for community life directly from the special class to an institution.

Allen defined the term "Special Class" as meaning "any ungraded class (for coaching, for slower study or for mental defectives, etc.)". Allen raised a pertinent question focusing on whether or not the public schools should accept these students. She stated her belief that the schools should extend their responsibility far beyond an academic curriculum and should also prepare children for "useful, social, well-rounded lives". She acknowledged that many children could not obtain this goal without special teaching. She acknowledged that some children

were not able to profit at all from school work although she advocated that many children were capable of "far more than they were currently attaining".

Allen claimed that the "orphanages took the dependent, the reformatories took those homes and schools have failed and in time the state institutions would take those unable to profit from school". The question for her remained who would provide for those who

are orphans because of neglect of parents and are beginning upon delinquency but haven't as yet fallen, those who are not low enough to be placed in an institution but could be kept in the community with supervision and be partially self-supportive.

She felt strongly that only the public schools could solve these problems and stated,

If they [the public schools] do not provide for this population other organizations will have to share in the most intimate parts of their [teachers] work or [other organizations will] do it themselves.

She noted that there were many who believed as she did that any one of the five areas of a child's life: health, education, occupation, recreation and some moral training that is neglected at home should be undertaken by the schools. She reiterated the following classification of children as a basis of discussion in planning types of special classes:

Table 5

Classification of Intellectual Functioning
of Children

- a. Feeble-minded
- b. Borderline, possibly reclaimable
- c. Dull-normal, needing much help to get anywhere
- d. Normal
- e. Bright
- f. Genius

The intellectual functioning of children was divided into six categories: the feeble-minded; the borderline, possibly reclaimable; the dull-normal, needed help; normal; bright and genius.

Allen suggested that the following points might be important considerations in planning for the next school year.

1. The worker selecting students for the special classes should have a title and written authority for their work.
2. The two currently existing classes should be consolidated.
3. An industrial expert is a necessity.
4. A committee for studying the entire problem of the atypical child and for promoting the interest of such children should be appointed by the Board, consisting of the Superintendent, one commissioner, one principal and one outsider.

Allen also forwarded to Rhett information he requested on I.Q., containing the following information:

Table 6

Classification of IntelligenceAccording to Terman

"I.Q. is the abbreviation for the term Intelligence Quotient, the number obtained when the mental age (expressed in years and months according to the number of successes on the mental tests grouped under a particular age) is divided by the child's chronological age (expressed in years and months)"

<u>I.Q.</u>	<u>Definition</u>
Above 140	near genius or genius
120 - 140	very superior intelligence
110 - 120	superior intelligence
90 - 110	normal or average intelligence
80 - 90	dullness rarely classifiable as feeble-mindedness
70 - 80	borderline deficiency sometimes classifiable as dullness
Below 70	definite feeble-mindedness
50 - 70	feeble-minded morons of high, middle and low grade
20 or 25 - 50	imbeciles
1 - 20 or 25	idiots

A Child Reaching an I.Q. of a certain number is equalled or excelled by a certain number out of every 100

<u>I.Q.</u>	<u>Equalled or Excelled by</u>
130	1
125	3
115	10
110	20
90	80
85	90
75	97
70	99

<u>I.Q.</u>	<u>I.Q. Predictions (final mental age reached)</u>	<u>Dr. Fernald's Clinic (final grade reached)</u>
30	5	K
40	6	1
45	7	2
50	8	2 & 3
60	9	3
65	10	4
70	11	5
80	12	6
85	13	7
90	14	8
95	15	High School Elig.
100	16	High School Median
105		Median for 1st yr/high school
113		Median for college freshman
116		Req. for successful college work

Allen used Terman's classification of intelligence and Fernald's expected level of achievement.

Reaction of the Administration

Based on this and similar information Rhett again sought to enlarge and strengthen his program aimed at exceptional children. In a report entitled "The Exceptional Child" Rhett reiterated his stance for educating this population within the public school system.

By the middle of the second decade of the century, Rhett claimed that more attention was being focused on the individual differences of children. Schools were broadening and varying work to suit these needs. He claimed that one of the results of a study he had undertaken indicated that in any large group of children there were a certain number who could be expected to be exceptional. While 95% of the children could be classified as normal even within these bounds there was much variation "in ability and turn of mind". He divided exceptional children into the following categories:

Table 7

Early Classifications of Exceptional School Children**in Charleston, South Carolina (1915)**

- I. The super-normal or brilliant children
(a very small number in any group)
- II. The normal children
- III. The sub-normal children - those who are below average

These may be further divided:

A. Sub-normal physically, including

1. blind children
2. deaf children
3. crippled children

B. Sub-normal mentally, including

1. backward children (children who for some causes, conditions at home or to physical or mental conditions are slow dull and can't progress in school at ordinary rate)
2. feebleminded children (those so badly mentally retarded they can never overcome the difficulty and will always remain sub-normal. They were always remain incapable of competing with others in the world. These feebleminded children may be further sub-divided into three groups in accordance with their lack of mentality
 - a. The low-grade feeble-minded child or idiot
 - b. The middle grade feeble-minded child or imbecile
 - c. The high-grade feeble-minded child or moron

Rhett characterized exceptional children into categories for his school system.

He further added:

Statistics based on research both in Europe and the United States suggested that in any given school population an average of 2% of the children were feeble-minded. This 2% of the children did not include those who were simply backward and who with special help and individual attention, coaching classes or slower rate of progress could make up their deficiency and in time be restored to their regular grade. In Charleston in the previous year 4,100 white elementary school children were enrolled and applying the law of averages there should have been 82 feeble-minded children in the system. The mental tests conducted last year by Miss Allen yielded the following figures: approximately 60 children with others who needed further observation and testing. The problem remained as to what should be done with these children. They should not be allowed to remain in the regular classroom for a number of reasons. Experience has indicated that the truly feeble-minded child got practically nothing in the way of education out of ordinary class work since they did not have the prerequisite mentality to absorb the work. Many who were chronologically 14, 15 or 16 years old were mentally 5, 6 or 7 years old. They were a great problem to the teacher and she could do practically nothing with them yet they occupied much of her time and attention which should have been devoted to the other children. Generally, especially in the case of the boys, discipline problems often involved inattentive and out of order behavior. In the regular classroom these students were bullied and teased which often resulted in fighting. These children for their own sakes, the sakes of their teachers and for the normal children in the class should have been placed in special classes.

Rhett stated that experience indicated that while the feeble-minded could not profit from ordinary school subjects such as reading, spelling and arithmetic, they could and did make progress in various kinds of hand work such as needlework, domestic service, brushes and brooms construction and simple forms of woodwork. The higher grade child, the moron, could be trained to support

himself at least in part, while the really feeble-minded regardless of his chronological age, even after adulthood, never progressed beyond the level of a 12 years old. Many, however, were physically strong and with careful supervision and direction could do various kinds of manual labor. Before the compulsory education laws some of these children were in school; with these laws the numbers dramatically increased".

In anticipation of the argument against public schools serving this population Rhett suggested the following rebuttal:

1. These children could be provided with an appropriate education suited to their abilities.
2. Problems which existed and were challenging must be met by some agency. If not in the public schools they would be left on the streets.

Rhett claimed that the records of various grades indicated that the criminal classes were recruited to a considerable degree from the feeble-minded and suggested the best solution to the problem would be the establishment of colonies for these children. However, there were two difficulties with such a plan:

1. "There was not now and as far as could be seen, will never be for a long time adequate provision in the State for taking care of the numbers of these children which must exist in a population of a million and a half.
2. It would take tremendous persuasion or force to get parents to consent to placing these children in such colonies."

Even then Rhett explained, "The schools would not be relieved of the care of the higher type of "feeble-minded child."

The question of expense was a serious one. Special classes had to be kept very small at about a ratio of 15 students to 1 teacher. The work was difficult, unattractive and required special training which meant extra salaries. Since the

focus of their education was largely manual, a good amount of equipment and supplies were needed. Teachers for these classes were in great demand and were difficult to obtain.

Status of the Special Class

Rhett indicated that such a class had been in operation in the school system for the past three years and the Board had authorized two more for the next session. He really wanted four such classes, and he would have preferred them in a special building to keep them away from the regular schools. A special curriculum was developed just for them independent of the regular school. Rhett foresaw a potential problem in that parents might be reluctant to have their children attend this special school. He expressed his desire to implement this program as quickly as possible. Because of the lack of trained teachers and the lack of adequate space in the schools he recommended two classes in two schools, but he admonished that there should also be at least four classes for feeble-minded children in a separate building properly equipped for various kinds of manual work to be owned or rented by the School Board. He also wanted four teachers properly trained for this work, two of whom at least, with the necessary industrial training to maintain these classes. Rhett wanted the supplies involved to be furnished by the Board and the school to be known as the "Opportunity School" so as to avoid offense. He also foresaw that it was important that it be centrally located and near as many trolley lines as possible. He wanted Miss Allen employed to do all of the testing in the schools and become responsible for

the general supervision of all the classes for exceptional children. As enrollment increased he wanted provision made for more classes for children of this type. Rhett did wish to exclude idiots, epileptics and those children who proved themselves dangerous or a menace to others to be excluded in the public school programs.

Selection for the Special Class

To choose children for these classes and to determine whether a child was "feeble-minded", a census was taken each school year which showed the number of children of each age in each grade, the number of children who were of normal age for the grade, which normal age was standard, the number of children who were advanced or in a higher grade than their age warranted, and the number of children who were below their grade (i.e. too old for the grade). Those children who were 2-3 years behind were called "backward". Those more than three years behind were considered feeble-minded unless there was some other cause which was reported on the child's school record, such as continuous absence due to sickness or truancy. These children were then given a careful psychological test. These tests had, by then, been considered well pass the experimental stage. They had been used widely in Europe and in this country and had been checked and rechecked for years past with great care. Rhett believed that when they were "properly and intelligently used they furnished a very accurate index of the child's mentality". He noted that a variant of these tests for adults had been used in the draft.

The children were also given a thorough physical examination by the medical inspector. The examiner was expected to study the family record of the child, since the information Rhett had in his possession indicated that two-thirds of feeble-mindedness was directly due to heredity. All of these records were given careful consideration and if the child was found to be "feeble-minded" he or she was admitted to the class. Even then, they were watched carefully and tested periodically so that they would be removed from the grade if their "mentality" developed. Rhett expressed his opinion that testing would become important in schools for normal as well as for defective students and would supplant the old written examination as they could determine more accurately the present capacity of the child and her/his ability to do more or less work. In October, 1917, Sylvia Allen reported the following:

Table 8

Numbers of Retarded Students in the Charleston

City Schools, 1917

School	# Tested	Feeble-Minded	Probable Borderline	Mentally Normal but Reported for Inspection*
Mitchell	25	10	6	9
Courtenay	11	6	3	2
Bennett	11	5	2	4
Craft	8	2	2	4
Totals	55	23	13	19

*Mostly physically defective, neurotic, underfed, neglected looking, some simply speech defective.

This report indicated the number of students tested in each white elementary school as well as the number of students classified as feeble-minded, borderline or normal but sent for testing.

In April, 1918, Sylvia Allen, as director of the Opportunity Class at Bennett School, clarified a previously misunderstood report she had sent to Mr. Rhett. She explained that mental but not medical examinations now preceded each assignment to the special class not as she had erroneously reported. Selection for the classes was made by mental tests administered to children whose records from the principal's files showed severe retardation. Teachers could also suggest cases for testing. Allen reported that the follow-up work for the first year of this class had indicated that two cases of low grade imbeciles were being kept at home by their parents. Two others, who were tracked, were both working, one steadily at one position, the other changing jobs three times. About 150 children had been tested for special placement during the year.

Allen took advantage of this opportunity to reiterate her qualifications to administer the program and to teach the special class. She indicated that she had taken a six week course at the University of Pennsylvania during the summer of 1915. Then, in the spring of 1917 she spent one month in visiting schools in New York and vicinity, those of Washington and Richmond and some time as well in institutions for the feeble-minded.

Summary of the Opportunity Class
for 1917-1918

A summary for the Opportunity Class for the school year 1917-1918 was available which presented an image of the special class. There were 16 seats in the room and expenses for the year ran \$702.50. Twenty-one children were served during this time at a per capita cost of \$33.45. As of October, the average chronological age was 10.78 years and the average mental age was 7.35 years. The average retardation was 3.43 years. By June, 1918, the average chronological age was 11.38 years; with an average mental age of 8.04 years. The average retardation in June was 3.34 years. The average attendance for the school year was 90%.

The average score in academic work was 70% with the school curriculum followed slowly. One-third of the time was devoted to manual work and this proved more profitable than the other two-thirds. The greatest difficulty came from the wide range of abilities in the class which required several divisions in each grade. No section was able to complete the work of the grade to which it was comparable. Three children covered the arithmetic for the grade and two completed the spelling and were promoted in these subjects. Dr. Johnson, an educator and a visitor to Charleston, suggested that too much time was spent on academic work. Corporal punishment was used only once during the year and that was for insubordination.

The special class went to separate recess from the regular classes because of serious trouble caused when they went together.

Allen believed that all fifteen children in the class should be returned to that class the following year. Three students might have possibly been returned to the regular classroom to make room for more serious cases if there was still only one special class available.

Allen suggested that the only hope for those presently enrolled depended upon three points: medical attention, happy school conditions and the formation of good habits. The first was essential and the output of funds was unwarranted without it.

In planning for the next year she suggested more than half the time needed to be devoted to manual work and suggested that this could be accomplished by converting the empty basement in the Bennett Annex into a workshop. This would cost about \$100.00, with the expense remaining about the same as for the current year. In conjunction with Mr. Carl Planck, Allen was working out a number of simple woodworking problems during the summer to be used by the class.

Teacher Incentives

In May, 1918, an offer of board and tuition at one of the six weeks summer courses for workers among mental defectives was made to a committee of which Allen was chairperson. This was offered in exchange for some work in Charleston during the following year with the mentally defective. The committee was happy to consider any graduates of the normal school who were qualified for such work.

The qualities they were looking for in a candidate included a "profound sympathy with childhood, a capacity for hard work and a scientific mind".

Expansion of Interest in

Special Populations

Allen's commitment to the program is registered in her request to the Superintendent that he send out questionnaires for next year, in May. This would allow her to test in the afternoons and on Saturdays, freeing her to begin teaching earlier in the fall.

A correspondence between Allen and Rhett indicated that Allen's interest in the special classes had enlarged and she had become involved in Child Welfare Issues and in the Elementary Teachers Association on a city wide level during the 1918-1919 year. She viewed these activities as of even greater value to the children than her classroom work because they allowed her to reach greater numbers of people. Almost all of the 87 cases reported which Allen tested and admitted to the new class had to remain in the class. Allen went on to explain that working out the difficulties and removing the causes of their problems (when possible) was seldom within her scope or expertise.

The additional work she was involved with on the city commission and then on the state commission offered her great satisfaction and presented a great temptation to relinquish her school role. She questioned if it was possible to continue with her schoolwork and to pursue much of an advocacy role.

At this point Allen sought to express her philosophy of the purpose of education. She believed that education was:

a most substantial field of work because it was by teaching that we make people what we would have them be as citizens.

She confirmed her faith in the modern movement of socializing education as one of the greatest "next" steps, but she was aware that many children were neither in the "state of mind or body" to receive instruction "no matter how good or how well it was given". She quoted the fact that the "average [chronological] age of our army showed an average mental age of 13". She felt that this indicated "we must go back to the causes of retardation rather than merely curing it".

Her plans for the summer included additional study at Columbia University and continued study of mental examinations and applied psychology. She also planned to enroll in a course of observation in the Horace Mann special class and wanted to avail herself of an opportunity to teach for criticism. She preferred not to take an additional course on hand work unless necessary rather opting for one on child welfare at the New York School of Social Service. This course contained information she felt someone in the system ought to have.

Expansion of Services Within the Special Class

By September 1919, Allen suggested a new format for the special class. Beyond the usual items regarding the purchases for the coming year and the problem of providing recess time which didn't disturb other classes, a new problem needed solving. It was apparently against school rules to have a lighted

stove, lamp or anything of that nature in a classroom. She wanted a small blue flame one burner stove in order to scald milk. She also wanted a small zinc lined box to serve as an ice box. These were included in the \$100.00 appropriation she had requested. She felt that with two teachers, luncheon (\$0.05 per day) could be successfully prepared with the children in the room. She also wanted a map of the world and a carpenter's bench constructed. She volunteered to take the responsibility of carrying out any or all of the plans which Rhett approved. If these items were not available before Monday she would begin teaching with things as they were. Most of the week was spent in testing using new tests which required twice as long to administer.

The Testing Program

In November 1919, the following reports were submitted on the results of the testing.

Table 9

Results of Intelligence Testing in 1919

Classification	Schools				<u>Total</u>
	Crafts	Bennett	Courtenay	Mitchell	
Normal	0	0	5	1	6
Dull-Normal	3	11	9	2	25
Borderline	9	3	17	13	42
Mental Defectives	7	14	17	20	58
Totals	19	28	48	36	131
Students exhibiting unstable or hysterical tendencies	1	0	3	3	7
Total tested: 195					

Recommendations: Crafts & Bennett: One special grammar class for each school; one primary special class in common; one advanced primary and lower grammar class

The results of testing indicated the number of children in each school who qualified as normal, dull-normal, borderline or mentally defective. A new category was included: unstable or hysterical tendencies.

There were enough children for special classes in the first grade and a number of low second graders who would not fit into a pre-vocational class as the other classes were. She felt that Mitchell School should have one special class for first and second grade and one pre-vocational type class for 3rd and 4th grades. A number of children remained to be tested.

Recommendations Concerning

the Special Classes

The following recommendations were made for the special class for 1919-1920 based on the testing:

1. Thirty children between the 50th and 85th I.Q. percentile be divided into two classes selected from up to the 4th grade.
2. Testing would be made available upon request for higher grades.
3. These classes would have separate recesses from the regular classes.
4. Instruction in both classes would be based on developmental needs.
5. The classes should be moved to the present academic classroom and the Red Cross Room should be used for manual work and luncheon.
6. Teacher "A" would teach language, history and geography, reading, writing and arithmetic.
7. Teacher "B" would teach the manual work, signing and be responsible for planning and correlating the manual and academic work.
8. The academic work would coincide with that being done in the regular classes.
9. The special class would have gymnastics especially designed for them by one of the teachers.
10. Regular classroom teachers would be required to fill out a request card for any student they wanted tested.
11. The present class would begin on September 29 and continue for one month at which point a new teacher would be introduced to begin work under the guidance of the permanent teacher.

12. Testing would then begin based on cards submitted from the regular classrooms, having had a month with their classes to determine which students needed services.
13. A second class would be assembled based on this selection in January (sooner if possible).

These recommendations were supplemented in June, 1920 when suggestions for bettering the conditions for exceptional children outside the classroom were put forth.

Great emphasis was placed on testing of both groups and individuals. The testing was to be continued to be used as a basis for selection for the special class as well as for grading and for making recommendations for rectifying existing problems in the system.

The importance of case work was stressed. There was an effort to encourage cooperation between the home and the classroom. Allen believed such procedures would lessen the need for more special classes.

Allen listed a number of salient points of which teachers must be cognizant in supervising special classes. She emphasized there should be a correlation with the regular grade work whenever possible. Attention to appropriate curriculum as well as health and sanitation had to be a high priority. She warned that the supervisor (teacher) should be aware of any nervous developments on the parts of students as well as the individual habits and peculiarities of the students. Lunch and nutrition were similarly important for these children and finally, she warned that the general behavior of the students must be monitored.

Allen recommended a series of lectures in Child Psychology especially adapted to the atypical child be included in the course at the normal school. She also advocated a more flexible grading system in the schools at large.

By concentrating on these aspects, she felt the principals and teachers could pay more attention to the individual child which Allen claimed was their birthright since "no two children were the same". Allen claimed that such an orientation would eliminate disciplinary problems in the regular classroom by removing the anti-social students and placing them in an atmosphere more sympathetic to their needs, thus decreasing the number of juvenile delinquents. She suggested that in cases where "unhealthy living had progressed too far, re-education by special training could be undertaken thus bringing about an entire change of life".

Allen was convinced of the possibilities of using group testing for grading. She felt it could be a basis to provide for a low and advanced section in each grade and that the tests could be used to identify the very bright as well as the very dull.

The school budget for the past year had been approximately \$200,000 with \$1,300 allocated to the special class or 1/200 of the total revenue. This, however, didn't cover the needs of the feeble-minded.

Program Expansion

By November, 1920 two special classes were established at Simons School and enrolled 40 children (20 in each room). All of the children were of sub-normal mentality although not all were "feeble-minded". All required special intervention.

Allen was by this time energetically involved in activities for exceptional children throughout the state, participating on the State Board of Public Welfare and the Mental Hygiene Association. She still had time to submit a detailed report to the Superintendent for the school 1920-1921.

The report was no longer titled the "Opportunity Class" but was now the report of Special Education in the Public Schools of Charleston, South Carolina. Three teachers were employed in this department Ms. Shafer, Ms. Colson and Ms. Allen. Their salaries ranged from \$990.00 to \$1,327.56. The budget for the special classes was:

Table 10

Budget for the Special Education Classes in Charleston, South Carolina, 1920-1921

Ms. Schafer	\$ 990.00
Ms. Colson	\$1,060.00
Ms. Allen	\$1,327.56
Equipment/Supplies	\$ 200.00
TOTAL	\$3,577.56

The work was divided into four categories:

1. Teaching
2. Case Work
3. Supervision
4. Psychological Testing in all white schools

Curriculum in the Special Classes

The book work for "low grade defectives" was of negligible quality. Arithmetic was the only subject in which any reasonable progress could be made. The handiwork was of kindergarten quality. The only materials available were paper for cutting and clay. The best results were obtained in training these students in living with others and establishing good health habits and conduct. It was recognized that some of the students in the class would have to be institutionalized. The older students were more difficult to handle in a class with such a heterogeneous makeup. Grouping was necessary in order to do any work, but even under these circumstances none were able to accomplish more than half a grade's work. Despite this, it was amply demonstrated that some living skills had and could be taught. Arithmetic was the more profitable academic area while reading was so "automated" as to make it "hardly worthwhile". The vocational work for these children was of two kinds of domestic training: cooking and sewing for the girls and woodworking projects for the boys. There were no discipline problems because they were content with the work. A \$200 appropriation was used to equip the kitchen and work shop. Children brought \$.10 a day for their lunches. The PTA provided lunches for two students who couldn't afford to pay for them and two were allowed to work for their lunch.

A number of activities were planned for the group outside of the classroom.

These included:

1. two mothers' meetings
2. a health play
3. a toy fair (earned \$20 for more tools)
4. two trips to the museum
5. a trip to Charleston Dry Dock
6. a trip to Kennedy Printing Office
7. a picnic at Hampton Park

Areas of Difficulty

The case work did not progress as well as Allen desired, however, the homes of all the students were visited a number of times to establish lines of contact, to better understand the conditions of these children, to solve difficult problems, and to obtain more complete records on the children. As an outcome of the case work five children were placed at the State Training School for the feeble-minded at Clinton. The casework did contribute to the happiness and well being of many of the students by solving many health related issues. This was accomplished by working closely with the Juvenile Welfare Commission.

A New Format

Supervision of the classes was undertaken directly by the two teachers and remained relatively independent from the rest of the school. The curriculum utilized a three fold plan with one third of the time devoted to cultural work, one third to physical training, and one third to vocational training. There was need of constant conferring with other specialists and agencies upon a number of children concerning their specific needs and especially upon their disciplinary problems, which were now occurring.

The psychological testing for the schools yielded the following information:

Table 11

Results of Psychological Testing in the
Charleston, South Carolina Schools,
1920-1921

School	No. Reported for Mental Testing	No. Tested (Otis Group Tests)	No. Untested
Crafts	Entire school	68 Individual tests	
Bennett	None		
Courtenay	68	33	29
Simons	64	47	17
Mitchell	107	94	13
Totals	919	865	59

Testing indicated the number of students tested in each school by group and by individual tests. The numbers untested were also reported. The numbers indicate the growth of the program. The discrepancy in the totals can probably be accounted for by an overlap of students who received either a group but not an individual test or just an individual test.

The individual tests used were the Binet Scale, Terman Revision Diagnosis. There was an effort to use the tests as a basis for making educational suggestions to teachers. A written report on each child's test was given to the teacher, principal and superintendent. The tests served another service beyond that of placement and grading. They also indicated potentially problematic children and precocious ones. They were considered useful in developing sympathy and understanding between the student and teacher and indicated the next step to be

undertaken such as physical examination, stronger discipline, more recreation, institutionalization, further identification of personality defects and the like.

The pressure for additional space in the regular classes was being felt. It was recommended that the two classrooms be kept separate because if housed in one large room it would eliminate the lunch facilities and work space. Allen felt it was better for normal children to experience a little discomfort for one year than to penalize those children "who have so much to fight against". More financing was needed especially to obtain teachers for the special classes.

The school system was not ready to develop facilities for precocious children yet. Too many true defectives needed to be served and after these the administration felt the borderline students should receive services.

The plan of work in the Special Classes consisted of the teachers spending the first few minutes {5-10} of the day devoted to small talks on citizenship, hygiene, or current events. The following schedules demonstrated the time devoted to specific activities.

Ms. Shafer's Class

9:00 - 9:45 arithmetic
9:45 - 10:15 reading
10:15 - 10:50 recess

10:50 - 11:00 spelling
11:00 - 11:15 gymnastics
11:15 - 11:40 singing

(boys of both sections)

Ms. Colson's Class

9:00 - 9:30 arithmetic
9:30 - 10:00 reading
10:00 - 10:15 drill work

10:50 - 11:00 spelling
11:00 - 11:15 writing
11:15 - 11:40 preparation

(girls of both sections)

10:15 - 10:50 recess

11:40 - 12:00 lunch
12:00 - 12:30 recess

12:30 - 1:00 geography
1:00 - 2:30 manual arts

12:30 - 1:00 manual arts

1:00 - 1:30 girls clean room
1:30 - 2:30 girls sewing
1:30 - 2:30 boys manual arts

In the afternoons (devoted to manual arts) Monday and Wednesday drawing, clay modeling, construction work or printing was designed to emphasize shape, color, composition and design. Children illustrated stories and did free hand drawing, worked from models or still life, did lettering and made forms for the construction of a doll house, sand table, blackboard etc.

On Tuesday and Thursday stories, memory work or picture study either verbal or applied in some form or other were undertaken.

On Friday the students attempted to make at least one poster illustrating either a calendar for the month. Some significant date, holiday or season. Illustration of historic events or the life of some individual, some civic idea or plan for health rules etc. was often used.

Pupils were still selected in the same manner, from individual examination from classes at teachers' requests or if the student was two or more years behind or was a disciplinary problem. They could also be examined upon the request of the parents of those children they suspected were retarded.

At Simons School students were now identified from group testing with the Terman Revision of the Stanford-Binet Mental Test. This was administered by Sylvia Allen both teacher and Supervisor of the Special Classes.

New and Old Faculty

Allen's credentials improved constantly. She had by now several years experience teaching special education first, in ordinary ungraded classes, then in classes for the mentally defective. She spent her summers upgrading her experiences with both formal and informal educational experiences relating to this population. The other permanent special education teacher, Ida M. Colson, spent two summers at Winthrop College under Ms. Helen Hill of Vineland, New Jersey. Colson spent two additional summers at Columbia University studying the "Psychology of Mental Defectives" under Dr. Hollingsworth. She took a course in

supervised teaching in Miss Farell's "Demonstration Class" as well as two days supervised teaching under Ms. Kaetor in "Supervision of Methods in Special Classes". Colson further added to her expertise with a brief course with Ms. Patric in "Industrial Education" and with Dr. Pinter in the "Testing of Mental Defectives". She had several years grade experience before taking up this work and participated in a psychiatry course with Dr Babcock at the Medical University in Charleston. Both women participated in various lectures and undertook to expand their knowledge even further with independent readings.

The third teacher in the program had no specific training but had read a great deal on the subject and had been an experienced teacher before entering special education.

The classes continued to use the Terman Revision of the Stanford Binet for identification and placement. Mental age, personality, prognostic and diagnostic criteria, including testing were considered. Teacher requests for those more than two years behind, identified disciplinary problems and requests from parents were now all accepted elements of placement.

Interest in Charleston's Program

By December, 1921, Sylvia Allen was chairperson of the Committee on Mental Health of the Child Welfare Commission at the University of South Carolina in Columbia. The assistant survey director and executive secretary of this commission Dr. Frank J. O' Brian wrote Superintendent Rhett regarding his special classes and requesting information about them. O'Brian noted that the only

schools in the state attempting to serve this population were in Charleston and Columbia.

Ida M. Colson provided the following information to Rhett in a letter of December 15, 1921 to respond to inquiries. It included a list of equipment in the classrooms:

- 36 stationary desks
- 6 tables with large and small chairs for group work
blackboard space
- 2 rooms for storage of materials, china, groceries and a three hole gas plate for cooking class, ice box etc. sewing machines, patterns, cloth and other necessary notions workshop tools such as hammers, saws, small tools of various kinds, work tables, paint and brushes along with lumber, reeds for basketry, materials for brush making and construction paper. Books for thirty-one children from grades 1 to 4, maps, a globe and a sand table were included.

In October, 1925 Rhett responded to a letter from Mrs. Dupont Thompson, secretary to the Mental Hygiene Society in Birmingham, Alabama requesting information about the special classes. He related to Thompson that Charleston had had the program for about seven years. It was begun under Sylvia Allen, a teacher who although not a psychiatrist, had studied the problem and explored things being done in other areas with this population. He noted that the school staff did not include a psychiatrist but one volunteered from the local community to assist with the program, but at the time the staff was limited to three. The current cost of the program amounted to \$3,620 per year.

Developing Classes in Other Schools

By November, 1926, the special classes were filled and there was need for expanding the program to other schools. In January, 1927, this was accomplished

and there were to be two classes at the James Simons School, one at Courtenay and one at either Bennett or Crafts School. At this point in time, Ida Colson had assumed the supervisory position while Sylvia Allen was out of the city. Allen expected to return to Charleston and the City Public Schools but would not teach special classes.

Reasons for Placement

Testing of children continued but more specific reasons began to be listed as the reasons for testing, although repeaters were still the dominant feature. Now things such as "slow with speech defect, failure in class probably due to eyes, no ability, overage, no appeal and peculiar" were now listed as reasons for testing. "Dishonesty, disciplinary problems, truancy, fear of failure, inferiority complex, slow reactions, poor coordination, and rejection by the county schools" were now reasons for inclusion in the special classes.

The findings based on tests administered included problems listed as "psychopathic tendencies, eye problems, too self centered, speech deficit, tic of right eye, and lacks comprehension". As each child was tested the clinical findings were listed, a diagnosis made and recommendations for remediation were made. Some of the findings ranged from the very common place such as "spoiled", and "extreme nervousness" to "inferiority complexes". Many of the children were sent for medical examinations and further evaluation at the mental health clinic. Most were recommended to the special classes. While attempting to

serve the city schools occasionally cases were also referred from the county. Often these referrals were for physical problems such as deafness.

By June, 1927 there were new special classes at Simons, Bennett, and Courtenay Schools plus some children were treated at the Mental Health Clinic. Because of much duplication, Colson agreed with Rhett that a single school for all classes should be established. The only drawback to this plan was a means of transportation for the children. Colson emphasized the need for the school to be in close communication with the home, and with the other welfare agencies within the city and with the State Training School for Mental Defectives as well.

The physically handicapped child also began to receive specific attention especially for the hard of hearing found through medical inspections in the schools. The general trend for this population was to keep them in the regular classroom with a period a day devoted to lipreading. Colson acknowledged Dr. Sylvia Allen for her work with the children in the Mental Health Clinic.

Concerns Over Placement

In 1928, Rhett wrote to Colson in response to her letter of November 7th in which she reported a number of cases requiring either the special classes or the ungraded class. Rhett suggested that the city had too many children in special classes. He cited 0.5% as the average for the county at large in the elementary schools. In Charleston he cited Simon School as having 3%, Courtenay School as 2.3%, and Mitchell School 1.7%. If two classrooms were established at Crafts and Bennett this would be 2% and 1.5% respectively. He stated that although he did

not expect the percentage to work out exactly, he expressed the view that there were too many children being placed and suggested that they were using too high a mental quotient for placement or were assigning children for reasons other than deficient intelligence. The white elementary school enrollment was now 4,673, 1.5% of this number would be 70 students. If two new classes were established there would be 101 children enrolled or almost "50% more than would be expected". He expressed his view that even with a considerable increase in enrollment, five classes should be enough. C.A. Weinheimer, principal of the Simons School, in a letter dated December 3, 1928, agreed that not all the students in the special class were mentally deficient, but he affirmed that none could function in the regular classroom for a variety of reasons. He wanted to maintain the special classes as they were.

By April, 1929, Colson had reiterated the aims of the testing program:

1. to identify children with peculiar academic and behavior problems
2. to provide the teacher with better understanding for working with these problems.
3. To test repeaters to find a course to pursue for these students.
4. To select students for special classes based on the test results in conjunction with a general as well as a specific statement of the problem from the teacher with as much school history as possible, as much family background as possible, conferences with both the pupil and teacher (separately) along with conferences with the principals involved.

By September 1934 a publication from the Department of the Interior, Office of Education identified exceptional children as:

1. deaf/hard of hearing
2. blind/partially sighted
3. crippled
4. speech defective
5. children of lowered mentality
6. mentally gifted
7. socially maladjusted

An annotated bibliography was available from the Office of Supervision of Documents, Washington, D.C. for a nominal fee, concerning these exceptionalities.

A request of the Department of Interior brought a response April 24, 1935 listing of summer school programs in the area for courses on the education of mental deficient. The University of Georgia, Johns Hopkins University and George Peabody College for Teachers offered such courses in the South. A post script from a letter signed Zella W. Altman reminded teachers that the special class was not to be regarded as a place for disciplinary problems.

Reorganization Plans

In June, 1939 a reorganization plan was submitted to Superintendent Rhett from Ida Colson and S. David Stoney, principal of Bennett Public School. They reported that in a recent survey they had conducted, that six of 7 teachers of the special classes were in favor of the classes and wished to remain teaching them. Only one wanted to return to the regular classroom. Of the principals involved three were in favor of the class and one was undecided but remained open minded. Five teachers felt there was no one interested enough in the classes to carry them on when they were no longer able to teach them. A plan to initiate a special school would stigmatize more than the individual classes. Also, families wanted their children to attend certain schools, and transfers would be difficult. They felt that they would meet with parental opposition to such a proposal. None of those surveyed would oppose the arrangement but none would actively

support it. Six teachers and three principals all felt that reorganization was practical. They made these suggestions:

1. reorganize into 6 rather than 7 classes
2. hold 4 classes in Courtenay and 2 in Bennett

There were by then two classes in Courtenay and one in the annex. They recommended that regular classes be moved out of the annex to the main building and room be given to the special classes. The annex could be converted into a special class building especially since it opened onto Wagg St. and had its own playground for recess. The three classes in the annex could be for the older boys and girls. The class in the main building would be for the intermediate group of children. The following changes were needed:

1. move the two classes of youngest children into annex
2. acquire adequate transportation at minimum cost
3. hire one male teacher for vocational training of older boys and also to handle as many special class problems as possible and assist the principal of Courtenay
4. male teacher would help to find jobs for boys when they were ready
5. develop a follow-up record of each child for at least two years after leaving the special class.

These conclusions were formulated on these points: there was a need for a more homogeneous grouping and the 8-18 chronological groupings should be eliminated. That recognized that teachers accomplished more with better groupings and were able to provide more adequate curriculum resulting in improved teaching, better facilities and better habit training since students then did not learn bad habits from older children. Older students felt more adequate when they competed with their own age group. Educational and handwork equipment would be better suited to group needs and consolidation would be

more adequate with appropriate tools and equipment. A better planned curriculum suited to the individual needs of the pupils would make fewer disciplinary problems. When the classes were more closely grouped a teacher could handle a larger number although the maximum should remain at twenty.

The following physical changes were suggested:

Two sinks should be installed in Simons School and in the special class in the annex at Courtenay. Gas connections were needed for the girls' cooking class. Several electric plugs needed installation. Some additional water connections were needed. The visual education class needed dark shades. A larger room in main building for the special classes was desirable if possible.

In 1939, Rhett requested the latest available statistics on "mental deficient" in elementary schools from the National Education Association of the United States (Educational Research Service) in order to compare his classes.

In Charleston the total population, both white and black, was 62,265. The number of children enrolled in the Schools was 13,404. The number of deficient enrolled was 140. Rhett wanted information to indicate how his system compared nationally and had accumulated literature from throughout the nation on special classes. As of November 7, 1941, the Charleston Public School System consisted of the following special classes in Charleston:

Number	School	Teacher
1	Bennett School St. Phillip's Street	Mrs. Zella Altman
1	Courtenay School Meeting Street	Mrs. C. O. Bard
1	Mitchell School Corner Fishburne & Perry Streets	Mrs. Majorie Stallings
2	Simons School Corner King & Moultrie Streets	Mrs. Helen Heinsohn Mrs. Marie B. Hicks

Total Enrollment: 78

By this time placement into special classes required not only testing, but also, a conference with parents before any child could be enrolled.

Designation of Special Students

By 1943, Superintendent Rhett, had noticed the tendency to expand the testing program and he felt that the system was not in a position to provide new services at that point in time. In March, 1945 the total white enrollment in the school system was 5,326 of which 3,047 were elementary students. The following represented the designation of exceptional students.

Table 12

Designations of Special Students

	Projected*	Elementary Only	Enrolled Total
Blind/partially sighted	.2%=10	6	11
Deaf/hard of hearing	1.5%=79	45	72
Crippled	1.0%=53	30	4
Delicate	1.5%=79	45	
Speech deficit	1.5%=79	45	
Mentally retarded	2.0%=106	60	85
Epileptic	0.2%=10	6	
Mentally Gifted	2.0%=106	60	
Behavior problems	2.5%=132	75	

* number of Charleston pupils who should be in special class according to national averages

Although there were nine categories of exceptionalities, only four, the blind, the deaf, the crippled and the mentally retarded were categorized in Rhett's system. The special classes were now serving a larger and more diverse population. In the following year the Charleston City Public Schools had a total white enrollment of 5,629, an increase of 303 students. Those in special classes were as follows:

Table 13

Demographics of Exceptionalities in theCharleston City Schools, 1944

Charleston City Public Schools	Estimated %	Total White Enrollment 5,629	
		Estimated #s	Actual #s
Partially sighted	.2	10.538	10
Hard of Hearing	1.5	79.035	72
Crippled	1.0	52.690	4
Mentally Retarded	2.0	105.380	81

From a total white enrollment of 5,629 students, 10 were enrolled as partially sighted. There were 72 students enrolled as hard-of-hearing, four as crippled and 81 as mentally retarded in the school system.

No further designations were provided on previous handicapping conditions. The average number of tests given during the year was 125. Over a period of six months 748 actual tests were administered. The approximate average time to administer a test was 1 hour 30 minutes plus the approximate average time to score and write a psychometric report was 1 hour requiring a total allotted time per test of 2 hours 30 minutes making the testing program highly labor intensive.

In 1948, Horace H. Early, principal of Bennett School wrote to acting Superintendent George C. Rogers that the special classes as such had been eliminated in his school, but that the children and the problems still remained. As late as November 13, 1951 in a letter to Dr. Paul Eisner it was noted that there were no minimum requirements for teachers of special classes in the state although all teachers had to meet South Carolina certification regulations. On March, 1953 there were two classes in the white schools for mentally retarded children which devoted one-half of their time to academics, and one-half to handicrafts such as chair caning, furniture repair, weaving, beadwork, and simple sewing for girls. There were no prepared courses of study for these classes and they were kept very small. Much of the spectacular beginning had eroded and special education made little progress.

The Introduction of Speech Services

Rhett had had concerns for the repeaters in his system for decades as well as for those who were mentally deficient. Still another group of exceptional children had caused him additional concern. These were children with speech problems. In a letter from Deputy Superintendent George E. Smith in Buffalo, New York, Rhett gathered the following information concerning a possible course for their correction. Smith affirmed that the press releases concerning a cure for stuttering were not exaggerated, but the course spoken of had to be presented by the teacher, O.E. Ennis. Ennis toured the country giving the course. Smith stated that most and even the worst stammerers were cured often in the first lesson. Smith believed that any intelligent person with this problem could be cured. He recommended engaging Ennis to present such a course. The fee for this was \$200.00 for ten lessons and could be used to successfully instruct 40-50 people in one group, children or adults. Smith declared that Ennis' "personality" and "keen and sympathetic understanding" could not be imitated or taught. He acknowledged the responsibility for endorsing the course, but he maintained he did it gladly. He said that Buffalonians rated Ennis all the way from "remarkable" to "miraculous". He quoted Rhett a 90% cure rate and believed there were enough stammerers in Charleston to merit engaging Mr. Ennis. Rhett surveyed his principals to ascertain the numbers in the system who might need these services.

A letter to Rhett from Ennis indicated that he had treated over 150 cases in the Buffalo Public Schools and would begin work in the parochial schools of the

area for the next two weeks. He planned to go to Richmond, Virginia, then to Charleston. He gave a one hour lesson each day after school for ten days. In a letter to Rhett he invited teachers and principals to observe his work. He had demonstrated his techniques to the National Education Association.

A personal letter from a parent requested that her six year old son be admitted to the class though he did not attend school because of his handicap. Rhett recommended her request be granted. Parochial school children were invited to participate also. No assessment of the results were available.

The Initiation of Classes for the Visually Impaired

The next effort to provide for exceptional children did not begin until 1933 when a number of materials describing items available for teaching blind and partially sighted children appeared. Following his previous routine Rhett requested information from other systems having such classes. Baltimore, Maryland submitted the following information regarding their sight-saving class.

Table 14

Sight-Saving Classes in Baltimore, Maryland, 1933

School enrollment: Grades 1-9 90,176
 Pupils in Sight-saving classes: 78 whites 83 blacks
 These classes consisted of two groups of children:

1. children with pathological eye changes
2. myopes with progressive myopia

This reply indicated that out of the school enrollment of grades 1-9, 78 white students and 83 black students required these classes in Baltimore, Maryland.

Admission Requirements for Vision Classes

The requirements for admission to these classes were cited as:

"whenever pupils are detected showing systems of defective vision, they are referred to an ophthalmological clinic or to a private physician. If examination shows their vision to be sufficiently defective; they are certified for admission to the sight-saving class. The requirements for such certification are:

- (1) children who cannot read more than the line marked 60 on the Snellen Chart at 20 feet (commonly designated at 20/60,
- (2) Myopses who have more than 6 diopters* of myopia,
- (3) Cases of progressive myopia,
- (4) a high degree of farsightedness or astigmatism and where the vision cannot be brought up to more than 20/60 with glasses,
- (5) Children with corneal scars, cataracts, congenital malformations or diseases of the fundus whose vision is 20/40 or less".

*a unit of measure of the refractive power of a lens, equal to the power of a lens with a focal distance of one meter.

Rhett determined that in the year 1933-1934 there were sight conservation classes in the following cities in the south:

Table 15

Sight Conservation Classes in the South, 1933-1934

City	No. Classes	Total Enrolled	Boys	Girls	Cost	Total School Enrollment
Atlanta, GA	2	23	15	8	\$3,100	57,563
Norfolk, VA	1	12	6	6	\$1,800	25,678
Richmond, VA	3	37	17	21	\$6,000	35,523
Charleston, SC						12,500

Rhett discovered that Atlanta, Norfolk, and Richmond already had sight-saving classes established. He carefully compared his total enrollment with those of other participating cities.

In February, 1937, Superintendent Rhett responded to a letter from Dr. Pierre G. Jenkins and reported as of May 1936, there were 47 students who were possible candidates for a sight saving class. There were still twenty-eight in the elementary schools, twenty of whom had had their eyes examined or treated. Of the number still in the elementary schools only seven parents had ignored the problem. By April 9, 1937, Rhett had contacted the Superintendent of Public Schools in Columbia, A. C. Flora, requesting information about his classes and requested the criteria used for recommending children for the class. He received information from Elsie H. Martens, Senior Specialist in the Education in the Department of the Interior. This information contained written materials and projects and also included information on the program from the Office of

Education for all types of exceptional children. Martens suggested Rhett communicate with the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness.

On April 28, 1937, Rhett was notified by Columbia Superintendent A. C. Flora that they did not have a sight-saving class. In 1935 the system had purchased a machine to be used by teachers and principals in detecting sight defects. When a defect was identified it was suggested to the parents that they consult a specialist. Rhett's response was that Charleston, too, had made such a purchase about the same time. The telebinocular instrument was used to undertake a study to determine the need, if any, for such a class for the white public school pupils. Rhett continued to explore sources for aids for these children and contacted the American Library Association in Chicago, Illinois for a list of books in large print suitable for a sight conservation class.

The Superintendent maintained interest in establishing this class and sought to collaborate in an effort to identify children needing medical intervention with Mrs. Pierre G. Jenkins. Mrs. Jenkins was a member of a group of women who were campaigning in connection with the Society for the Prevention of Blindness. The Auxiliary of the Lions' Club was active in developing contacts for examination when they were needed and desired. These women would arrange for an eye specialist to examine the children that the school medical inspectors felt needed it but whose parents were not following up on the recommendation. Rhett sought funds to aid in establishing sight conservation classes from James H. Hope, the State Superintendent of Schools, but no funds were available.

Rhett pursued his tack in surveying the schools (white elementary) to determine what was the need. He also wrote to Mr. Ray Hookway regarding his article in the June, 1937 issue of School Management for improving visibility in schools. He wanted a source for color cards as developed by the General Electric Company. He also wrote to Mr. William S. Baer at School #301 in Baltimore, Maryland to find a source for large print books for sight saving classes.

In June, 1937, the Superintendent provided the following survey of the five white elementary schools in the city.

Table 16

Survey of White Elementary Schools in Charleston, South

Carolina for Sight Saving Classes, 1937

Schools	Children Reported With Poor Vision	No. of Parents Heard From	No. to be Examined by Own Doctor	No. to be Examined by Lions' Doctor
Bennett	14	5	2	3
Courtenay	5	4	2	2
Crafts	8	4	4	
Mitchell	12	10	9	1
Simons	8	2	2	
TOTAL	47	25	19	6
School	No. Not Heard From	No. Left	No. Graduated	No. Vision Corrected
Bennett	9	2	5	
Courtenay	1			1
Crafts	4	2		
Mitchell	2			
Simons	6			
TOTAL	22	4	5	1

SIGHT-SAVING CLASS

School	No. Reported as Needing Attention	No. Who Received Treatment	No. Who Had Not Received Treatment	No. Not Returning to Elementary School
Bennett	14	3	4	7
Courtenay	5	4	1	0
Crafts	8	3	1	4
Mitchell	12	3	2	7
Simons	8	6	2	7
TOTAL	47	19	10	25

The survey provided information on the students in the white elementary schools who had been examined and the status of their conditions.

On August 24, 1937 Margaret D. Clarke wrote to the Charleston Public School Board of Education to inquire if there were any provision made in the public schools for the education of the blind or near blind or if there were any sight-saving classes. She was to become the director of the Association for the Blind in Charleston on October 1, 1937 and wanted the information in order that she might develop a tentative program of activities. On the same day a letter was received from the State Department of Education from P.G. Sherer, Supervisor of Vocational Rehabilitation who recalled Rhett's previous inquiry for funds which led him to conclude that Rhett was interested in establishing such a class in Charleston. The letter was to recommend a Miss Smoak for teaching such a class. She had been graduated from Columbia College and was sent to Columbia University to take a course in Sight Conservation teaching. Sherer describes Smoak as highly recommended with a pleasing personality, very interested in teaching. She was crippled in the lower limbs from infantile paralysis and walked with the aid of crutches. Sherer felt she had great empathy for those with handicaps. Rhett later acknowledged receiving a letter from Smoak which had expressed her interest in such a position and he promised to file her application for consideration should a class ever materialize.

A letter from Anne B. Owings, Chief of the Division of Welfare on August 27, 1937 requested a copy of a newspaper article Rhett had published and desired to use the information he had gathered. Rhett explained about the survey of white

elementary schools. He admitted he was still working on the matter and believed that such a class would be instituted.

By September 10, 1937, a letter to the Board of Trustees of School District #20 in Charleston County from Mrs. Pierre G. Jenkins as chairperson of the Committee on Sight Conservation notified Rhett that the auxiliary now had funds to purchase the minimum amount of equipment necessary for such a class and the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness would provide a scholarship for training a teacher for such work. The teacher would have to have normal eyesight and be very dedicated. The aim of the organization would be to assist in every possible way to improve the facilities.

Rhett suggested that a room in the Courtenay School Annex could be used if money could be obtained for the teacher's salary and the Lion's Auxiliary would furnish the equipment. A check for \$1,000 was sent to the Board of Trustees on December 19, 1940 to equip a class of 12-14 pupils but Rhett had yet to find money to pay the salary for a teacher for the class. Greenville and Columbia were also in the process of establishing similar classes. The Board approved the request for the fall of 1940, in February, providing the salary could be paid. In April, 1940 local doctors were solicited to provide the names of children who might need such a class.

In February, 1941, Rhett was away on sick leave but acting superintendent George C. Rogers wrote to the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness to obtain a list of standard equipment for establishing a sight-saving class as well as other suggestions. The Associate Director forwarded the necessary information.

Rogers received the information regarding the Sight-Saving Desk. The desk consisted of the following:

1. a 24" work surface
2. an automatic tilting adjustment
3. an easily accessible book storage space
4. a desk can be entered from both sides (side away from light preferred)
5. no sharp edges, no tipping over

The salary for a teacher for the sight-saving class was approved and was to be included in the budget. This was accomplished in a Board meeting of January 8, 1941.

In July, 1941, George C. Rogers was still acting superintendent of schools. In a letter to Margaret S. Winter he indicated that she had been hired to teach the sight-saving class for the fall of 1941. The class had been previously scheduled to be located at the junior high but was relocated upon Winter's suggestion it be moved to Mitchell Elementary School. Winter proceeded to acquire information for her class. A note indicated that the physical decorations should be "as pleasing but as simple as possible". It suggested that "a very small number of exceedingly clear colored posters added to the cheer of the room, but a crowded appearance should be avoided". It further admonished that if plants were to be used they should not be placed in front of windows since in that position they not only obstructed the light but were apt to cast shadows. Superintendent Rhett wrote to Dr. Willis A. Sutlow, Superintendent of the Atlanta Public School System to request permission for Winter to observe in their sight saving class.

A letter from the Illuminating Engineering Society dated November 1, 1941 informed Winter that they could not recommend either fluorescent or

incandescent lighting equipment for the use in the classroom. They felt it was possible to achieve the requirements set forth in the Society's "American Recommended Practice of School Lighting" with either system. Frank G. Horton, executive secretary of the Society expressed his belief "that children would have no difficulty in adjusting from one room illuminated by one to a room illuminated by the other as long as they were of comparable installation and have the proper safeguards against glare, elimination of exposed light sources, etc." Winifred Hathaway as Associate Director for the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness discounted Horton's advice but affirmed the adequacy of a 30 ft. candle power of the incandescent lights. Rhett seemed to endorse this also. Winter requested two more indirect incandescent lights for the classroom of Burchill R. Moore, principal of Mitchell School, who would house the sight- saving class in his school.

After her visit to Atlanta, Winter decided to order eight silvered bowl Madza lamps for her sight saving-class. Most information regarding the physical orientation of the sight-saving class was acquired from information included in a pamphlet by Winifred Hathaway (N.D.) entitled "Room Design and Equipment Requirements for Sight-Saving Classes." In February, 1943, Rhett sought information regarding the sight-saving class of Marguerite W. Gilbreath who was now conducting the sight saving class at the Julian Mitchell School. The following information was forwarded to Rosamonde Wimberly in Durham, N.C. who planned to initiate such a class in her system.

"The sight-saving class was established in the fall of 1941. Pupils were admitted to this class upon recommendation of the school medical inspectors from pupils they examined they thought would be candidates for admission. These students were then referred to an eye specialist for examination before assignment to the class."

Mrs. Gilbreath, the teacher of the class, had been an elementary school teacher in the regular classroom she gained her knowledge based in part upon the superintendent's visit to a sight-saving in North Carolina and her own visit to Atlanta. She also took a special summer course in this work at Columbia University.

When the class opened in the 1941-1942 session there were eleven students, and in the 1942-1943 session there were eight students in the class. Of the eleven pupils in the 1941-1942 class, two moved out of the City of Charleston and three returned to regular classes. The remaining six returned to the class for the 1942-1943 school year. One had since gotten married and dropped out of the class and three new students were admitted. These new pupils ranged in age from three to nine. Rhett expressed his view that not enough data was available to make a decision as to the permanent value of the class, but he believed a system within a city the size of the City of Charleston justified such a class and the expenditure which he related was very high per capita even with the financial aid from the Women's Auxiliary of the Lions' Club.

Dr. Pierre Jenkins, returned in 1944 from service in World War II and reestablished his interest in the sight-saving class. Rhett informed him that once admitted to the class students were periodically examined by the ophthalmologist in charge of each case, once, during a school session or more often if there

appeared to be a reason for further examination. Margaruite S. Gilbreath offered the following report.

Table 17

Report on the Sight-Saving Classes in Charleston,

South Carolina, May 24, 1944

Sight-Saving Report		May 24, 1944
Enrollment for Charleston Elementary Schools		
1:500 Sight-saving pupils to normal students		
Grades Represented		
2nd	2 pupils (admitted from Crafts School 1942, moved to County 1943 but continued in sight-saving class.)	
4th	1 pupil	
5th	2 pupils (one admitted directly from county)	
6th	3 pupils	
Total	8 pupils	

Failures: One sixth grade pupil

From the 2nd to 6th grades there were a total of eight students in the sight-saving class in 1944. One pupil at Courtenay School was eligible but did not elect to participate because the parents objected to transferring the eligible child to the Mitchell district.

In June, 1944, Mr. Rhett was forced to find another sight-saving class teacher when Mrs. Gilbreath resigned because of poor health. Since they were in short supply, it was suggested a regular teacher be trained to teach the sight-saving class. The problem was averted when Mrs. Gilbreath returned when her health improved in July, 1944.

By September, 1944, Gilbreath wrote Rhett that the parents of the Junior High School pupils did not want their children returned to Mitchell. The students objected to giving up classes in physical education, music, art and other activities. They also objected to the students walking to the school in inclement weather. Of great concern was that they feared these pupils would be stigmatized as different.

Gilbreath suggested that she could spend one hour per day at Rivers Junior High and set up another class there. Rhett was not enthusiastic and expressed his consternation as to why the children could not go to Mitchell first at 9 o'clock for one hour and then go to Rivers for the rest of the day. In September 24, 1944 Margarite Gilbreath notified the superintendent that five or six students could be expected for the 1944-1945 year. There were seven at that time.

Gilbreath conferred with Miss Colson who followed up on the case of a 7th grade sight-saving class pupil. He was failing in school but his failure was made up in summer school. The boy wanted sight-saving help but only had room in his schedule during the second period. Gilbreath volunteered to go to Rivers to give this help. This was the only course of action the boy's parents would tolerate. Gilbreath, recognizing the Board hesitancy to duplicate sight-saving equipment at the junior high school suggested the willingness of the Lions' Auxiliary to provide the necessities.

Table 18

Sight-Saving Class Schedule October 9, 1944

9:00 - 9:35	8th gr. pupils 1	Simons 1
9:35 - 11:00	6th gr. pupils 2	Simons 1 Mitchell 1
11:00 - 12:00	3rd gr. pupils 3	Courtenay 2 Mitchell 1
12:00 - 12:30	Lunch	Mitchell 1
12:30 - 1:30	1st gr. pupils 3	Simons 1 Crafts 1
1:30 - 2:00	case work	Total 9 pupils

(This schedule was subject to change)

According to the current enrollment at the elementary school the sight-saving group was anticipated at five or six pupils. At present eight cases were already enrolled in the elementary class and one in the junior high school.

The Initiation Classes for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing

Another handicap was recognized as needing special attention in the public schools in 1937 when the following results were obtained on children suspected of having difficulty in hearing.

Table 19

Report of Suspected Hard of Hearing Cases in the PublicSchool System of Charleston, South Carolina in 1939

School	Tests Made	Retests	Total	Examined by M.D.
Bennett	562	273	835	84
Courtenay	639	367	1006	148
Crafts	529	211	730	93
Mitchell	520	201	721	87
Simons	761	354	1115	144
Total	3011	1406	4417	556

The survey of the white elementary schools, reflected the number of children tested and retested and then tested by a medical doctor. Seventy-four children were to be enrolled in the lip-reading classes.

In April, 1938 testing was again initiated and yielded the following results:

Table 20

Report of Suspected Hard-of-Hearing Cases in the Public Schools
of the City of Charleston, South Carolina in 1938.

School	Tests Made	Retests	Total	Examined by M.D.
Bennett	414	182	604	61
Courtenay	422	235	657	84
Crafts	342	165	507	60
Mitchell	329	132	461	46
Simons	505	247	751	84
Totals	2012	966	2980	335

The survey of the white elementary schools yielded the number of children tested in the school population in the city.

Dr. Warren H. Gardner from Ottumwa, Iowa requested Rhett's statistics on the hard-of-hearing classes so that they could be included in a published report of findings for the American Society for the Hard of Hearing.

Table 21

Statistics on Hard-of-Hearing Classes in South Carolina
in 1939.

City	No. of Pupils Enrolled	No. Hearing Tested	% of Total Impaired	Examined by M.D.
Charleston	3,345	435	13.0	458
Columbia	6,043	1,106	18.0	---

Only Charleston and Columbia had classes for the hard-of-hearing in their public schools which indicated that 13% of Charleston's and 18% of Columbia's student

population were hearing impaired. In Charleston 83 students were enrolled in a lip reading class.

The testing continued and in 1940 the following number of students were identified:

Table 22

Identification of Hard-of-Hearing Students in the Charleston, South Carolina Public Schools in 1940.

School	Tests Made	Retested	No. Examined by M.D.	No. Enrolled in Lip Reading
Bennett	458	274	119	24
Courtenay	409	210	66	21
Crafts	407	171	74	23
Mitchell	266	159	65	18
Simons	538	264	139	19
Rivers	363	163	58	
Totals	2,441	1,241	521	107

Of the number of children tested in the school system, 107 were enrolled in the lip-reading classes.

On January 23, 1941 Superintendent Rhett was elected to the South Carolina Committee on Legislation for the Hard of Hearing but he was still on an extended leave of absence. The results of testing in 1941 were as follows:

Table 23

Identification of Hard-of-Hearing Students in the Charleston, South CarolinaPublic School System in 1941.

School	No. Tested	No. Retested	No. Enrolled in Lip Reading Class
Bennett	585	365	135
Courtenay	502	259	92
Crafts	577	394	99
Mitchell	454	190	61
Simons	749	355	112
Totals	2,867	1,563	499

In 1941, 499 students from the five white elementary schools were enrolled in lip-reading classes.

In reply to Mrs. Bess Ferguson, Executive Secretary of the Columbia Society for the Hard of Hearing, Acting Superintendent Rogers provided the following information. One full time lip-reading teacher was employed in the Charleston City Schools. She tested all the children in the elementary schools using the audiometer. Those with defects were referred to the medical department. Those most in need of help were admitted to the class. These children received instruction two periods a week. Rogers judged the results as satisfactory on the whole.

Bess Ferguson contacted Rhett in July 1941 and related that a representative committee of various civic groups was considering the problem of the hard of hearing school child. As Charleston was the only city where lip-reading was

taught in the public schools in South Carolina the committee was interested in their results.

The committee was composed of representatives of the Junior League, the Board of the Hard of Hearing Society, the city PTA, and representatives of the Columbia City Schools. The committee inquired about the technicalities of testing, questioning whether it was necessary to individually test children who scored nine or more in a group test before medical care, lip reading or other disposition was recommended. They inquired "if there were enough facilities in Columbia at present to undertake individual testing and wanted to know at what point should lip-reading be considered necessary. They further inquired about "statistics which might indicate at what point a child needed lip-reading and what facilities could the Hard of Hearing Society offer for teaching lip-reading". They also wanted to know "how many children could be served if a referral system were set up in the schools?"

The committee had no plans for next year (1941-1942) but wanted advice on the following procedures:

1. Group testings
2. Individual testing of children found with hearing loss
3. Follow-up by child's teacher to inform parent of deficiency and recommend family arrange for examination by a doctor
4. Arranging for medical examination by clinics or other facilities if family cannot
5. Referring child for lip reading if advisable
6. Is this a workable plan?
7. What other recommendations do you make?

On March 1, 1943, Rhett asked Mrs. Maude D. Hubert for the number of pupils by grade in the Hard of Hearing Class. The report was as follows:

Table 24

Report of Hard of Hearing Classes 1943-1944

1943 - 1944 School Year		
Pupils being taught	76	
Number tested	1,672	
Number retested	958	
Third test	78	
Pupils Deficient	255	
Grade	No. of Children	School
Fourth	5	Bennett
Fifth	1	Bennett
Special Class	<u>2</u>	Bennett
Total	8	
Second	4	Courtenay
Third	5	Courtenay
Fifth	2	Courtenay
Sixth	<u>2</u>	Courtenay
Total	13	

The report indicated a total of 13 children from the Courtney and Bennett Schools in the second to fifth grades plus the special class at Bennett were receiving services.

Table 25

Audiometry Report for the Charleston Public Schools, 1943

Number of Pupils in Hard-of-Hearing Class Including 1943

School	No. Tested	No. Retested	Failures
Bennett	354	120	46
Courtenay	333	163	43
Crafts	374	174	53
Mitchell	319	137	43
Simons	567	354	76

In the audiometry report of 1943, out of a total of 1,947 students tested in the white elementary schools, 261 failed the preliminary and a retest.

On December 23, 1944 Dr. John Townsend wrote to Rhett concerning a paper the Superintendent had sent to the doctor regarding audiometry testing. Townsend stated the use of audiometry testing could be beneficial if the cases were rechecked and followed through sufficiently to get results.

Table 26

Numbers of Children in Lip-Reading Class in Charleston, South Carolina

Public City Schools, 1944-1945.

Schools	Grades						Ungraded	Totals by School
	6	5	4	3	2	1		
Bennett	3	0	4	1	3	0	3	14
Courtenay	1	3	5	2	0	0	0	11
Crafts	1	2	4	2	1	4	0	14
Mitchell	4	2	6	3	0	0	0	15
Simons	8	4	1	0	4	1	0	18
TOTALS	17	11	20	8	8	5	3	72

In the 1944-1945 school year, 72 students were enrolled in the lip-reading class. In the 1945 school year, the results of the audiometer tests were consistent with the previous year. However, there was a shift in the number of children served in the various schools.

Table 27

Results of Audiometry in the Charleston Public Schools, 1945.

School	No. Tested	No. Retested	No. Failing Tests	No. in Lipreading
Bennett	326	171	56	14
Courtenay	322	175	65	12
Crafts	396	170	62	16
Mitchell	335	177	64	13
Simons	706	247	99	17
TOTALS	2,085	940	446	72

On January 25, 1946, S.J. Agnew wrote to Rhett requesting that he write Senator Wallace asking for support for the Division of Special Education of the State Department of Education. They were attempting to get their appropriation raised from \$25,000 to \$30,000. In 1946 the audiometer testing was continued although not all the grades were tested in all the schools and children from the first and second grades plus those in the special classes were tested only upon teacher request. A representative from the State Department of Education was scheduled to visit the hard of hearing classes in May, 1946 to identify children who needed the medical attention of an ear specialist but whose parents were unable to provide it.

By 1946, the State Department of Education had issued a bulletin to teachers concerning the audiometer program outlining eighteen items contributing to the welfare of the hard of hearing child. During the year the Division of Special Education for Hard of Hearing Children under J.S. Agnew and C.K. Potts surveyed approximately 80,000 school children with screening and individual audiometer hearing tests. 728 had decided hearing losses and 4,100 had a sight

loss. Those experiencing a loss of 20 or more decibels were encouraged to seek examination by an ear specialist. Those with a permanent large loss of hearing were provided with lip reading instructions whenever possible. Those with a slight hearing loss (10-20 decibels) were seated near the front of the class and to the left or right in the classroom as the individual required. There was often a close connection between loss of hearing and retardation. The appropriation of \$25,000 allowed approximately \$.05 per child for this service. There were 480,000 children in the schools of Schools of South Carolina. A bulletin similar to the one prepared by the agency for the teachers also was prepared for parents which encouraged seeking help for hard of hearing children. A reprint from Look Magazine was also provided by the Division of Special Education explaining good ear hygiene and care. The state notified Superintendent Rogers that they would provide equipment and personnel for the 1947 testing sessions. Rogers requested this service again in 1948.

In February, 1949 the Epsilon Sigma Alpha Sorority donated \$80.48 for the hard of hearing class and a \$5.00 monthly donation was pledged. In 1949, Rogers wrote to Agnew, Division of Special Education for the Hard of Hearing and acknowledged the receipt of \$1,500 to supplement the salary of a special teacher for the Charleston Schools for the work being done by the Junior League of Charleston. He requested an additional \$1,500 to supplement the appropriation. All work was to be carried out in cooperation with the Junior League Speech School of the city.

Mr. Potts visited the Charleston classes and the Superintendent requested a frank evaluation of the program. Potts responded to Rhett's request in a positive manner. Assigned to Mitchell School where Mrs. Hubert was screening for the program. Potts noted that Mr. Wiseman, the principal was cooperative and helpful. He observed Mrs. Hubert while testing. He evaluated her as following the instruction book. She herself was unable to hear. He requested that Mrs. Hubert hold a lip reading session so that he might observe and evaluate. She complied with this request. The pupils were in small classes which he considered ideal for this work. She employed up to date methods, the classes were well managed and she had an excellent manner with the students. He later tested the students to see if they could really read lips and the results were very satisfactory. He made the following recommendations:

1. Have precision testing done after screening for larger loss
2. Those with noticeable losses should be in lip reading classes
3. Parents should be notified if children are in lip reading classes
4. Those with 20 or greater decibel loss should be examined by an otologist

In 1950, Rhett again requested help with the testing program. He sent a bill to the State in March for x-ray treatments for pupils having previously authorized surgery. Students who had extreme hearing loss were recommended for treatment to Dr. Hanckel.

An intensified program for deaf and blind children was initiated by the state in July, 1946. Rhett received a letter from Larens Walker, Superintendent of the South Carolina School for the Deaf and Blind in an attempt to locate any deaf or

blind children in the city so they could be enrolled in his school which was located in Spartenburg.

In 1951, Epsilon Sigma Alpha Sorority offered financial aid in January to buy a hearing and speech training device. The device enabled a teacher to speak into a mouthpiece to several hard of hearing children who listened through earphones. In 1951, the state would no longer help with audiometer testing and a new method of testing was initiated similar to that used in Columbia, Greenville and Orangeburg with favorable results. These tests were given and 17 at Crafts, 16 at Bennett and 20 at Mitchell, were referred for individual testing in 1951. No reports on Courtenay, Simons or Rivers were given. It was estimated that 267 tests would be given in the next year. By 1954, the teacher of the lip reading class retired and the school system had only the Junior League Speech School in the city and served both deaf and speech impaired students.

The Establishment of the Child Guidance Bureau

The Child Guidance Bureau was established within the school system as a social agency on September 3, 1947. The work of the two attendance teachers, one white and one black, were combined within the bureau with the work of the visiting teacher who was placed in charge of the Bureau. In October, 1947, with the cooperation of the teachers of the Child Guidance Bureau a school census was undertaken. Superintendent Rogers commended the bureau for its excellent work. The Bureau accumulated the following demographic information and provided a composite of the school children in the city.

Table 28

Demographic Composite of Children in the Charleston City Schoolsin South Carolina, September 30, 1949.

Elementary White Public Schools	
<u>Schools</u>	<u>No. of Children</u>
Bennett	510
Courtenay	578
Rafts	517
Mitchell	511
Simons	846
Total White Public Elementary	2,962

High School White Public Schools	
<u>School</u>	<u>No of Children</u>
Charleston High School	677
Murray High School	376
Rivers High School	705
Total White High School Students	1,758
Grand Total White Public Schools	4,720

Elementary White Parochial Schools	
<u>School</u>	<u>No. of Children</u>
Cathedral	154
St. Joseph's	110
St. Patrick's	93
Sacred Heart	199
Total White Parochial School Students	556

High School Parochial	
<u>School</u>	<u>No. of Children</u>
Bishop England	20
Grand Total White Parochial Students	876

Private White Elementary and High School	
<u>School</u>	<u>No. of Children</u>
Watt School	35
Gaud	20
Charleston Day	85
Bergeman	9
Porter Military Academy	52
Ashley Hall	193
Grand Total White Private Students	394

Black Elementary Public Schools

<u>School</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>
Avery	101
Rhett	1,462
Archer	1,118
Buist	926
Simonton	846
Total Black Elementary Public Students	4,456

Black Public High Schools

Avery	341
Burke	1,854
Total Black Public High School Students	2,195

Total Black Public School Students	6,651
---	--------------

Black Parochial Elementary Schools	540
---	------------

Black Parochial High Schools	210
-------------------------------------	------------

Black Private Elementary Schools	75
---	-----------

In 1949 the total number of children both black and white enrolled in public, parochial and private school both elementary and high school numbered 13,466. Of these students, 11,371 or 85% were in the public schools, 1,626 or 12% were in the parochial schools and 469 or 3% attended private schools. The public elementary schools enrolled a total of 7,418 of which 2,962 or 40% were white and 4,456 or 60% were black. The public high schools enrolled a total of 3,953 students, 1,758 or 44.5% were white and 2,195 or 55.5% were black. The entire public school system both elementary and high school had 9,176 students, 4,720 or 51.5% of these were white and 4,456 or 48.5% were black.

The parochial schools enrolled a total of 1,096 students in the elementary schools, 556 or 50.8% were in white schools and 540 or 49.2% were in the black elementary schools. In the parochial high schools a total of 530 students were enrolled with 320 or 60.4% in the white schools and 210 or 39.6% in the black. Of the total number of students enrolled in the parochial schools (1,626) 876 or 53.8% were white while 750 or 46.2% were black. The private schools did not designate their schools into elementary and high school but reported a total enrollment of 469 with 394 or 84% of students in white schools and 75 or 16% in black.

Increased unemployment, great financial need, lack of proper clothing, food and medical care greatly increased the workload of the school system. There were however, a number of students not enrolled in any school.

Table 29

Students Not Enrolled in Any School in Charleston,
by Race, 1949.

White - 17
<u>Black - 44</u>
Total - 61

There were seventeen white students not enrolled in any school in any system compared with forty-four black students not enrolled for a total of sixty-one known students not receiving educational benefits.

Table 30

Reasons for Non-Enrollment in Charleston, 1949.Reasons for Non-enrollment-White

S.C. Industrial School	1
Low Mentality	2
Infantile Paralysis	2
Address Unknown	3
Out of City	4
Reason Unknown	<u>5</u>
Total	17

Reasons for Non-enrollment-Black

Needed at home	4
Working-no other means of support	3
Out of the district	4
Truant	9
Illness	6
Crippled (tutor at home)	5
Mutes	3
Special Impediments	2
Unmarried Mothers	3
Reform School	4
Orphanage	<u>1</u>
Total	44

In October 1950, approximately 300 white children and 153 black students registered the previous year were not found this year. The Bureau felt that most of these were probably no longer in the city and compiled the following census:

Table 31

Charleston, South Carolina City School Census, 1950.

Public Elementary (White)		High School (White)	
Bennett	508	Charleston	631
Courtenay	569	Rivers	639
Crafts	528	Murray Vocation	309
Mitchell	524		
Simons	894		
Total	3,023		1,579
Total White Students in Public School			4,602
Parochial Elementary (White)		High School (White)	
Cathedral	173	Bishop England	346
St. Joseph's	102		
St. Patrick's	109		
Sacred Heart	250		
Total	634		346
Total White Students in Parochial Schools			980
Private Elementary (White)			
Watt			42
Gaud			21
Charleston Day			90
Bergman			17
Porter Military Academy			46
Ashley Hall			204
First Baptist			70
Total			489
Total In All White Schools			
Public			4,602
Parochial*			980
Private*			486
TOTAL			6,071

*Only City Children Included

Public Elementary Schools (Black)		Public High Schools (Black)	
Archer	1,163	Avery High School	310
Avery	134	Burke High School	1,930
Buist	936		
Rhett	1,486		
Simonton	874		
Total	4,593		2,240
Grant total in the Black Public Schools			6,833
Parochial Elementary (Black)		Parochial High School (Black)	
	368		97
Grand Total in Parochial Schools (Black)			465
Private (Black)			78
Total Black Enrollment Public, Parochial and Private			7,376

In 1950, the total school population for both blacks and whites in elementary and high school in public, parochial and private was now 13,447. Of these 11,435 or 85% were in the public schools, 1,445 or 10.5% were in the parochial schools while 567 or 4.5% attended private schools. The total number of white children in the public elementary schools was 3,023 or 39.6%. The total number of black elementary school children was 4,593 or 60.4% of the total 7,616 students. In the public high schools there were 1,579 or 41.4% students in white schools, and 2,240 or 58.6% in black schools for a total of 3,819. The total number of white students in the entire system both elementary and high school was 4,602 or 40.2%. The blacks numbered 6,833 or 59.8% of the total 11,435 enrolled. In the parochial elementary schools 980 students or 72.7 % attended the white schools and 368 or 27.3% attended the black parochial elementary schools. The parochial high schools taught 346 or 78% in white schools and 97 or 22% in black. Of the total black and white population in both elementary and high school parochial schools 980 or 68% were white and 465 or 32% were black. The total of all students in all

the parochial schools was 1,445. The private school statistics again included both elementary and high school and totaled 567 students with 489 or 86.2% enrolled in white private schools and 78 or 13.8% in the black.

A total of twenty-seven children were taught at home by a visiting teacher, twelve of whom were white and fifteen were black. One child was in an out of state placement, nine were considered to have a mentality too low to profit from any teaching and one fifteen year old did not attend any school but had a private tutor.

In 1948, the second year of operation began with the same staff, one white attendance teacher, one black attendance teacher, one visiting teacher. In the first six week period of school the Bureau referred thirty-two cases to the visiting teacher. Fifteen were carried from the previous year. In providing for these cases 124 visits were undertaken, 50 to the home, 11 to the mental health clinic, 51 in conferences with school personnel, 10 with other social agencies and 2 to the Court of Domestic Relations. The visiting teacher was a visible participant in a number of community functions attending 17 meetings. The white attendance teacher investigated 80 cases involving 97 children and determined that most absences were because of illness. There were a small percentage of habitual truants and four children were taken to court for informal hearings. Thirty-two cases were cleared through the social services exchange. Three families were found needing clothes and these were provided.

The black attendance teacher made 51 visits, checking names not on the rolls for the year. Some had left the public school for the Catholic Parochial or private

school, some had left the city, some had been placed in foster homes, some simply could not be located. Two cases were referred to the teacher for crippled children. Principals were asked to establish a welfare department to aid the needy. They provided shoes to needy children.

By the end of the second year the Bureau had brought to a successful completion a majority of the cases it handled and the number of children referred increased. The court was invaluable in handling habitual truancy, sometimes placing the children involved outside the home when necessary (orphanage or industrial school). The Bureau was able to rally the support of other social agencies throughout the city when special interventions were needed. The Bureau also had the services of a psychiatrist as well as the Mental Health Clinic. Many students under 16 were still being allowed to leave school. No one previously had been aware of this state of affairs except the school involved. The Bureau wanted entrance and exit information on all children sent to it. It also requested a salary increase, as well as one more black attendance teacher. It was also requested that mileage be paid and that it be a year round rather than a nine month position. It was further recommended that the school yards be used as playgrounds during the summer, and that the office staff be increased.

The League of Women Voters queried Superintendent Rogers about the number of school age children that were in the community, how many did not attend school and how many were enrolled in public, private, and parochial school. By the end of the third year the Bureau felt that they had contributed even more to the decrease in truancy. The truancy rate was especially helped at

the Simonton School when the double session was eliminated and when a special class for slow overaged children was established.

Provision of Services

The provision of special services to exceptional children was geared for a considerable period to the white elementary schools. By the early 1950's some of these services had filtered into the black elementary schools. Efforts at slum clearance and similar public works often displaced populations and retarded the extension of these services to those in need. The passage of the civil rights' legislation and the striking down of the separate but equal provision at the middle of the century threw the whole country into turmoil with the educational system at the very center of the controversy. Resources were squandered in trying to fight and then in trying to circumvent the new law of the land. The system, long encumbered by under financing from supporting a dual system in an economically depressed area as well as the less than enthusiastic reluctant support of public schooling in the first place thrust into chaos over integration. Even as the state mandated public services (General Assembly Act. No. 589, 1954) and authorized a public school program for educable mentally handicapped, physically handicapped and homebound pupils most interest focused on the racial problems. In 1958, an amendment to this act included programs for trainable mentally handicapped and speech handicapped students.

The only programs which had remained viable within the school setting established before 1969 were those for the mentally retarded. Others either had

been initiated in the public schools and passed on to other agencies, or remained highly dependent on the personnel who staffed them and those who supported them. By 1969 there were two resource rooms established experimentally mainly for learning disabilities. Another was added later. (Rose, 1989)

Effects of School Consolidation on Special Education
in Charleston

In 1967, the City and County Schools of Charleston were consolidated into a single district. For many this became a political and not merely an educational question. A progress report issued in 1969 stated that there was to be a rebuilding of public education with emphasis on better instruction. The number of accredited grammar schools was tripled, forty-two reading centers were opened, adult education graduates were doubled, music and art classes provided for 29,000 children. There were a number of increased services offered. The psychological services tripled, the health services more than doubled, and the special education doubled. There was a marked increase in speech therapy. Support teams, personnel, and business offices improved their efficiency. More money was provided for new buildings and teacher salaries.

The Superintendent's Office reported that fifteen new special education classes were added so that the system now consisted of:

Table 32

Special Education Classes in the Consolidated Charleston,
South Carolina School System in 1967.

Diagnosis	No. of Classes
Educable Mentally Handicapped	41
Trainable	5
Adjustment Difficulties	2
Hard of Hearing	2
Slow Learner	1
Orthopedic	4
Specific Learning Disability	2
Total Number of Programs	57
Number of Children Receiving Special Education	
1967 - 1968	400
1968 - 1969	512
1969 - 1970	720
Number of Children Receiving Speech Therapy	
1967 - 1968	20
1968 - 1969	800
1969 - 1970	1,100

The Special Education classes included 41 classes for the Educable Mentally Retarded, five for the Trainable Mentally Retarded, two for the Hard of Hearing, one for Slow Learners, four for the Orthopedically handicapped and one for the learning Disabled for a total of 57 classes. The number of children receiving these services rose from 400 in the 1967-1968 school year to 720 children receiving these services in the 1969-1970 school year. The number of children receiving speech therapy rose from 20 in the 1967-1968 school year to 1,100 in the 1969-1970 school year.

Not all of Charleston constituents agreed that the schools were making progress. Lawrence Rochsler voiced an active dissent on the matter. He authored a book and revealed his own prejudices and biases in his description of HEW.

HEW an abbreviation for the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, a thorn in the side of every freedom loving American because of its disinterest in education and dedication to integration. It ignores the law and rules by "guidelines" it writes and enforces. It is provable that HEW favors the North, the East, and the West, and hates the South—and is one of the most prejudiced bodies in America.

He described the system in 1967 as "not the best but a good system for the most part well mannered producing clear thinking Americans aware of their social obligations as well as economic opportunities. He acknowledged that the schools were largely segregated but insisted that the black schools were never staffed by black teachers, nor administered by black principals. He did note the need for more vocational schools and suggested the schools were noticeably weak in English, mathematics, languages and sciences. (He didn't mention their particular strengths).

The consolidation had been recommended by HEW as a means of complying with the federal law and of improving the schools. The effect of this on special education was to make services available to hundreds of children in the system.

On December 22, 1969, Ronald A. McWhirt Ph.D. an assistant superintendent of schools responded to Rochsler noting that the schools were responsible for services in seven areas of exceptionality: the emotionally handicapped, the hearing handicapped, the homebound and hospitalized, the mentally handicapped, the orthopedically handicapped, the speech handicapped and the visually

handicapped as established by the state legislature. The Division of Special Services was providing services to all children including the gifted.

In 1969, the system had hired a reading specialist and three special reading classes had been established. The Superintendent noted that about 10% of the children who could not read were "dyslexic" not necessarily mentally under developed and this seemed to effect males over females 6 to 1.

On April 13, 1970, Public Law 91-230 was enacted to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Title VI of this law created a separate act entitled the "Education of the Handicapped Act" (EHA) which constituted a single statute authorizing programs in the United States Department of Education specifically designed to meet the special needs of individuals with handicapping conditions. By 1971, the Program for Exceptional Children was reorganized administratively within the Department of Education from a section within the Office of General Education to the Office for Programs for the Handicapped. In South Carolina, Act #977 was enacted by the General Assembly to establish a mandatory program of special education for handicapped children in the public schools. Existing state laws were amended to allow state aid to reimburse for resource and itinerant teachers.

The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (Public Law 93-112) was enacted September 23, 1973 as the first civil rights legislation protecting the rights of the handicapped. It was designed to eliminate discrimination on the basis of a handicapping condition in any program receiving financial assistance from the Federal Government. On August 21, 1974 Public Law 93-380 was passed which required both state and

local educational agencies to consider the areas of least restrictive environment, procedures of due process, non-biased enrollment and confidentiality. On April 11, 1975 the State Board of Education approved and amended the Defined Minimum Program for South Carolina School Districts for full statewide implementation on July 1, 1975. Finally, Public Law 94-142 The Education for All Handicapped Children Act was signed into law on November 29, 1975 and stipulated additional requirements include the basic tenets of Public Law 93-380 and stipulated additional requirements including the Individual Education Program (IEP) to insure that all handicapped children had available a free appropriate public education not later than September 1, 1978.

Summary

Programs initiated in the early part of the century as new and innovated were now an integral part of the Charleston Public School District in compliance with local, state and federal mandates. Charleston did establish services for exceptional people far earlier than most other areas, especially in the South. This research traced the evolution of these services and provided answers to the questions which guided its development.

CHAPTER VII

CHARLESTON AND SPECIAL EDUCATION

Overview

Charles Town was established as the Age of Exploration drew to a close and that of Colonization was begun. Life had been difficult in Europe and was even more so in the tiny settlement in the new world. The ambitious, independent inhabitants were eager to establish themselves and they transplanted with them their English customs and culture. The Anglican church was closely aligned with the government and influenced many aspects of life. Education was the right of a privileged few and represented a means of preserving the existing cultural and social order.

As the town prospered and expanded the need to provide for the less fortunate became apparent. Prosperity and luxury thrived along with indenture and slavery as trade and mercantile endeavors became established.

The desire for self-determination resulted in the overthrow of the Proprietary rule and culminated half a century later in the Revolutionary War. Education became viewed as a vehicle for upward mobility both socially and economically. The need for utility as well as freedom of thought and ideas resulted in a school curriculum less devoted to the traditional classical education.

Special facilities were provided for those with exceptionalities and residential schools began to appear for the deaf, the dumb, the blind and the mentally

retarded. Higher education was responsive to a number of innovations and attempted to explore new horizons.

The coalition of united states soon felt the tug of political dissention. Differences over states' rights, federal supremacy, territorial expansion and slavery, proved insurmountable and resulted in civil war. The south retreated intellectually behind its territorial borders and all exchange of ideas and values came to an end. Education became less than mediocre.

The humiliating defeat, the calculated destruction of the society by the North and the economic devastation created a pillaged countryside and a vanquished population. The viciousness of Reconstruction polarized racial relations and whites determined to regain their previous advantage. Blacks were slowly and systematically eliminated from the mainstream of society in economics, in politics, and in education. Segregation was established and a dual system of services and facilities arose which was detrimental to blacks and whites alike.

By the twentieth century, the South was economically depressed and educationally impeded. A few far sighted individuals in Charleston sought to rectify this dilemma and efforts were begun to bolster school attendance. Out of this effort grew the attempt to provide for students who were unable to profit from the regular classroom setting and resulted in the rudiments of special education.

The depression and then the war years did much to equalize the status of the South but racial tensions, poverty and a resistance to public schooling impeded area. Education became a political matter when Supreme Court decisions forced

integration. There was increased recognition of the need of the handicapped but it was too often a case of too little, too late. It required the passage of P.L.Law 94-142 to institute special education in the public school system on a permanent basis. The problem was not whether special education was needed or how much was needed, these questions had been already answered. The problem was that the system moved too slowly to guarantee services for a large segment of the school population. The only recourse lay in legal action which provided special education for those who needed it.

Special Education in Charleston

A special education class was actually established in Charleston, South Carolina in 1913 and services ere provided in varying degrees until 1975, when federal government mandated such services. This occurred under the auspices of Superintendent A. Burnet Rhett as an outgrowth of studies initiated in 1900 designed to identify and remediate educational problems. This came about in an effort to deal with the issue of chronic repeaters. Out of these efforts came the attempts to provide for the mentally retarded, stutterers, the hard of hearing and those with poor sight. After these were established the physically handicapped and finally the learning disabled were offered services. In 1975, these programs became federally mandated and were a permanent feature of public education. During this period a number of trends were established which are integral components of special education today.

The Primary Research Question

The primary question which guided this inquiry sought to determine the kinds of educational services which were provided for exceptional students in the public schools in the city of Charleston, South Carolina from 1900 to 1975. While the year 1900 is generally accepted as the date when administrators began to make provisions for special classes, it was not until 1913 that they became a reality in Charleston. Before this time, attempts were made to analyze the situation and determine the needs. In 1911, A. Burnet Rhett, superintendent of the system, began to formally research the problem.

There is evidence to support the existence of some services to students having difficulty as early as 1900. Once the public school system became established and compulsory education became law it soon became apparent that a number of students would have difficulty in meeting the standards of a regimented, graded system. To amend this difficulty a variety of interventions were tried. These usually took the form of additional help from the teacher both during and after school or altering the curriculum to proceed at a slower pace. This was eventually supplemented with a "Vacation School" held in the summer months to help these students remain in their normal grade placements.

Despite these attempts, a large percentage became habitual repeaters. Rhett's inquiry indicated that he had two groups who really required special interventions, those with the ability to learn with greater facility than their grade placement and those who could not keep abreast of their grade work. He decided to establish a pilot program to serve both of these populations within the same

setting. He soon realized this was an error. The advanced students were provided an accelerated course of study promoting most of them to the next grade or allowing them to return to their regular classroom.

By the middle of the year the class was devoted to the students who for various reasons were not progressing in school at a reasonable rate. The class retained its original name "Opportunity Class" in an effort to stave off any stigma which might occur. There were a number of reasons a student could be assigned to this class but the most common were misbehavior, truancy and low ability. The superintendent attempted to convince the school board to install such a class in each of the white elementary schools especially to serve those students who had been forced to repeat a grade more than once.

About the same time Rhett became aware of a program which proposed to cure stuttering. After exploring the need, the program was brought to Charleston. While there are no statistics available concerning the success or failure of the course or no evaluation of the methods and techniques employed it had served to focus attention on the exceptionality of speech difficulties.

These programs for the retarded and the speech impaired remained the mainstay of special services until 1933 when the need for sight-saving classes was recognized. Although both blind and deaf students were served in a residential facility in the state, it was recognized that there were a number of students who needed amended facilities but who did not require institutionalization and separation from their homes and community. By 1937, forty-seven students were identified as possible candidates for such a class. The class was actually operative

in the fall of 1941 with eleven students. By 1944, the need was projected at five or six students but eight elementary and one junior high student actually participated.

In 1937, children who had difficulty in hearing were offered lip reading services and eighty-three students were enrolled. By 1954, the lip reading course was discontinued when the teacher retired. The system was forced to rely on the Junior League Speech School which operated in the city on a tuition basis for those students who were able to qualify for this placement.

The Child Guidance Bureau was established as a social agency within the school system in 1947. This bureau dealt with the problems of absenteeism, truancy, delinquency and as a coordinating agency for other social services such as physical and mental health, the courts and out of home placements. They were also instrumental in providing food and/or clothing when the lack of these items interfered with school attendance and performance.

Until the early 1950's most of these services with the exception of the Child Guidance Bureau were provided mainly for white children although a few had filtered into the black schools. Court decisions on Civil Rights' forced desegregation and along with legislation especially for handicapped students, services became more available to all.

By 1969, two resource rooms had been established experimentally to serve the learning disabled. These later became permanent and another was added within the next couple of years after the city and county school systems were consolidated.

By 1970, the new district had forty-one classes for the educably mentally handicapped and five for the trainable mentally retarded. Two special classes were established for those with adjustment difficulties, two for the hard of hearing, one for slow learners and four classes were held for the orthopedically impaired. In addition to these classes, forty-two schools provided speech therapy.

Handicapping Conditions

During this period a number of conditions had been considered handicapping but these varied with the medical and diagnostic sophistication of the times and the severity of the condition. The special classes at first served those who for a variety of reasons were regarded as not profiting from the regular classes. These conditions consisted of anything from truancy and behavioral problems to shyness and mental retardation. Initially it was suggested that the gifted were exceptional and required special attention. The mentally retarded were identified as handicapped and then further classified as to various degrees of disability such as "slow learners, morons, idiots and imbeciles". Sometimes conditions were expressed in subjective terms such as "nervous", "delicate", "very backward" or "dull". Stuttering and speech impediments, the deaf and hard of hearing, the blind and the partially sighted were all considered handicapped. The physically handicapped and the behaviorally handicapped were also recognized but were not always provided school placements. The learning disabled were the last of the exceptionalities to be identified and offered services.

Identification of Students

for Special Classes

Children requiring special interventions were identified initially upon subjective evidence and by the number of years they had been required to repeat a grade. This was then supplemented by a program based on intelligence testing. Later, this was combined with the examination of records of home and school and from conferences with parents and teachers. Audiometer testing was done on all students and those demonstrating hearing difficulty were further tested to determine the extent of their problem. Those students requiring sight-saving classes were identified with a Snellen Chart and when necessary through examination by an ophthalmologist. Stutterers and speech difficulties were identified by classroom teachers. The medically handicapped or orthopedically handicapped were often found through the school nurse, school doctor, private physicians, the Child Guidance Bureau and other social agencies. Then, this information was forwarded to the school either directly or through the parents.

In time, testing was extended to identify emotionally handicapped, mentally retarded and learning disabled children. In most cases, students were recommended for testing by their classroom teachers, but occasionally they were tested at the request of their parents.

Services for Exceptional Children

A number of services were provided for exceptional children. Most students received some academic work based on their abilities. Vocational training was provided for the mentally retarded and the sight impaired. As time and

legislation intervened, services were increased to include transportation and some health services. Guidance and mental health services were available in later years and medical help was sometimes provided. Speech therapists and reading specialists also provided services.

Eligibility for Special Classes

Children placed in special classes were eligible for these services. Sometimes students were not placed full time but received partial services. In the early quarter of the century less rigid requirements were enforced for qualifications as in the case of "stammerers". It was documented that one child received these services even though he was not enrolled in the public school. Also when a program was brought to the city for stutterers, the children with problems, who were attending the parochial schools, were invited to participate. In the later years the system, especially after consolidation, was unable to extend their services in this manner as the district had difficulties in meeting the needs of those enrolled in the public schools.

For most of the time that services were provided, they were limited to those students who resided within the city. Most often they were restricted to white children although by the late 1940s, the Child Guidance Bureau served both whites and blacks and at least one special class for the mentally retarded was in a black school. When the schools were integrated the special classes became available on a basis of need, not color. Placement was most often based on a quantitative assessment on a variety of testing procedures.

Teacher Qualifications for

Special Classes

The qualifications for the teachers of special classes was most often left to the discretion of the superintendent. Initially, experience in the regular classroom was the only requirement considered necessary for teaching in a special class along with an interest and desire to work with exceptional students. Summer courses and observation of established special classes along with lectures and reading were later expected. No special requirements were necessary until after federal legislation was enacted. The only requirement necessary for a number of years was state certification. Expansion of special education programs in colleges and universities, later made it possible for the state to require special training. South Carolina adopted a categorical approach and by the 1970's teachers wanting to enter special education were expected to choose a specific handicap and study methods of teaching geared to that population.

Educational Approaches in the

Special Education Classes

A number of educational approaches were utilized in the development of the special education classes. In Charleston, as in many areas, a clinical approach dominated. In this approach a biophysical perspective was the prevailing orientation and the causes of abnormalities were believed to be physical, biological or physiological. Educational techniques and interventions focused on corrective or compensatory action. This was moderated somewhat, as psychology became

accepted and the mental aspects of explaining behavior were recognized. Later, a behavioral perspective developed based on behavior modification and was utilized. Finally, the interaction between the individual and the environment became acknowledged and approaches to alter the environment to achieve a better balance between the two were introduced. Both the behavioral and environmental perspectives were utilized much later in the establishment of special classes in Charleston. Most approaches focused on ability and skill deficits and then on behavior problems and personality maladjustments.

Attitudes of the Administration

The development of special education took place over seventy-five years. Much of that time was under the administration of A. Burnet Rhett as superintendent. It was through his interest and concern for special populations that many of the classes were initiated. Rhett viewed these classes as advantageous to both the exceptional and the regular student. He was supported by his principals and teachers especially Sylvia Allen, who helped develop the special classes. As the system grew and as Rhett's responsibilities increased, he appeared less supportive. He expressed his view that too many children were receiving services based on projected percentages for each category. While Rhett was supportive of many services for white children, he followed the established precedent and essentially ignored the black children. Problems with desegregation dominated the late 1950s and 60s. By the mid 70s the

administration was forced to support special education and extend it to all children.

Parental Roles

For most of the seventy-five years administrators and teachers complained about parental apathy concerning the special classes. Rhett blamed parents for much of the failure of children in the first two decades of the century. Compulsory school education was not rigidly enforced and parents often were late in enrolling their children and did not force them to attend classes. Many support services were initially provided without parental consent or input. Even medical examination and placements were sometimes accomplished in this way until well into the century. When parents did not provide adequate medical care, the school often intervened and provided it. When the parents of junior high school students protested their children going to an elementary school for services, Rhett altered his existing program in a compromise stance with the parents. This changed radically as parents demanded more input in later years and relied on the courts to secure these rights. P.L.94-142 in 1975 guaranteed these rights to parents and insured they would be included in the decisions made for placements for their children.

Economic and Political Factors

When special classes began the period was marked by an economy dictated by big business. There was little government intervention especially on the

federal level. There was an interest in education and an attempt to provide a better life but only for some parts of the population. The union movement and laborers in many fields began to realize the strength of collective bargaining and the potential power of strikes. The working class recognized education as a passport from bondage.

Locally, the schools were segregated but not equal. Special programs and advantages were available to white city dwelling children but the area had never recovered from the aftermath of the Civil War either psychologically or economically. The vengeful events of Reconstruction had forced Charleston to outwardly capitulate to Northern demands, but it never acquiesced in spirit. Blacks were relegated to an even lower position after whites accomplished Retrenchment. During the early years of the century blacks were essentially disenfranchised and their political clout was diminished to almost nil.

This political demise was reflected in the few special programs that were provided for blacks. The depression years were not as dramatic for Charleston and the South, in general, as for other areas of the country, but it certainly did impact upon was the schools. Children were more likely to remain in school because there were no jobs for them, although if they did find employment, they left school. While the need for teachers increased there was no money to pay them. Government work projects built schools and instituted programs for regular education. With these projects people came to accept federal intervention.

The Second World War rallied the country to the war effort and to more government control in terms of military service, rationing, war industry and

training. This further accustomed the people to rely on federal solutions to local problems although the South was more resistant to this than were other parts of the country. World War I and II, Korea and Vietnam provided funds for students under federal legislation and later the G.I. Bill as well as incentives to research and development made through grants to universities and to private industry. The cold war, the race for space and weapon superiority was the motivation of continued federal support of programs which filtered down as Head Start, reading programs, federal lunch programs plus numerous other efforts. The Civil Rights Movement had the most effect on education in the South. In Charleston, it prompted the consolidation of the city and county schools into one system on the recommendation of HEW. While these decisions were basically focused on segregation, they were also the impetus for the parents of exceptional children to demand the fulfillment of their civil rights supporting special classes and interventions.

The Relationship Between Special Education

Classes and Regular Classes

Once any special classes were established there were clashes between the exceptional students and the ones in regular classes. Joint recesses had to be discontinued because of fighting and badgering. The classes carried a stigma no matter what they were called or where they met. After testing became accepted classifications such as imbecile, moron and idiot came into the language and soon acquired derogatory meanings. Even with the mandated "least restricted

environment" law, mainstreaming often met with resistance and remained highly controversial.

Mainstreaming Efforts

When the first attempts were made to provide for children requiring special interventions, the administration wanted them to be accomplished in a manner least disruptive to both them and the rest of the students. Because of the need to provide a less academically oriented curriculum along with antagonism between the groups, mainstreaming was not successful until programs became more numerous and familiar. The development of the resource room, where students returned to their regular classrooms for some part of the day, helped defuse the problem and allowed mainstreaming to occur on various levels. Sometimes this was merely social, sometimes it was instructional and sometimes it was simply physical.

Social Attitudes

The social attitudes of the period reflected a community in which education and civil rights' were slow to be respected. Poverty and ignorance combined with fear and prejudice retarded the development of both regular, as well as, special education. However, a few dedicated and foresighted individuals such as A. Burnet Rhett, Sylvia Allen and Ida Colson along with a cortege of principals, teachers, medical personnel and others gave unselfishly to provide educational experiences suited to the special needs of exceptional children. As the system

grew and these pioneers retired or left the field, another breed took their place. A less personal and more scientific orientation replaced the initial commitment, just as a less personal involvement was apparent in the society at large.

Educational Trends

A number of practices which evolved in 1900 were developed through 1975, and are visible in special education today. The need for individualized instruction began with the "Opportunity Class" and was recognized as an important intervention. It was later refined when testing focused on specific deficits and subject assessments were undertaken. This was extended and instructional sequencing was utilized to accomplish this goal. Adaptation of curriculum by reducing the amount of work required of special students or by allowing a greater period of time to accomplish their work were antecedents of the concept of mastery teaching.

It was recognized from the very beginning that classes had to be kept small if anything was to be accomplished. The very nature of these classes dictated that the students did best in small classes and in homogeneous settings. The resource room refined this concept while attempting to comply with a least restrictive environment. Reliance on teacher recommendations was important then as now. There had been a growing concern that regular classroom teachers were not becoming better acquainted with exceptionalities, their identification and intervention. The five major concerns of P.L. 94-142, the least restrictive environment, due process, an individual education plan, parental consent and

fairness in assessment all trace their origins to the early establishment of special education classes and with development and refinement became the law of the land.

Child-Rearing Modes

The modes described by deMeuse were seen in Charleston. The 1900s were dedicated to the socialization of the student and this became the mission of public education. This was true of the special education students as well as those in regular classes. Parents and teachers were responsible for training and guiding children in becoming productive, contributing citizens. By the middle of the century, this socialization process was beginning to mature into the helping mode when parents, especially in special education, became involved in their children's well being and as their advocates. Regretfully, all the other modes remained and examples of infanticide and child abuse, abandonment and ambivalence often were graphically portrayed in the society. The intrusive mode was identified as the period in which parents and their progeny began to interact. This mode provided a bridge to the last two modes which became the dominant psychological features of education.

While the federal law forced special education into the school system and guaranteed more equitable distribution of services, the basis begun in 1900 remained at the heart of Charleston's special education programs. Research refined selection and classification and the increase in teacher training programs guaranteed improved educational methods and techniques. Social attitudes

changed slowly but prejudice against those with all kinds of exceptionalities remained high. Poverty, illiteracy, ignorance and indifference plagued efforts to provide adequate educational resources both in regular as well as in special education and remained barriers.

Recommendations

Studies of the historical origins in other settings and systems could yield substantial insights into the development of current practices. Biographical studies of the individuals instrumental in initiating these classes and developing them such as A. Burnet Rhett and Sylvia Allen would be in order. Special education has existed in one form or another in Charleston for most of its years but it was not until the 20th century that it was organized and developed into an integral part of the public school system. This study determined that a number of the services became available as the century advanced and served as the basis of special education services in the system when P.L. 94-142 became law.

Conclusion

A system with a weak general education program has a difficult time in providing a quality special educational program. Many of the problems which faced the administration in the beginning, remained. Segregated schools, white flight, parental apathy, student indifference were not been eliminated in 1975. Misbehavior and anti-social behavior continued to harass regular as well as special education programs.

Many of the trends begun in the early years of the century remain viable in today's special education. Some of these trends represent areas we yet seek to rectify or eliminate such as parental apathy and disinterest in the educational process. The goal of partnership between children, parents, teachers and administrators has yet to be attained. The relationship between general education and special education often remains strained. Efforts at mainstreaming are a source of contention for many educators and parents alike.

The social attitudes of the times are reflected in the educational system. The cyclical nature of the process is apparent. The initial attempts at educating exceptional children progressed from no services to very segregated facilities. This later evolved in provision of services and naturalization efforts in the least restrictive environment.

Now, this faces close scrutiny from advocates who demand a return to more specialized settings. It can only be assumed that these new advocates will demand spiral changes which filter and preserve the positive attributes of the past.

From these initial efforts many educational methods and techniques emerged which dominate practice in special education in the present. Exceptional students are often taught in small, homogeneous groups and yet integrated with the rest of the student body at various times in the school day. This is an outgrowth of the original attempts at education of the exceptional. Individualized instruction based on accurate assessment is a development evolved from the past. Curriculum adaptation, too, is often the basis of providing attainable goals for exceptional

students and these goals are refined and evident today. The importance of the classroom teacher remains the key to not only the identification and initiation of services but also determines the attitude and adjustment to and of the special student.

The society as a whole became economically aggressive and forced long term educational programs to become subservient to more immediate rewards. Drugs and lack of discipline were reflected in teacher burn out and lethargy.

Charleston did prove to be in the forefront of the special education movement. Other cities eventually emulated its lead but it held its position of leadership and was in the forefront of special education in the state for a number of years.

The past is the developed present, the present is the developing past (Commager, 1965). This study of the evolution of the education of exceptional children in Charleston, South Carolina from 1900 to 1975 aptly demonstrates this observation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Annual reports of the South Carolina lunatic asylum. (1829-1904). Columbia, SC

Babcock, J. W. (1907). Rules and regulations for the government of the lunatic asylum. Handbook of South Carolina. Columbia: Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Immigration.

Baumeister, A. A., & Butterfield, E. (1970). Residential facilities for the mentally retarded. Chicago: Aldine.

Berdine, W. H., & Blackhurst, A. E. (1985). An introduction to special education. Boston: Brown and Company.

Best, H. (1965). Public provision for the mentally retarded in the United States. Worcester: Hefterman Press.

Blatt, B., & Kaplan, F. (1966). Christmas in purgatory. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Blatt, B., Ozolins, A., & McNally, J. (1979). The family papers: A return to purgatory. New York: Longman.

Butts, R. F. (1955). A cultural history of western education: Its social and intellectual foundations. New York: McGraw Hill.

Cash, W. J. (1941). The mind of the south. New York: Vintage.

Charleston District Progress Report (1969-1970). Progress with pride. Charleston.

Cleland, C. C., & Swartz, J. D. (1982). Exceptionalities through the lifespan. New York: MacMillan.

Clinton, C. (1982). The plantation mistress. New York: Pantheon.

Commager, H. S. (1965). The nature and the study of history. Columbus: Merrill.

Craig, P. A. (1981). Provision of related services: A good idea gone awry. Exceptional Education Quarterly, 2, 11-16.

- Cremin, L. (1965). The wonderful world of Ellwood Patterson. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Cruickshank, W. M., & Johnson, G. D. (1975). Education of exceptional children and youth. Englewood cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Darwin, C. R. (1872). The expression of emotion in man and animals. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1965).
- deMeuse, L. (1974). The history of childhood. New York: Psychohistory.
- Doyle, D. H. (1990). New men, new cities, new south: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Memphis 1860-1910. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Engleman, S., & Bruner, E. S. (1969). Distar reading I and II: An instructional system. Chicago: Science Research Associates.
- Fernald, G. M. (1943). Remedial techniques in basic school subjects. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Franklin, J. H. (1961). Reconstruction: After the civil war. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fraser, W. J. (1989). Charleston! Charleston! The history of a southern city. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Gay, L. R. (1981). Educational research competencies for analysis and application. Columbus: Merrill.
- Gerheart, B. R. (1972). Education of the exceptional child: History, present practices and trends. Scranton: Intext.
- Glubok, S. (1969). Home and child life in colonial days. New York: MacMillan.
- Good, C. V. (1973). Dictionary of education. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Good, H. G. (1962). A history of American education. New York: Macmillan.
- Goldenson, R. M. (1970). The encyclopedia of human behavior. New York: Doubleday.
- Goldenstein, H. (1974). Social learning curriculum: Teacher's guide. Columbus: Merrill.

- Guerra, F. (1971). The pre-Columbian mind. New York: Seminar Press.
- Haring, N. G., & McCormick, L. (1986). Exceptional children and youth. Columbus: Merrill.
- Harris, W. W. (1981). Disordered in their senses: Provisions for early South Carolina's mentally ill. The Psychiatric Forum, Fall-Winter 1984-1985. (pp. 34-42).
- Harris, W. W. (1981). Footprints at the asylum. The Psychiatric Forum, Winter 1984-1985, (pp. 7-19).
- Harris, J. E., & Weeks, E. R. (1973). X-raying the pharaohs. New York: Scribner.
- Hewitt, A. I. (N. D.) The story of Charleston. Charleston: Universal.
- Heyn, E. V. (1976). Fire of genius. Garden City: Anchor Press.
- Hill, H. F. (1945). Vineland summer school for teachers of backward and mentally deficient children. The Training School Bulletin, May 1945, pp. 41-45.
- Hundley, D. R. (1980). Social relations in our southern states. Philadelphia.
- Illick, I. (1970). Deschooling society. New York: Harper Row.
- Itard, J. M. G. (1932). The wild boy of Aveyron. Translated by Humphrey, G. & Humphrey, M.. New York: Appleton-Century-Crafts.
- Kanner, L. (1950). Child psychiatry. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas.
- Kaufman, M. J. (1975) in Gottlieb, J., Agard, J. A., & Kocic, M. B. (1975). Mainstreaming toward an explication of the construct. Focus on Exceptional Children. 7, 1-12.
- Kessler, J. (1966). Psychopathology of childhood. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Kirk, S. A., & Gallagher, J. J. (1983). Educating exceptional children. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Kousser, J. H. (1974). The shaping of southern policies: Suffrage, restriction and the establishment of the one party south 1880-1910. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Lane, H. (1976). The wild boy of Aveyron. New York: Bantam.

- Lilly S. (1979). Children with special needs: A survey of special education. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- McKay, J. P., Hill, B. D., & Buckley, J. (1983). A history of western civilization. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- McWhirt, R. A. (1969). Letter to Mr. Laurence Rochsler. Charleston.
- Miele, A. (1964). Reassessment of the curriculum - why?, in Huebner, D., (ed.), A reassessment of the curriculum. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Mills, R. (1826). Statistics of South Carolina. Charleston.
- Moore, J. H. (ed.) (1967). The Ariel Abbot journals, a Yankee preacher in Charleston society, 1818-1827. South Carolina Historical Magazine. 68, 115-119.
- National Advisory Committee on the Handicapped (1976). The unfinished revolution: Education for the handicapped 1976 annual report. Washington: Department of Health, Education and Welfare, United States Government Printing Office.
- Newland, J. E. (1969). Manual for the blind: Learning aptitude test. Urbana: Newland.
- Odom, C. C. (1949). Psychiatry in South Carolina. Cleve Carrington, Typescript 13 pp unpublished.
- Olmstead, F. L. (1856). A journey in the seaboard slave states. New York: Dix and Edwards.
- Orton, S. T. (1937). Reading, writing and speech problems in children. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Paden, E. (1970). A history of the American speech and hearing association 1925-1958. Washington: The American Speech and Hearing Association.
- Polsky, H. B., Lippmann, O., State Overton, P. (1965). Abnormality and disease in pre-columbian art. Texas State Journal on Medicine, 61, 1-4.
- Poor House Journals. (1800-1828). Charleston City Archives.
- Ravenel, S. (1912). Charleston, the place and the people. New York: Macmillan.
- Reynolds, M. C. & Birch, J. W. (1982). Teaching exceptional children in all America's schools. Reston: The Council for Exceptional Children.

- Rochsler, L. (1970). Educational Debacle in Charleston, South Carolina, 1967-1970. Charleston: John Laurence Associates.
- Rogers, G. C. (1969). Charleston in the age of the Pinckneys. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. (1973) South Carolina chronology, 1497-1970. Tricentennial Booklet #11. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Scheerenberger, R. C. (1982). Public residential services status and trends. Mental retardation, 20, 210-215.
- School for the Deaf and Dumb Bulletin (N. D.). spartanburg: Printing by the Students.
- Sloan, W. (1963). Four score and seven. American Journal of Mental Deficiency, 68, 6-14.
- Smith, E. C., Price, B. J., & Marsh, G. E. (1986). Mildly handicapped children and adults. St. Paul: West Publishing Company.
- Spring, J. (1986). The American school 1642-1985. New York: Longman.
- Spruill, J. C. (1938). Life and work of women in the southern colonies. New York: W. W. Norton.
- St. Philip's Vestry Minutes, (1726-1778). Charleston: Charleston Library Society.
- Taylor, R. H. (1926). Antebellum South Carolina: A social and cultural history. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Tindall, G. B. (1967). The emergence of the new south 1913-1945. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University.
- Trezevant, D. H. (1854). Letters to Governor Manning on the lunatic asylum. Columbia: The State of South Carolina.
- Wallace, O. D. (1951). South Carolina: A short history. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Waring, J. I. (1967). A history of medicine in South Carolina. (Vols 1-2) Columbia: R. L. Bryan and Company.
- Weir, R. M. (ed.) (1974). Two letters by Christopher Gadsden. South Carolina Historical Magazine, 75, 160-176.

Williams, G. (1975). Helping the handicapped: Science searches for miracles. Family health, September, pp. 26-66.

Woodward, C. V. (1980). Origins of the new south 1877-1913. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Yesseldyke, J. E., & Algozzine, B. (1984). Introduction to special education. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

APPENDIX A

THE SIX MODES OF CHILD-REARING

DeMeuse suggested that in any given period in history, various methods of child-rearing practices can be discerned. He indicated that these various practices may be categorized into six types, each encompassing a particular era. Each of these "was exhibited by the psychogenically most advanced segments of the population in the most advanced countries" for that period and signifies the changes which have gradually occurred. He described these modes as follows: (Cleland and Swartz, 1982).

1. **INFANTICIDE MODE** - deMeuse designated this mode as the time from antiquity to approximately the fourth century. He suggested that parents in all socioeconomic levels resolved their anxieties regarding their children through infanticide.
2. **ABANDONMENT MODE** - This mode was attributed to the time from the fourth to the thirteenth century. In this period children were perceived as possessing souls that belonged to God and that only God could take away. Now, however, the conflict was no longer resolved through the murdering of children but was replaced by their abandonment. Children were abandoned to nunneries, monasteries and foster homes. Besides physical abandonment, both psychological and emotional abandonment was also practiced.
3. **AMBIVALENT MODE** - The fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries were specified as the ambivalent mode. In this period children were admitted into the emotional lives of their parents. By this time they were viewed as objects to be beaten into suitable shapes. It was during this phase that John Locke (1632-1702) described infants as "blank slates that experience writes upon". Interestingly enough, Locke also helped to draw up the constitution used in the settlement of Charles Town (Charleston).

4. **INTRUSIVE MODE** - This mode characterized the eighteenth century. Following the Renaissance in Europe parents viewed their children as less threatening. True empathy became possible. In the middle of the century, the ideology of Rousseau concerning the innate goodness of man, gained popularity. New ideas proliferated in almost every field, many of them touching children and their interactions with their parents.
5. **SOCIALIZATION MODE** - deMeuse labeled the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century as the socialization mode. during the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, parents began to accept the raising of children as more of a process of training, guiding, teaching and socializing. This position is still the most accepted view today. It marked the beginning of a new era in human relations separated from the cruelties of the parent-child relations of the past.
6. **HELPING MODE** - This mode began in the mid-twentieth century and continues to the present. Now, both parents are involved in the lives of their children and work to empathize with them and fulfill their needs, reflecting modern society's increasing emphasis on the "quality of life" of children.

These modes provided a benchmark by which the events occurring in Charleston may be evaluated. The socialization and helping modes fell within the framework of this study and provided insight into the attitudes of the period. They signified the accepted manner of treating children both normal and exceptional. At any given point in time, examples of all the previous modes may also be documented, usually as somewhat isolated incidents.

While these modes represent the gradual changes which occurred in child-rearing practices over generations they also demonstrate the level of psychological health adults must possess for meeting the needs of their children in various periods. As such, they are part of the infrastructure of society present from 1900 to 1975.

APPENDIX B
HISTORICAL MILESTONES IN SPECIAL EDUCATION
IN THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA

1945-1975

- 1945 A hearing testing program was established at the State Department of Education.
- 1949 A program of speech correction services was established through the Department of Education and the State Board of Health. This program within the Department of Education became known as the Hearing and Speech Correction Program.
- 1954 The General Assembly enacted Act No. 589 which authorized public school programs for educable mentally handicapped, physically handicapped and homebound pupils.
- 1958 Act No. 589 was amended to authorize public school programs for trainable mentally handicapped pupils and speech handicapped pupils.
- 1967 The Hearing and Speech Correction Program and the special Education Program merged to form the Program for Exceptional Children, Department of Education.
- The Instructional Materials Center for Handicapped Children was established.
- Legal school age for hearing handicapped children was lowered from age six (6) to age four (4).
- 1970 On April 13, 1970, Public Law 91-230 was enacted to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Title VI of Public Law 91-230 created as a separate act the "Education of the Handicapped Act" (EHA) which constitutes a single statute authorizing programs in the United States Department of Education specifically designed to meet the special needs of individuals with handicapping conditions.

1971 The Program for Exceptional Children was reorganized administratively within the Department of Education from a section within the Office of General Education to the Office of Programs for the Handicapped.

1972 Act No. 977 was enacted by the General Assembly to establish a mandatory program of special education for handicapped children in the public schools.

Existing state laws were amended to allow state aid reimbursement for resource and itinerant teachers.

1974 On August 21, 1974, Public Law 93-380, was enacted which required both state and local education agencies to address the areas of least restrictive environment, procedural due process, non-biased evaluation and confidentiality.

1975 On April 11, 1975, the State Board of Education approved and amended the Defined Minimum Program for South Carolina School Districts for full statewide implementation on July 1, 1975.

Public Law 94-142, The Education for All Handicapped Children Act, was signed into law on November 29, 1975. The Act included the basic tenets of Public Law 93-380 and stipulated additional requirements, including Individualized Education Program (IEPs) to insure that all handicapped children have available a free appropriate public education not later than September 1, 1978.

from the State of South Carolina,
Department of Education.