Textbooks, Teachers, and Compromise: The Political Work of Freedmen Education

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TEXTBOOKS, TEACHERS, AND COMPROMISE: THE
POLITICAL WORK OF FREEDMEN
EDUCATION

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to steadfast educators everywhere who strive to provide the most meaningful and relevant education possible for their students; to Jonna Perrillo, Ph.D, for igniting within me a passion, for believing in my project, and for guiding me through the process; to my family for sharing in my enthusiasm and for their confidence; to Rebecca White for talking me off the ledge; and to all my peers in the Masters of Teaching English program at UTEP for inspiring me to become the best teacher I can be.
TEXTBOOKS, TEACHERS, AND COMPROMISE: THE
POLITICAL WORK OF FREEDMEN EDUCATION

by

ASHLEY MARIE SWARTHOUT, B.S.

THESIS

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Chapter 1: The History of Freedmen Schools and Southern Politics

Every Monday through Friday from mid-August to June, Ms. Wells\(^1\) enters her high school English language arts classroom in a public school in state of Florida. Ms. Wells has been a teacher at this school for ten years and her daily activities have become somewhat routine, as routine as they can become with ever-changing curricular mandates. Recently, the state adopted use of the Common Core curriculum. While Ms. Wells considers herself to be a master teacher, in fact she has a Master’s degree, she must use the Common Core in combination with the Florida state standards, to create her lesson plans. In her ten years as a teacher, Ms. Wells has gone through a handful of curricular designs and mandates; long ago she learned how to incorporate mandates into her lessons and to not become too comfortable with any one of the designs because a new one is sure to replace the current one. Some of the mandated curricula and textbooks have proved more or less successful than others but Ms. Wells teaches what she is told to teach, using what she knows to be best practices in an attempt to reach as many of her students as she can. For Ms. Wells, balancing mandated curriculum with her ideologies means looking critically at the curricula and textbooks with her students and helping the students to question the messages and principles presented. Sometimes, this means leading the students to analysis with critical questions.

Like all other teachers, as well as administrators and other school employees, Ms. Wells’ salary is funded by taxpayer dollars. She is an employee of the state and when she retires she will be paid state retirement. Ms. Wells is a registered voter and has never missed an opportunity to

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\(^1\) Ms. Wells is a fictional teacher whose characteristics are comprised of many teachers I have known, learned from, and taught with over the years.
vote. Whether it is a presidential, school board, or water conservation manager election, Ms. Wells will research each candidate and make a decision based off of who she believes is best qualified. Ms. Wells’ primary concern is education and usually votes for the candidate that has educational policies that most align with her beliefs. At times, the person she votes for wins and other times they lose. Her personal political opinions, she believes, should be kept out of the classroom. She does not engage in political discussion or debate with other teachers and certainly not with her students. When it comes to classroom, Ms. Wells calls herself politically neutral. Ms. Wells is very much the typical English educator.

However, Ms. Wells is not politically-neutral in the classroom. The very act of teaching has placed her in a political position. When she teaches from a textbook she is promoting the ideologies and beliefs therein. When Ms. Wells teaches using the Common Core she is endorsing the philosophies of the Council of Chief State School Officers, the National Governors Association Center for Best Practices, and the writers of their choosing. When Ms. Wells posts Florida and Common Core standards on the bulletin board in her classroom she is supporting the belief in a specific standard. Ms. Wells, as a state employee, is paid to teach what others have decided should be taught; when she disagrees with the effectiveness or philosophies, she uses her experience and expertise to morph the curriculum into something that is she believes will be valuable for the students. When Ms. Wells critically analyses and helps her students to question the principles that she does not buy into, she is bringing her own political beliefs into the curriculum. There is, in fact, no other way to describe Ms. Wells or any teacher, other than as a political agent; the very act of teaching is political work. Even the act of not discussing her political beliefs in school is a political decision.
Most teachers, like Ms. Wells, choose the profession of education in order to teach, not to become political agents. Likewise, most teachers do not recognize their work in the classroom as political work; however, teaching in the United States has been political work from very early on, particularly for teachers of minority and low socioeconomic students. For teachers of black students, the beginning of this distinction can be traced all the way back to the beginning of common schools for freedmen, the class of black people who became free with the Emancipation Proclamation. The aid societies, government organizations, and textbook writers identified an opportunity to influence Southern politics through freedmen education; the key components for success were textbooks, teachers, and compromise. The teacher of the freedmen, by associating with the organization that hired them and by implementing the use of certain textbooks became political agents for the organization. Irrespective of their pedagogical practices, the teachers promoted specific ideologies regarding the social, political, and economic place for the freedmen in civil society, particularly in the South. The organizations and publishers that were willing to compromise exacted more power over freedmen education, thus more power over Southern politics. The praxis by politicians of using curriculum and teachers in order to manipulate politics and economics, proven to be successful in freedmen schools, is commonplace practice at present.

Teachers in freedmen schools, however, were not without political beliefs and agency. Letters and editorials written by teachers prove that they held views regarding the education of their students which included what textbooks were most effective, what place the freed people had in civilized society and Southern economics, and what the freedmen were academically capable or not capable of achieving. It is very probable that personal philosophies and ideologies were not always in line with the organizations for which they were employed. Teachers of
freedmen made compromises both with their beliefs and their pedagogy in order to teach in freedmen schools. Like Ms. Wells, most freedmen teachers did not recognize their positions as political agents; nonetheless, the act of teaching under the employment of specific organizations was political work, as was the act of ideological and pedagogical compromises that many teachers made in order remain a freedmen teacher.

**To Teach the Freed People**

“The time came when the nation was forced into emancipation as a war measure, and, having liberated the slave, she enrolled him in her armies. Having done this, the national honor became pledged to the protection of the race thus set free, and the right of suffrage and the provisions of the civil-rights bill followed as a necessary consequence.” -Harriet Beecher Stowe

After the end of the Civil War, Northerners flooded into the South in order to participate in the education of freedmen. While many, perhaps most, of the individuals who worked in freedmen education had the best interests of the freedmen in mind, freedmen education in of itself was inherently political; therefore, all contributors to freedmen education were also sponsors of Southern Reconstruction politics. It is my argument that the aid organizations (particularly the American Missionary Association and the American Freedmen’s Union Commission), the writers and printers of freedmen-specific textbooks (the American Tract Society and Lydia Maria Child), and the teachers educating freedmen in the South, placed themselves in a prominent position in order to influence Reconstruction politics and economy by manipulating the freedmen in hopes of controlling the black popular vote, should the freedmen be granted the right to participate in voting practices. Abolitionist and author, Harriett Beecher

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Stowe stated, “We had four million new United States citizens in our Union, without property, without education, with such morals as may be inferred from the legal status in which they had been kept.”\(^3\) It was not outside the realm of possibly that these new citizens would secure the right to vote; education then, not only provided literacy and moral training for the freedmen, but also provided a place for which the freedmen could be politically influenced.

Even before the emancipation of slaves, freedmen and contraband schools\(^4\) were being created in both the North and the South. The number of black students, both contraband and free, began to increase with the onset of Civil War. “The Civil War let loose upon the South millions of freedom-seeking blacks. What to do with them was the severest issue facing the nation.”\(^5\) As the children of the freedom-seeking blacks swarmed into schools and attendance soared, the concern over teaching these children grew considerably. Out of this unease emerged a number of organizations, such as the Freedmen’s Bureau and numerous other freedmen’s aid societies. Maintaining a presence in the South was both necessary and difficult for these organizations. My thesis argues that those organizations willing to make compromises regarding their ideologies and pedagogical beliefs, were likely to remain longer in the South than those organizations and individuals less willing to compromise with those whose ideologies differed.

A handful of extensive histories and critical analyses of freedmen schools have been published. Some of the literature plots the history of freedmen education or Southern black education. In their histories, James D. Anderson and Robert C. Moore look critically at the role that freedmen educational practices played in the development of black education. In *The Education of Blacks in South, 1860-1935*, Anderson provides a comprehensive outline of

\(^3\) Ibid., 609.
\(^4\) Contraband schools were freedmen schools created in Southern states during the Civil War when blacks were still considered slaves. After the Civil War all contraband schools were called freedmen schools.
Southern black education from freedmen education through the rise of prestigious black colleges. Anderson argues that different participants in freedmen and black education from 1860-1935 helped to shape the dominant view of black education in America prior to the Civil Rights Movement. Through his critical analysis, Anderson recognizes the ways in which the politicians created an educational system that contributed to the subjugation of black people. In his introduction he states, “It is crucial for an understanding of American educational history, however, to recognize that within American democracy there have been classes of oppressed people and that there have been essential relationships between popular education and politics of oppression.”6 Anderson’s scrutiny of the Hampton School Model and its founder, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, helped me to develop the argument in the second chapter that black teacher education was an extension of the freedmen schools in that it was designed to keep the free black citizens in a specific economic place.

*Reading, Riting, and Reconstruction: The Education of the Freedmen in the South, 1861-1870*, by historian, professor, and archivist, Robert C. Morris, is similar to Anderson’s text in that it detailed the history of southern black education, however, Morris’s text more specifically focuses on the education of the freedmen during and directly following the end of Civil War. In Morris’s record of freedmen schools he argues that the movement to create freedmen schools was an idealistic movement influenced mostly by abolitionists who sought to change the racial sentiment of the South. Morris contends, “Through careful examination of educators’ statements, class lessons, and textbooks prepared specifically for the freedmen it is possible to obtain a fairly good idea of what these reforms wanted students to learn not only in the academic

sphere but with regard to the vital issues of Reconstruction.”

My thesis extends Morris’ suggestion that statements, lessons, and textbooks provide insight into what reformers wanted to the freedmen to learn; I argue that these primary sources prove a direct correlation between different teaching materials and political motivations to influence freedmen politics.

**Teachers Descending upon the South**

Thirty-one years before the commencement of the Civil War, a different sort of battle was being fought over access to education. This crusade, taking place in the North, was led by educational reformers like Horace Mann, who believed that education should be accessible to all people for free. There were, as Mann recognized, free charity schools already operating in the North but, as William J. Reese notes, “free education of any sort in the cities retained a class stigma.”

Mann and others believed that free universal education for all children would not only provide education but was the answer to problem of class and poverty. In 1838, three years prior to the Civil War, one citizen wrote the following regarding the importance of public, government funded education in an article from *A Treatise on American Popular Education*, “Give to education a clear field and play fair and your poor houses, lazarettos, and hospitals will stand empty, your prisons and penitentiaries will lack inmates, and the whole country will be filled with wise, industrious, and happy inhabitants. Immorality, vice and crime, disease, misery and poverty, will vanish from our regions, and morality, virtue and fidelity, with health, prosperity, and abundance, will make their permanent home amongst us.”

While the writer of this statement

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7 Morris, Reading, ‘Riting, and Reconstruction, X-XI.
9 Ibid., 13.
was not likely to have foreseen the war, the sentiment is not dissimilar to the rhetoric used to argue for free education for the freedmen.

Certainly, the Northerners and Southerners alike had reason to fear the effects that a large class of impoverished people would have on the crippled economy following the Civil War. The statement from *A Treatise on American Popular Education* was reflective of the common ideology that to be poor was also to be immoral, criminal, diseased, and miserable. The freedmen, having no wealth, place, or work were the epitome of poverty. Just as educational reformers of the 1830’s believed that free education was the cure for Northern destitution, aid organizations understood free or nearly free education was also the remedy to impoverished freedmen population. “Reforming society,” Reese argues, “by reforming schools had increasingly become a northern, Yankee ideal.”\(^{10}\) It was from this approach that Northerners descended upon the South.

Two specific organizations led the charge in reforming southern society through freedmen education: the American Missionary Association (AMA) and The American Freedmen’s Union Commission (AFUC). Richard B. Drake and Ira V. Brown each wrote articles in which they detailed the history and participation in freedmen education of the AMA, and the AFUC respectively. Drake not only offers an sketch of AMA’s ideology, he also suggests that the AMA willingly compromised some of its core principles regarding freedmen education, such as accepting the southern notion that blacks were not equal to whites. Once these compromises where made, Drake argues, “Now, the South appeared ready to co-operate with the Association in the ‘education and elevation’ of the Negro.”\(^{11}\) With Drake’s argument in mind, I argue that the AMA had to make intentional ideological and philosophical compromises which

\(^{10}\) Ibid., 21.
ultimately affected the kind of education to which the freedmen had access; compromise was essential in order to influence Reconstruction politics through freedmen education.

Similar to Drake, Brown’s article “Lyman Abbott and Freedmen’s Aid, 1865-1869,” describes the formation of the AFUC and the Commission’s educational activities in the South. This article focuses primarily on Lyman Abbott’s role as the executive secretary in the AFUC. Despite his concentration on Abbott, Brown offers that the AFUC’s emphasis on certain ideologies and unwillingness to compromise with the Southern ideologies and influential Northerners, ultimately resulted in a severe lack of funds for the AFUC. My research challenges Brown’s proposal that the AFUC left the South because “they concluded that other agencies were carrying on the educational task so effectively that it no longer had good reason for existence.”12 Instead I argue the AFUC was not as successful in maintaining a presence in the South, not because the other agencies were effectively educating the freedmen, rather because they were not as willing to make ideological compromises. Furthermore, I contend that while the AFUC ascribed to the notion that they were not a political group, they were, in fact, one of the most political groups operating schools in the South.

While Anderson, Morris, Drake, and Brown’s historical analyses critically evaluate freedmen education in one way, there is little mention regarding the desire to influence the black vote. Brown makes one mention of Abbott’s concern regarding the black vote: “Earlier Abbott pointed out that to give the Negro the vote without proper preparation for it would ‘only increase the power of the Southern demagogue.’”13 This apprehension was the foundation for the argument that the aid organizations were not only aware of the possible black vote, they also desired to influence the vote.

13 Ibid., 34.
In addition to analysis of aid organizations, historians have also documented the experiences of the teachers in freedmen schools. The existing research oftentimes placed the teachers as benevolent Northern women who simply taught. The most complete analysis and histories of freedmen teachers comes from Jacqueline Jones’, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873* and Ronald Butchart’s, *Schooling the Freed People: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861-1876*. In the introduction to her text Jones offers a summary of her work, “This book tells the story of the Northern women and men who went south to Georgia after the Civil War amid the ruins of the Confederacy to teach the freed people - why they volunteered, how they lived and labored, what they accomplished, and what they learned about themselves.”14 Though her specific concentration was on teachers, mostly AMA teachers in Georgia, she provides a unique analysis of organizational hiring practices. Jones argues that the organizations hired some teachers because of their financial ties to religious sects - not simply because of their connection to the groups. This suggestion challenged the statement that the AMA was first and foremost a religious organization. Using this claim from Jones, my thesis connects financial decisions of both the AMA and AFUC to Reconstruction politics, particularly in the analysis of ideological compromise to gain financial support.

Butchart provides the most exhaustive collection experiences of Southern black teachers, Southern white teachers, and Northern white teachers. The goal of Butchart’s analysis was to complicate or challenge previous analyses of freedmen teachers as being only or mostly white Northern women. “The corps of teachers who actually taught in the freed people’s schools bears little resemblance to the reigning image. A more accurate foreground will have important

implications for the ways the next generation of historians are able to paint the middle ground and the background - the contexts and interpretations of the work of these ‘soldiers of light and love.’”\textsuperscript{15} Butchart, building off previous historians’ portraits of these teachers, offers that each of these teachers had agency in their decisions to teach. Based on his portrait, I argue that these teachers were political agents, explicitly or implicitly participating in Southern Reconstruction politics. My thesis provides evidence that teachers were large political figures positioned for the purpose of impelling the freedmen in the way of religion, industry, and politics.

\textbf{Freedmen Textbooks}

Nineteenth century textbooks are characteristically didactic; the textbooks were designed to teach literacy through religious, moral, and character education. In her analysis of American schools books, Ruth Miller Elson argues, “The purpose of nineteenth-century American public schools was to train citizens in character and proper principles.”\textsuperscript{16} Prior to 1861, the primary concern for textbook creators was to how to meld religious virtue into literacy education that was reflective of American characteristics. The vast majority of these textbooks, termed readers, were written and published in the North. Elson offers the following list that details the location of the most popular nineteenth century textbook authors:

Certainly, with the notable exception of McGuffey, the most popular authors of nineteenth-century American schoolbooks were from that section: Noah Webster, Jedidiah Morse, S.G. Goodrich, C.A. Goodrich, S. Augustus Mitchell, Jesse Olney, and Emma Willard were all born in Connecticut; Lyman Cobb, William Woodbridge, Richard Parker, and Salem Town were products of Massachusetts; John Frost was from Maine and Benjamin D. Emerson from New Hampshire.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{15} Butchart, \textit{Schooling the Freed People}, xi
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 7.
Elson goes on to contend, “The public school was the product of New England Puritanism, and it should be no surprise that textbook authors were a by-product.”

Prior to the Civil War, the South was already disapproving of the Northern textbooks they believed presented unfavorable views of slavery. An example of a reader that presented a view of slavery that Southerners would not find approving comes from *The Gospel of Slavery: A Primer of Freedom* published in New York in 1864. In the form of an alphabet book, the text says the following of slavery: “S stand for Slavery. Nations of old/Made bondmen by warefare [sic.], or bought them with gold;/And if to the Jews you incline to go back,/ No special enslavement you find of the black.” The passage goes on to argue, “Any Bible argument for Slavery must therefore *except* [sic.] the black, if *any* color is to be excepted!” It was precisely this anti-slavery sentiment that caused the South to begin printing readers that offered a less offending and more favorable view of slavery. One such example is from *The First Reader for Southern Schools* printed in 1864, the same year as *The Gospel of Slavery*, in Raleigh, North Carolina. Like the New England printed readers, *Reader for Southern Schools* had reading lists and brief didactic passages suggestive of Christian virtue. The difference between this Southern reader and one from New England was on the specific topic of slavery. In the passage titled “The Centurion’s Servant Healed,” the following passage is included: “It is not a sin to own slaves. It is a right. God wills that some men should be slaves, and some masters.”

After the Civil War, the South was too economically deprived to continue printing textbooks for white students, let alone for the freedmen students. However, the South was not ready to accept the radical representations of freed blacks and the harsh criticisms of slavery that

18 Ibid., 7.
20 *The First Reader for Southern Schools*, (Raleigh, NC: The N.C. Christian Advocate Publishing Company, 1864), 17, AAS.
were published in textbooks like *The Gospel of Slavery*. Two options existed, use the textbooks that were already available, most of which were from Northern Puritan publishing companies or create a new textbook designed specifically for the freedmen.

Northern aid organizations worked with writers and publishers to design curriculum for the newly freed students. The reading and spelling curriculum developed for the freedmen schools included idealized representations of black people in free society. *The Freedman’s Library Readers* published by the American Tract Society (ATS) most closely reflected the educational beliefs held by the Freedmen’s Bureau, the government agency that supervised freedmen schools and the education of black children, and the American Missionary Association. In 1865, abolitionist Lydia Maria Child published *The Freedmen’s Book*. These two readers, though similar in format and scholastic function, varied greatly in content and black depiction. The ATS was ultimately more successful than Child in distributing its texts to the freedmen; however, both the ATS and Child had specific political aspirations for their texts. My thesis argues the ATS intentionally produced texts which not only presented slavery in a less critical manner than Child, but also illustrated a place for the freedmen in society which was similar to slavery; these textual decisions, demonstrative of ATS and AMA ideological compromise, were made in an attempt to create a curriculum that would be acceptable to Southern whites.

The role of teachers in freedmen schools played an enormous part in suggesting to students what their place in a free society was, as well as what they were capable of achieving. Teachers in schools supported by the Freedmen’s Bureau were more likely to use *The Freedmen’s Library Readers* and, I argue, would reinforce, through the curriculum, a belief in the lower status of the freedmen. Some teachers working in schools supported by the American Freedmen’s Union Commission were likely to use texts like *The Freedmen’s Book*, and were
sympathetic to the freedmen’s history, but they also believed them to be in need of an education which was different from white students. My thesis contends that this belief was just as detrimental to the freedmen’s ideas of what they were capable of and their vision of equality.

Very little prior analysis has been conducted on the textbooks created for the freedmen. While some literature mentions its existence, most researchers and historians placed these texts alongside the textbooks used in white schools. In Morris’s brief scrutiny of the texts, he not only suggests that their emphasis was on character development, but he also proposes, “Mrs. Child’s textbook was published in 1865, it was representative of the type of teaching materials used throughout the Reconstruction Era.” He goes on suggest that the Child’s text was also similar to the American Tract Society’s texts, “A detailed analysis of ‘political’ exercises in The Freedmen’s Book and similar works published by the American Tract Society suggest that Southern whites tended to overestimate the extent of ‘radical’ or ‘partisan’ instruction in bureau schools.”

In Ronald Butchart’s brief description of the same two texts, he clearly did not see these two publications as being similar. “In 1865, abolitionist writer Lydia Maria Child published, at her own expense, The Freedmen’s Book. To contrast with the American Tract Society material could hardly have been more dramatic, from the language employed to the images of black life evoked.” To my knowledge, my examination and comparison of The Freedman’s Library of Readers and The Freedmen’s Book is the first detailed examination to argue that these publications were different from other textbooks printed during the time; the material included suggested specific societal places for the freedmen; they were politically motivated; and that Child’s text was radical compared to the American Tract Society’s texts.

21 Morris, Reading, Riting, and Reconstruction, 182.
22 Butchart, Schooling the Freed People, 125.
Additionally, my research offers that the willingness or unwillingness to compromise aided in the success or demise of the texts, a position on which others have not embellished.

**Primary Sources**

In order to contribute to freedmen education scholarship I used previous historical accounts and articles from historians and educators. Additionally, my research analyzed several primary resources including *The Freedman’s Library of Readers, The Freedmen’s Book*, letters, diary entries, and correspondences from freedmen teachers, several articles and editorials from news periodicals such as *The American Missionary, The American Freedmen, The American Record,* and *The Southern Workman,* reports including, *Semiannual Reports of the Schools for Freedmen* and *Results of Emancipation of the United States of America,* and the proceedings from the New Educational Associations. Evidence for the arguments presented in this thesis connects to both primary sources and historical analyses.
Chapter 2: Organizing, Funding, and Influencing the Education for the Freedmen

Even before the emancipation of slaves, schools for freedmen were being created in both the North and the South. The number of black students, both contraband and free, began to increase with the onset of Civil War; Donald Spivey advocates that the newly freed population was so great that the South could not manage to provide care without the aid of the North. “The Civil War let loose upon the South millions of freedom-seeking blacks. What to do with them was the severest issue facing the nation.”23 As the children of the “freedom-seeking blacks” flooded into schools and attendance soared to as many as sixty students in a single room school, the North was concerned over who was going to teach these children and what they should be taught.24 Out of this unease emerged a number of charity organizations. With so many aid organizations flooding the South, there was a sense of chaos as many of the organizations competed over benefactors and territories. In an attempt to organize both the aid and the transition of the freedmen into free society, President Abraham Lincoln signed a bill on March 3, 1865 that gave charge of freed people’s affairs to the War Department; the section of the department was titled the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, or the Freedmen’s Bureau. The development of the Bureau “was the culmination of more than three years of lobbying by abolitionists and others who believed the government had a responsibility to help the former slaves until they were able to take care of themselves.”25

24 Butchart, Schooling the Freed People, 30. “Laura Holt, a young black woman teaching in Clinton, Georgia, in 1869, left a more detailed account of establishing and teaching in a tuition school: I have a school consisting of 60 pupils- a class of boys and girls that spell quite well-read a little-from (12) to (18) years of age.”
25 Morris. Reading, Riting, and Reconstruction. 32.
Two of the most influential charity societies answering to the Freedmen’s Bureau were the American Missionary Association and the American Freedmen’s Union Commission. Though these two organizations sought to meet the need of placing teachers in freedmen schools, their guiding principles and histories were drastically different and ultimately shaped the kind of education the organizations thought was best for the South, the freedmen, and their organization. These organizations not only influenced who taught the freedmen but also what they were taught. In this chapter, I argue that regardless of the benevolent intentions of the Northern charity teachers, the American Missionary Association, the American Freedmen’s Union Commission, and the Freedmen’s Bureau all suggested the kind of education that the freedmen were in need of was different from what white students were being taught in Southern schools and ultimately incited the belief that industrial education was the best way to teach the freedmen. By suggesting a certain place for the freedmen, the aid organizations were active political agents in reconstruction of Southern politics. Additionally, the aid societies recognized the possibility of the black vote and understood that by influencing the political thinking of the freedmen, they would be controlling Southern Reconstruction. These convictions influenced what the teachers of the freedmen believed the students were capable of learning as well as what was printed in textbooks published specifically for the freedmen. Educating the freedmen students separately and differently from their white counterparts was the beginning of a long history of unequal educational practices of black students.

The ideas and concepts that these organizations enacted benefited the organization at least as much as the black students and schools. The organizations understood that the right to vote would eventually be given to the freedmen; influencing their beliefs through education would influence their vote. The American Missionary Society comprehended that in order to

maintain control of black Southern schools they would need to create a pedagogy and curriculum that Southern whites would support. Character education saturated in the Christian ideology of hard work gave way to industrial education over academics. This chapter argues that by the 1880’s, freedmen industrial education had been solidified as the best way to educate the black population because to train blacks as laborers or servants was an acceptable pedagogy to the Southern white plantation class.

The American Missionary Association (AMA), a Protestant society established in 1839, began sending Northern teachers to the South early on in the Civil War. The belief of the AMA was that the freedmen students needed curriculum that “combined basic academic exercises with liberal doses of religious training.”27 The Association sought teachers willing to set up not only schools, but also churches; AMA employees were as much missionaries as they were teachers. The ideology the AMA teachers and curriculum enforced was that the most important education for the freedmen students was that of religious instruction. Placing missionary-teachers throughout the South also enabled the AMA to disperse their religious institutions and beliefs throughout the South.

The American Freedmen’s Union Commission (AFUC), though decidedly secular, also desired to influence the type of education the freedmen would receive. The AFUC was created in to provide direct aid to the South during and after the Civil War. Non-sectarian in nature, AFUC teachers understood their duty as preparing the freedmen for free-life and, eventually, for voting responsibilities. The AFUC, therefore, preferred curriculum that favored moral and citizenship instruction for the students.

Unlike the AMA, the AFUC was created to meet the specific aid and educational needs of the freedmen and the poor whites. Ira Brown offers that the AFUC “was a league of

27 Morris, Reading, ‘Riting, and Reconstruction, 1.
nondenominational societies formed for the purpose of relief and educational work in the South.”28 In January, 1867, executive secretary for the AFUC, Lyman Abbott, published an article titled “The Difference” in the *American Freedmen;* Abbott published this article as an answer to the charge by the AMA that the AFUC was non-religious. In this article, the differences between the AMA and AFUC are outlined. Of the AMA, it is offered, “The object of this Society shall be to send the Gospel to those portions of our own and other countries which are destitute of it, or which present open and urgent fields of effort.” The AFUC’s objective, on the other hand, was “the relief, education, and elevation of the Freedmen of the United States, and to aid and co-operate with the people of the South, without distinction of race or color, in the improvement of their condition upon the basis of industry, education, freedom, and Christian morality. No school or depot of supplies shall be maintained from the benefits of which any shall be excluded because of color.”29 The AFUC did not build churches or offer missionaries and was not attached to any certain denomination, though they included Christian morality as part of their instruction.

Secular or religious affiliations aside, both the Association and the Commission understood that in order to exact influence over the education of the freedmen, they needed the support of both the Freedmen’s Bureau and, to some extent, Southern whites. Their chosen curriculum, then, needed to suggest a certain *place* for the freedmen in the free South; interestingly, despite their philosophical differences, the AMA and the AFUC envisioned a similar place for the freed people. Most importantly, both the AMA and the AFUC anticipated a time when free black people would participate in American politics and they wanted their particular view of freedmen education to influence how the freedmen would participate. Should

28 Ibid., 22.
29 *American Freedmen*, 1, no. 10, (January, 1867): 146. AF, AAS
the freedmen be awarded the right to vote, their vote in the South would greatly outnumber the white vote and there was an overwhelming fear that a black man might take a political office. Through teaching practices and curriculum focused on moral or religious instruction and suggesting certain kinds of work of the freedmen, the AMA and AFUC sought to shape the political thinking of the freedmen, the acceptance of their teachers by the Freedmen’s Bureau and Southern whites, and to govern freedmen’s freedom. The AMA, the AFUC, and other charity and religious organizations sent their teachers to the South, in part to keep the task out of the hands of the Southerner. Drake argues that the organizations believed that by educating black children they could help rebuild the South: “Since children were seen as the most readily influenced group, the aid societies believed the principal means of regenerating the South to be through the education of the young.”30 Northern Christian teachers with specific qualifications and ideologies were the most important tool in influencing the political thoughts of the freedmen.

The Freedmen’s Bureau: Funding and Supervising Educational Efforts

The Bureau was created out of an obligation to aid the millions of new citizens. In 1879, Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote about the position the freedmen found themselves in succeeding the Emancipation Proclamation:

    Our emancipation was forced on us - it was sudden; it gave no time for preparation, and our national honor forced us to give, not only emancipation, but the rights and defenses of citizenship. This was the position in which the war left us. We had four million new United States citizens in our Union, without property, without education, with such morals as may be inferred from legal status in which they had been kept; they were surrounded by their former white owners, every way embittered toward them, and in no wise disposed to smooth their path to liberty and competence.31

30 Drake, “Freedmen’s Aid Societies and Sectional Compromise,” 178.
It was clear to President Lincoln that the freedmen were not going to be provided aid from their former masters or the poor white population. It was also understood by the Northerners and aid organizations that any help that might have been offered from the Southern whites would have been viewed with suspicion and mistrust from the freedmen. The government needed to support the South in order for reconstruction to be possible.

Established in 1865, the Freedmen’s Bureau was headed by Army officers under the titles of Bureau Commissioner and the general superintendent; assistant superintendents and sub-assistant superintendents were locally assigned in each state. Teachers in freedmen schools reported to the assistant and sub-assistant superintendents who reported to the general superintendent, who in turn reported to the commissioner. Morris writes that the plan for the Bureau called for it to operate until one year after the end of the war though it ultimately lasted until 1870. “It was charged with ‘the supervision and management of all abandoned lands, and control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen,’ under rules and regulations prescribed by the bureau commissioner and approved by the president.”

The five primary objectives of the Bureau were to: (1) provide food and medical care to both freedmen and refugees; (2) regulate the labor of the freedmen; (3) act as the court justice; (4) manage and organize the distribution of confiscated lands; and (5) organize schools for the freedmen supported by charity societies and establish freedmen schools in areas that needed them.

In most instances, the Bureau funded the construction of schools and the aid organizations staffed the schools with teachers financially supported by their organization. Bullock proves that the Bureau contributed significantly to the financial growth of the freedmen: “During its first year the Bureau derived $1,865,646 from the sale of crops and confiscated

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Confederate property and from school taxes and tuition.” The Bureau not only raised and controlled a substantial portion of the money used to fund freedmen education but it was the agency that determined where schools would be built and which aid organization would staff the school. Thus, aid and charity organizations, including the AMA and AFUC, embraced the conviction that in order to be successful in the South, their ideas and those of the Bureau needed to be similar.

The Bureau strategically placed individuals in authoritative positions that had powerful political and financial connections and that had characteristics acceptable to the aid organizations that would be working in the South. The position of Commissioner was given to Oliver Otis (O.O.) Howard. Howard was chosen because he was neither an abolitionist nor a radical; he was known by Northern Christian aid societies as a “Christian soldier” and his character appealed to the many religious aid societies. Howard, along with assistant commissioners, appointed the Bureau educational superintendents for the former-Confederate states, and selected John Watson Alvord as the chief inspector of schools and finance.

Alvord, unlike Commissioner Howard, was an abolitionist who maintained his ties with evangelical abolitionism throughout the remainder of the post-bellum period and even held a pastoral position in Congregational churches. Additionally, Alvord served as secretary of Boston branch of the American Tract Society, the society which published the *Freedmen’s Library of Readers*. This connection was significant because it enabled the Bureau to promote this set of educational texts, and the ideas presented therein, in Bureau supervised freedmen schools in the South. In 1866, Alvord was promoted to general superintendent and maintained this position until the Bureau ended in 1870, making Alvord one of the most influential figures in early freedmen education. Alvord, though not well accepted by many Southern whites because of his

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33 Ibid., 27.
ties to abolitionism and the Congregationalist church, was widely accepted by the benevolent aid societies that sent teachers to staff the freedmen schools.

Alvord, like others working with freedmen, understood that in order to be successful, the support of the Southern white population would be necessary. Alvord offered the planter class, the wealthy Southern white class, the truth that the black population was going to move forward with education regardless of white resistance. In his report in January 1866, he wrote:

This is a wonderful state of things. We have just emerged from a terrific war; peace is not yet declared. There is scarcely the beginnings of reorganized society at the south; and yet here is a people long imbruted by slavery, and the most despised of any on earth, whose chains are no sooner broken than they spring to their feet and start up an exceeding great army, clothing themselves with intelligence. What other people on earth have ever shown, while in their ignorance, such a passion for education?34

Alvord was commenting on the fact that only a year after it was legal for the freedmen to attend schools, they were already educating themselves and, Butchart argues, “the black community gave much more toward their own educational emancipation than did the far wealthier and more numerous people that surrounded them.”35 Faced with the reality that despite their best efforts to put an end to black education and with the number of black schools increasing, the Southern white population had to sustain tax-supported universal education or the poor white class would soon to be out-educated by the poor black class. With the support of the Southern white planter class of free schools for all young people, more freedmen schools began to open with less resistance.36

35 Butchart, Schooling the Freed People, 3.
36 Through his insistence and support of universal education, particularly through tax-supported schools, Alvord influenced a counter-revolution. Unable to completely put an end to freedmen schools, James Anderson argues that the white planter class was able to react in ways that stifled the quality of education for the freedmen. “With both state authority and extralegal means of control firmly in their hands, the planters, though unable to eradicate earlier gains, kept universal schooling underdeveloped. They stressed low taxation, opposed compulsory school attendance laws, blocked the passage of new laws that would strengthen the constitutional basis of public education, and
The Freedmen’s Bureau helped to make freedmen schools and educational opportunities possible for African-Americans. The demand for freedmen schools, teachers, and curriculum was great. The black communities were crying out for help in developing a school system. Black newspapers published pleas for Northern teachers and word from all over the country was spreading that the freedmen’s desire to learn was overwhelming. Charity schools became so overpopulated that a single teacher may have been attempting to teach hundreds of students. Butchart offers the following examples: “Harriett Buss, teaching alone on an isolated island plantation in South Carolina in 1863, had 118 in her school. Fannie J. Scott taught over 200 students with her sister in Vicksburg in 1864 and delighted in her students’ great ‘zeal to learn.’”

Taking control of the freedmen schools, and working with the numerous aid organizations, the Freedmen’s Bureau was able to provide both schools and teachers for the tremendous population. Henry Allen Bullock argues that the increased number of schools for the freedmen was proof of the Bureau’s success in the South. “From its small beginnings in 1861 and with the new push given by the Freedmen’s Bureau, the school system was virtually complete in its institutional form some eight years later. Fourteen Southern states had established 575 schools by 1865, and these schools were employing 1,171 teachers for the 71,779 Negro and white children in regular attendance.” By providing organization and funding of school construction, the Bureau made this growth of freedmen schools possible.

While the original cause for the creation of the Bureau was to aid the newly freed slaves in becoming independent citizens, the reality was that the Bureau was controlled by the War

generally discouraged the expansion of public school opportunities.” Though it was certainly not his intention, Alvord’s universal education plan in the South, started a long battle over school funding, particularly for black students.

37 Butchart, Schooling the Freed People, 3.
Department, itself run by individuals who strove to create a bounded sense of political “freedom” for America’s black community. The overwhelming belief of the individuals operating the Bureau was the newly freed citizens were ignorant of the ways of a free society and the Bureau acted as a “bulwark against black self-assertion,” particularly self-assertion in politics.

Commissioner Howard, in a letter written to his mother during the Civil War, stipulated that the freedmen were not in a position to be granted the right to vote because they were in need of an education in both citizenship and academics. “They had better be cared for as they are now in this place than turned loose on the world, with all their simplicity and improvident habits without a proper education.” In fact, Howard replaced superintendents who promoted philosophies that were too liberal for the South. McFeely, in his study of Howard, determined, “Bureau men Howard removed from the South were considered undesirable and unfit, not because of laziness or dishonesty, but because when they tried to help the freedmen, powerful white men complained.” As a case in point, Charles Wilder, the first Bureau superintendent in Hampton, Virginia, often sided with and spoke up for the freedmen who were being mistreated in the region. Not only did his insistence on treating the freedmen as equals cost him his job, it nearly cost him his life when an assassination attempt was made. Spivey writes, “The white landlords were so upset by his sympathetic attitude toward the freedmen that they complained constantly about him to the Bureau’s national headquarters.” Howard had Wilder replaced with one of the most persuasive individuals in shaping the kind of education the freedmen would receive, The Hampton Normal and Industrial School’s founding father and mentor to Booker T. Washington, Samuel Chapman Armstrong.

40 Ibid., 34.
42 Ibid., 4.
Chief Inspector Alvord, though a champion of universal education and of using freedmen schools to build black self-reliance, influenced two significant beliefs about freedmen education. After spending time studying the freedmen in the South, Alvord concluded that the freedmen were in need of a specific kind of education. Alvord argued “that freedmen needed educators ‘of a high order, with culture sufficient to reduce knowledge to its simplest forms.’ They must be equipped for a vocation which would ‘carry them among a peculiar people, of strange habits, with vices germane to a degrading, cruel system, and surrounded by circumstances in public and private wholly anomalous.’ In such a work every qualification was required, ‘physical, moral, and intellectual, but especially professional tact and taste acquired by experience, or else possessed by natural endowment.’”

Alvord, in agreeing with others such as Howard and Armstrong, implied that the freedmen would not benefit from the same teachers who were teaching white students, thus were in need of a different education. Aid organizations sending teachers to the South proposed similar teacher qualifications that required that they be morally, physically, intellectually capable of teaching a population emerging from the barbaric constraints of slavery. Such qualifications created the perception that black students were different than white students, as was the kind of education the black students should be offered.

Inspector Alvord was greatly concerned about the character of the freedmen after being subjected to slavery. Due to the effects of slavery on the female character, Alvord was particularly concerned with women: “The effect of slavery on female character has been fearful. There was no binding matrimony, no family sacredness, nothing which could be called a home in slavery.” Alvord’s concern argues that the inability to have truly monogamous relationships, the loss of children to slave trading, and the lack of a home for which black women could take

43 Morris, Reading, ’Riting, and Reconstruction, 53.
care of caused black women to be void of those characteristics that define feminism in white culture. In order for black women to develop the feminine character that Alvord believed they lacked, he proposed creating “girls departments” in black schools where they would receive “in connection with intellectual culture, that refinement in virtue, that taste and idea of domestic elegance, which, though in poverty, reveal their charms, and endow their possessor of whatever rank with an undefined power always possessed by the well-bred cultivated woman.”\textsuperscript{45} Aside from the obvious conviction in the lack of virtue in black women that Alvord believed, he also implies that the best way to educate them was to remove them from their homes. This model would be replicated with the development of black common schools (and Native American schools), thus perpetuating the belief illustrated in freedmen textbooks that the black home was not virtuous and therefore detrimental to freedmen education.

Alvord, though an advocate for freedmen education began to question the academic ability of the black race. While he boasted that the black students were as bright as their white counterparts and that learned remarkably quick, he also believed that it was possible that their ancestry might hinder their intellectual advancement. His concern is evident in his report from the \textit{First Semi-Annual Report on Schools and Finances}: “It is probable that the tastes and temperament of the race, which are peculiar, certainly, will lead in special directions. They may not at first excel in the inventive power, or abstract science, perhaps not in mathematics, though we have seen very commendable ciphering in the colored schools.”\textsuperscript{46} Alvord’s apprehension about how the ancestry of the black race would ultimately affect their ability to develop academically was not all that different from the ideology that race was a determining factor in educational success- a belief held by many Southern whites.

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid.
Although Howard and Alvord were two of most influential Bureau officials, the Bureau’s most well-known superintendent had the greatest impact on freedmen education. Samuel Chapman Armstrong was the second superintendent of the Freedmen’s Bureau in Hampton, Virginia, Charles Wilder’s replacement. Armstrong was outspoken about his vision for black people in Hampton. In order to settle the discontent between the white and black residents, Armstrong believed that the black residents should stay out of politics and allow the more civilized white citizens to guide them into freedom. He blamed black people for the inability of the South to become economically stable: “Freedmen as a class are destitute of ambition; their complacency in poverty and filth is a curse; discontent would lead to determined effort and a better life.”

Believing that the black race was lazy by nature, Armstrong saw the purpose for the freedmen schools as being to provide students with an education that exerted moral influence, as well as to propose that the place for black society was to be laborers and domestic servants; slavery with pay. Echoed in Hampton’s schools, “the school would devote little attention to disciplining blacks in the tradition of the three R’s…The Founder [Armstrong] professed that his goal at Hampton Institute was to ‘civilize’ the blacks, to imbue them with ‘general deportment…habits of living and of labor…the right ideas of life and labor.’”

Armstrong’s ideology proved to be the most agreeable to Southern whites and, though a break from the original philosophies of the Bureau and the AMA (who provided the funding for the school), the Hampton School model would be replicated in black normal and industrial schools throughout the South.

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47 Ibid., 8.
48 Ibid. 19.
Robert Morris writes, “Stressing the value of vocational and moral training for the supposedly backward, dependent dark-skinned races, the general’s [Armstrong] Hampton Idea drew support from conservative Southerners and from Northerners who believed Negroes to be near the bottom of the human evolutionary scale, if not innately inferior.”

Though Armstrong’s opinion on black status and education may have been one of the most documented and recognized, he was certainly not alone in his beliefs. Armstrong was supported by the American Missionary Association after the Bureau ended in 1870, and his views were expressed in the texts chosen by the Bureau and published by Alvord’s previous employer, the American Tract Society.

**American Missionary Association: Teachers of Reading and Religion**

Perhaps the largest and certainly the longest lasting freedmen aid organization the South was the American Missionary Association (AMA). The AMA was founded by brothers Arthur and Lewis Tappan out of the Amistad Committee in 1839, an organization which provided legal and educational assistance to a group of slaves accused of piracy and murder. Later, Lewis Tappan took over leadership of the AMA and Arthur Tappan worked for the American Tract Society.

Morris documents their earliest missionary efforts in *Reading, ’Riting, and Reconstruction*: “After securing the release of the Amistad captives, Lewis Tappan and the committee had arranged to return the former slaves to their homeland and had set up a mission station among the Mendi people in Liberia.” The missionaries in Liberia created the AMA. When the need to provide aid in the South arose, the AMA was ready and able to send missionaries. In fact, the AMA was the

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51 Later, Lewis Tappan took over leadership of the AMA and Arthur Tappan worked for the American Tract Society.
first major organization to respond, sending those with the missionary spirit South as early as 1861, to establish schools and churches.  

Prior to the creation of the Bureau, the AMA began to establish numerous schools and churches in the South, staffing many of the early schools with teachers who had served as missionaries in Africa, India, and Jamaica. Initially, the AMA teachers’ primary goal was to minister to and to teach the freedmen how to read the Bible. As more and more students flooded into the schools and additional teachers were needed to establish churches and to staff the schools, the AMA began to recruit teachers who desired to fulfill a Christian mission. Lewis Tappan and George Whipple, influential AMA members, were charged with the task of determining what qualities were necessary in the teachers, what the teachers would teach, and how to gain support of the white South and the Freedmen’s Bureau. In 1862 they decided that the AMA, their teachers, and their missionaries, would promote “civilization and Christianity” by teaching the freedmen “order, industry, economy, self-reliance, and self-respect.”

The American Missionary Association was first and foremost a missionary association bent on evangelizing and they sought employees who would put proselytizing above all other needs. Countless people applied for teaching positions with AMA but many failed to receive the approval of the Association. The AMA listed the six qualities required by the applicants in their journal, *American Missionary*: (1) a missionary spirit; (2) good health; (3) energy; (4) common sense; (5) an absence of marked singularities and idiosyncrasies; and (6) experience as a teacher. Though these were the required qualities of the AMA teachers, the Association repeatedly denied teachers who had many these qualities but identified as having abolitionist views, thus possessing a “marked idiosyncrasy.” Already facing hostile whites in the South, the

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53 Ibid. 1-3.
54 Ibid., 4.
55 Ibid., 112 as referenced from *American Missionary*, V. 10.
AMA attempted to refrain from hiring teachers with characteristics that could further incite antagonisms. Instead, the AMA gave positions to inexperienced and sometimes unwell and poorly educated young women who scored markedly high on the “missionary spirit” requirement. Butchart effectively argues in *Schooling the Freed People*, that having a “missionary spirit was apparently the only, or at least the most relevant, criterion.”

The AMA both benefited and suffered from their “missionary spirit” insistence. Because the teachers who were chosen were often drawn to teaching to fulfill a religious obligation, their interest frequently waned or they were not prepared for the hardships and abandoned their duties within two years or less. Another reason the AMA lost more teachers than other aid organizations was because they paid less than other organizations. Those teachers who went on to teach for more than two years often left the AMA and taught for other organizations that paid them a higher salary. The AMA lost teachers so frequently that it was not uncommon for a school to be unstaffed while the Association found a replacement. Correspondingly, students would sometimes have a different teacher each year. Butchart offers the following example, “The students in Albany, Georgia, studied under thirteen different American Missionary Association teachers between 1866 and 1972, most of whom stayed only one year, with only one staying longer than two, and all but one of whom taught in two to six other schools over the course of their time in the freedmen schools.”

High teacher turnover aside, the AMA was the most successful and long-lasting freedmen education organizations in the South. One reason for their success is that, though extremely stringent regarding their qualifications, the AMA was not strict about which Protestant denomination the teacher identified with, as long as they were Protestant. This offered the AMA

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56 Ibid., 112-113. Butchart defends this argument by offering histories of both denied and approved candidates.
57 Ibid., 100.
a hiring pool larger than organizations such as the American Baptist Home Association, or others that only accepted certain kinds of Protestants. In fact, the AMA would employ black and even Quaker teachers, as long as they were of missionary spirit and not abolitionists.

Another reason the AMA was so successful was due to their reliance on religious teachings. This ideology appealed to the conservative Southern politics and the Freedmen’s Bureau alike. In fact, from 1867 to 1870, the Bureau apportioned $243,753, the largest amount allotted during that time, to the AMA and most of this money was spent on education.\(^{58}\) Initially, the AMA, like the AFUC and other aid societies, intended to offer an education to the freedmen that would elevate the race from poverty and help them accept their place in free society. This was evident the AMA’s insistence in teaching morals and religion along with reading and writing. It was important for the AMA that those who represented their organization be of Protestant persuasion and not too radical. When Lydia Maria Child asked Lewis Tappan to allow the AMA to distribute her text, *The Freedmen’s Book*, in their schools she was told she needed to cut our certain articles and replace them with “orthodox tracts about redeeming blood.”\(^{59}\) This would all change after the Bureau was terminated in 1870.

When the Bureau ceased to exist nearly all the other societies ended their aid in the South due to lack of funding and protection that the Bureau had previously provided. Southern sentiment became increasingly hostile toward Northern teachers, and the AMA soon found they were nearly alone, teaching and preaching. After the Bureau closed, Lewis Tappan and the AMA found they were in a position in which they could find very little financial support and the South was becoming a violent place for Northern teachers, particularly for AMA teachers and preachers because Southern whites associated them with radical reconstruction programs.


\(^{59}\) Morris, Reading, ’Riting, and Reconstruction, 307.
Teachers and preachers were often bullied out of Southern towns and at least two AMA men were murdered and four AMA men whipped. It in this environment and under great financial strain with the depression of 1873 that Lewis Tappan and the AMA shifted focus from primarily religious instruction for the freedmen to an educational plan which emphasized industrial and domestic education - a plan which was attractive to the Southern white population.

In 1876, the AMA published a pamphlet offering to the Southerners that they were ready to work with and not against them. In fact, the AMA published in the June 1878, issue of the *American Missionary* that they never intended to support black equality only that “all men shall be regarded as equal before God and the law.” Perhaps Lewis Tappan’s decision to hire General Samuel Chapman Armstrong was the most important decision in convincing the South that the AMA was prepared to educate the freedmen in a way that would be acceptable to Southern racist views. Armstrong began his educational career through the Bureau as the superintendent in Hampton, VA. While holding this position Armstrong was credited with easing tensions between the white and black populations. He achieved this by accepting and promoting the Southern belief that black and white people were inherently different and should live, work, and be educated separately and differently. Armstrong saw that the war had negatively affected the South’s economy and he believed that in order to restore the South, the labor division should be restored. Additionally, Armstrong had an educational plan that would appease the angry and resistant white Southerners - black normal (teacher training) schools.

In 1868, Armstrong, supported by the Bureau and the AMA, founded the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. Armstrong understood that creating such an institution in the South would be accepted under certain circumstances. He offered that, “Southern whites will not,

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60 Drake, “Freedmen’s Aid Societies and Sectional Compromise,” 182.
62 Drake, “Freedmen’s Aid Societies and Sectional Compromise,” 183.
as a rule, teach negroes, and there are insuperable obstacles and strong objections to a general supply of northern teachers.”63 The Southern white society would be accepting of the Hampton Institute as long the ideology did not challenge Southern politics. James Anderson advises that while the freedmen were struggling to develop and maintain educational ideology that defended their emancipation and offered them social and educational equality, “Armstrong developed a pedagogy and ideology designed to avoid such confrontations and to maintain within the South a social consensus that did not challenge traditional inequalities of wealth and power.”64 In order to maintain black schools in the South, the AMA and Armstrong founded schools that would not challenge the Southern sentiment that black people were inferior to white people; in fact, by training black teachers to stress industry over academics, the Hampton School reinforced such views.

The curriculum implemented in the black normal school, or teacher-training school, emphasized technical and trade training. Armstrong, as well as his later successors and followers, including Booker T. Washington, used a manual labor technique that Anderson offers, “was aim[ed] to work the prospective teachers long and hard so that they would embody, accept, and preach the ethic of hard toil or the ‘dignity of labor.’”65 This pedagogy served three specific purposes: it kept the black students out of white normal schools, it prepared black teachers to teach the ethic and “dignity of labor” to young black students, and it earned support from Southern white population because it emphasized that “this [black] education should be special” and “based on a concept of racial difference.”66 Armstrong was specific about the racial differences he identified between the black and white races. In 1872, in speaking at the National

64 Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 33.
65 Ibid 34.
66 Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, 76.
Educational Association, he proposed that the black student is “capable of acquiring knowledge to any degree, and, to a certain age, at least, with about the same facility as white children; but lacks the power to assimilate and digest it, the Negro matures sooner than the white, but does not have his steady development of mental strength up to advanced years. He is a child of the tropics, and the differentiation of races goes deeper than the skin.” Armstrong was advocating that black students were not inherently capable of the same mental capacities of white students. In other words, while the black student can learn, Armstrong believed, they do not have the ability to apply that knowledge. If others believed the same as Armstrong, which they did, then it would be unnecessary to stress advanced academics in black schools. Additionally, Armstrong was certain of the kind of education that would benefit the freedmen students in normal schools. “Low ideas of honor and morality, want of foresight and energy, and vanity, are his [freedmen] chief misfortunes. Deficiency of character, rather than ignorance, is the leading fact to be considered in his education.” The black student therefore, needed to taught morality and character and how to work hard.

Armstrong then defined what he deemed as the necessary education for black children in the South:

What the negro needs most and what he needs at once is elementary and industrial education. The race will succeed or fail as it shall devote itself with energy to agriculture and the mechanic arts, or avoid those pursuits; and its teachers ought to be men inspired with the spirit of hard work, and acquainted with the ways that lead to material success. The normal school for the freedmen should be religious, not sectarian; though it would better be sectarian than be indifferent to this vital matter. The deep religious nature of the African is capable of the finest development. Spiritual force being the first condition of success upon the higher plane of work, there is no reason why the negro race should not furnish some of the best, because most enthusiastic, teachers of the world.69

67 Armstrong, “Normal-School Work Among the Freedmen,” 175.
68 Ibid., 175.
69 Ibid., 176.
His speech to the National Educational Association in 1872, after his employment by the AMA, provided a marked example of the extreme differences between the beliefs of the AMA from 1861 to the Chapman-era AMA of the 1870’s. No longer was the AMA’s primary qualification “missionary spirit;” the primary qualification was to be a freedman with an industrious spirit. The AMA no longer taught the freedmen to read to religious texts; now the AMA sought to teach the freedmen to read labor and instructional manuals. Being a Protestant was no longer a necessity; any Christian religion was acceptable, so long as they possessed the industrial spirit. Certainly, the AMA needed to make amendments to their philosophical tenants because their missionary teachers were being whipped, murdered, and run out of town. The South was no longer accepting the Northern white missionary teachers, and the Bureau was no longer in place to provide protection for those teachers. By making drastic changes to their ideological foundation, and adding Armstrong to their employment, the AMA was able to survive longer in the South than any other charity or aid organization. The AMA remained as a presence in the South until the mid-twentieth century making the Association the most influential entity in the continuation of black education in the South.

**American Freedmen’s Union Commission: Educating the Citizen**

Prior to the establishment of the American Freedmen’s Union Commission (AFUC), several charity and religious organizations had already begun working with freedmen in the South. Organizations would continue to be formed from several states and religious institutions. Rivalries over monetary contributors and serious disorganization caused many of the smaller organizations to disappear; those which remained were often so competitive that their good deeds were either minimized or overlooked by the Bureau. The American Union Commission,
one of the more successful organizations, was created in June, 1864 by delegates of the Commission and named Lyman Abbott as the executive secretary. Abbott was a Congregationalist preacher who involved himself in political and social issues and made his opposition to slavery well known, though he did not identify as an abolitionist. The mission of the Commission was to provide support for the Federal government using “the basis of universal freedom, education, industry, and Christian morality.” This mission set the Commission apart from other organizations; a necessity in order to recruit teachers and secure funding. Firstly, the Commission teachers were teachers and not preachers; they did not open or fund churches. Secondly, initially the Commission did not offer aid to only freedmen but all Southerners, black or white, who needed aid and education after the Civil War. Though built on Christian foundations, the American Union Commission suggested that they were created to be neither political nor denominational. Aside from recruiting teachers and securing funding, the Commission needed to identify themselves as separate from the American Missionary Association and radical abolitionist organizations in order to be appealing to the Freedmen’s Bureau and to create a strong presence in the South.

As the Commission brought in more financial support and grew into one of the larger private aid organizations, Abbott found it difficult to locate qualified individuals to fill teaching and administrative positions in the South. One reason for the lack of individuals was that several private organizations were competing to employ those who were willing and qualified; however, many of the smaller aid groups were short on monetary support. In March, 1865, Abbott met with members of representatives from the Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore branches of the American Union Commission that eventually united to form the American Freedmen’s Aid Commission. In November, 1865 the American Freedmen’s Aid Commission merged with the

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Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Chicago branches of the American Union Commission; this organization was titled the American Freedmen’s and Union Commission. On May 16, 1866, representatives from the cities met to consummate a plan proposed by Abbott. The plan recommended that “the local groups were to federate rather than merge, each raising its own funds and appointing its own teachers. The central office would ascertain the need for schools and allot them among the branches. It would offer general advice, receive reports, handle publicity, and manage relations with the Federal government.” At this meeting the “and” was removed from the title making the official name the American Freedmen’s Union Commission (AFUC). By consolidating several of the smaller nondenominational organizations into one large commission, the AFUC combined resources and were able to offer higher pay for their teachers, thus they were able to attract more applicants to fill the need for teachers in the South.

Lyman Abbott served as both the executive secretary for AFUC and the editor for their publication, the American Freedmen. Acting as editor, Abbott was able to write and publish articles that supported his philosophies and were in line with what Inspector Alvord and the Bureau were promoting. Abbott, though claiming not to be an abolitionist, was vocal about his ideas regarding the institution of slavery and the kind of education the freedmen needed. In one statement he recommended that the freedmen would need to be prepared for citizenship and should not be offered immediate citizenship rights, mirroring the Bureau Commissioner, O.O. Howard’s sentiments: “I would confine the administration of Government always to the moral and intelligent.” Arguably, Southern whites who previously owned slaves lacked certain moral qualities and the majority of Southern whites were uneducated field hands and labors, yet they were guaranteed the right to participate in government, in particular with the right to vote. By

72 “Terre Haute,” Wabash Express, September 17, 1862.
offering that the freedmen needed to be “moral and intelligent” before being given citizenship rights, was implying more prerequisites for blacks than whites; however, it was an assertion that Southern whites and the Bureau would agree with, thus the AFUC schools and teachers would be more likely to be accepted in the South.

Before the end of the Civil War Abbott wrote, “We have not only to conquer the South, we have also to convert it. We have not only to occupy it by bayonets and bullets, but also by ideas and institutions. We have not only to destroy slavery, we must also organize freedom.”

Abbott understood that freedom for the slaves would not begin with the end of the war but with access to the institutions that could provide instruction in morality and intelligence and the conversion of the South away from the plantation society and toward a more civil union would not be easily accomplished. After visiting Richmond, Virginia in 1865 and finding not a single like-minded newspaper or minister, Abbot recognized, “The clergy, who have been for four years preaching slavery and secession, cannot now preach liberty and union. If they attempt it, the people attribute their conversion to fear or self-interest.”

Abbott recognized the AFUC could influence Southern black political thought and citizenship participation through AFUC school curriculum and teachers. However, Abbott also understood that the Southern whites would only accept organizations that considered their interests such as educating the poor separately from wealthier students and offering an educational ideology to black students that insinuated a specific role for freedmen. The AFUC could “convert” the South to believe in certain ideologies through AFUC schools by aiding poor whites and blacks alike. Regardless of the AFUC’s statement regarding their non-political affiliation, Abbott knew that their schools and teachers, in shaping black thought and poor whites, shaped Southern politics.

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74 Ibid., 27, as quoted from Abbott, Lyman, Reminiscences, 258-59.
The AFUC attempted to offer schooling to both the freedmen and the poor white population in integrated schools. In fact, when a reverend in North Carolina proposed that there should be separate schools for black and white children, Abbott responded “that there should be no attempt to prevent children from going to institutions of their own preference; each might choose to attend school with companions of his own race, but no pupil could be barred from and Commission school if he chose otherwise.”\textsuperscript{75} The AFUC understood that acceptance of such a policy would be controversial and unpopular; they agreed with their executive secretary that exclusion based solely on race was fundamentally immoral. Abbott and the AFUC were alone in this belief and ultimately not successful in creating integrated schools. In his study of Abbott, Ira Brown writes, “In the spring of 1866 Abbott reported that the Commission had established schools, and attended chiefly by whites, in eight Southern cities. A five-teacher school in Atlanta had 450 pupils, all white.”\textsuperscript{76} Though the original consideration was to create schools in which both white and black students would attend together, it is clear that white students chose to attend certain schools and blacks chose others.

Though Abbott wanted to make certain that the AFUC was different than the AMA as far as missionary work was considered, he also made it clear that the AFUC was not without religion, a distinction that was important to gain the acceptance of the white South and the Bureau. Abbott published the following on the topic:

\begin{quote}
It has sometimes been said that the American Missionary Association combines education with religion, and the American Freedmen’s Union Commission divorces them. This latter allegation is a mistake. What God has joined together let no man put asunder. We account our work a religious work. We have entered upon it as the call of God and in humble trust on Him. We aim to teach not only the rudiments of reading, writing, spelling, but the elements of a Christian morality and godliness. The Bible is the accepted source of all such instruction. And while no ecclesiastical connections or
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{75} Brown, “Lyman Abbot and Freedmen’s Aid,” 33.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., 27.
doctrinal beliefs are required as a prerequisite, its members and its teachers are men and women of religious faith and earnest purpose; and a large majority are, in fact, members of what are known as Evangelical churches.\textsuperscript{77}

Though the AFUC did not identify with any particular denomination, the organization was dedicated to imparting both academic teachings and religious morals upon the freedmen, which the AFUC and Abbott believed the freedmen were without. The teachers that were drawn to the AFUC, therefore, were not individuals looking to fulfill a duty of missionary work but were committed to providing academic and moral leadership to the newly freed population.

Abbott believed that the freedmen, though not yet equal to white people, should be afforded the opportunity to an education. “Any scheme of education which proposes to furnish the negro race only with manual and industrial education is a covert contrivance for putting him in serfdom; it tacitly says that the negro is inferior of the white race, and therefore we will educate him to serve us.”\textsuperscript{78} Abbott challenged Armstrong’s pedagogy of putting industrial education before an academic education. It is clear, however, that the AFUC believed that industrial education had a place in freedmen schools. The \textit{American Freedmen} often published requests for donations for industrial classes. One such article said the following: “We consider the Sewing Department, in our schools, one of the most important to the ignorant women and children of the South, who must be taught to live before they can really profit by their lessons.”\textsuperscript{79} Industrial education alongside academic education was the preferable combination for the edification of the freedmen, though Abbott believed industrial education should not be the only, or even the most important education offered to the Freedmen. Southern white children, in particular the wealthier white children, were not yet being taught in industrial schools. In

\textsuperscript{77} \textit{American Freedmen}, 1, no. 10, (January, 1867): 146. AF, AAS.
\textsuperscript{78} Morris, Reading, ’Riting, and Reconstruction, 170, as quoted from Augustus Field Beard, \textit{A Crusade of Brotherhood: A History of the American Missionary Association} (Boston, MA: Pilgrim Press, 1909), 265-66
\textsuperscript{79} \textit{American Freedmen}, 2, no. 5, (August, 1867).
indicating that the “ignorant” freedmen women and girls needed sewing instruction to “live,”
Abbott was offering a specific place for freedmen women in the free South. Though he submits
that the AFUC’s philosophies were different from the AMA and from Armstrong, he is still
offering a place for the freedmen that are not all that different from the AMA and Armstrong.

In 1867, Abbott published *The Results of Emancipation in the United States*. In this
report, Abbott breaks down the type of schooling offered by the AFUC and the Freedmen’s
Bureau, in which 17 of the total 1,207 were dedicated industrial schools offering work in
“sewing, knitting, straw-braiding, cutting, repairing, and making garments” and the industrial
schools (of those that reported) had 1,279 regular attending pupils. 80 Though the overall number
of the industrial schools was still low, this number only counts schools that taught only industrial
classes; it is very likely that many schools, particularly night schools, offered industrial classes in
addition to their academic and moral lessons. The place that Abbott and the AFUC curriculum
were enforcing for the freedmen, much like the AMA and Armstrong, was a place which
involved labor and domestic duties.

Integration and the role of industrial education were not the only issues that separated
Abbot and the AFUC from the AMA and other organizations; theoretically speaking, they
promoted the idea of an equal education, though not immediately. Abbott believed that the
education of the freedmen was not a charitable option but a necessary move toward racial
equality. Morris offers, “Abbott believed that Negroes, even if inferior should be given the same
educational opportunities as whites.” 81 Providing an education would prepare the freedmen for
eventual equal rights. When those rights were granted, the freedmen’s politics would have been influenced by the AFUC and the South would have been converted to the AFUC’s ideology of

81 Morris, Reading, ‘Riting, and Reconstruction, 170.
near equality. Abbott did not believe that conversion was too far in the future. In 1867 he wrote the following in the *American Freedmen*:

> The colored people came out of the tribulation of war and slavery without capital, destitute of food and clothing, and of home they could call their own, oppressed by unequal laws and fixed ideas of caste, with no leaders of their own who had the intelligence and power to guide and protect them. They started on their new career with opinion, property, society, law, all against them. They needed a helping hand to put them on their feet. This temporary assistance we have been giving. Its necessity would ere this have been superseded by for the unhappy turn of public affairs which followed the assassination of President Lincoln. The proper termination of our charity will come when the Southern States shall have formed governments upon the basis of equal rights, civil and political, and shall have put in actual operation free schools for all, irrespective of color or race. That day, we believe, not distant.\(^{82,83}\)

In 1868, the AFUC voted to discontinue their aid because they believed, as Abbott put forth, that the South was ready to commit to educating the freedmen. The number of freedmen in South was growing and the AFUC perceived that the Southern whites were beginning to take control over many of those schools by fulfilling the positions of teachers and principals. The AFUC commented in the *Freedmen’s Record*, “The Southern States, freed from the last shackles of slavery, could establish, by legislative action the necessary support of the Negro.”\(^{84}\)

Additionally, the AFUC was suffering from lack of financial support, as many contributors and the Bureau were choosing to support the AMA, which was already beginning to shift ideologically. Whether or not the AFUC and Abbott truly believed the South was ready to embrace educational and civil equality or if they were simply running out of the necessary funds to continue operating in the South is left to speculation. What is known, however, that once that

\(^{82}\) *American Freedmen*, 2, no. 2, (May 1867), 214. AF, AAS.

\(^{83}\) Abbott rescinded his comments regarding black suffrage in 1903, offering that the black race was too ignorant to vote. (Brown, 35)

\(^{84}\) Drake, “Freedmen’s Aid Societies and Sectional Compromise,” 180.
AFUC discontinued their aid, the freedmen schools were, in fact, left to the mercy of Southern whites who either supported AMA teachers or opted not to maintain black schools.

Despite the AFUC’s and Abbott’s ideology regarding integration and equal education, the actual schools operating under the AFUC were not too different from those supported by the AMA. The schools, regardless of the AFUC’s best efforts, were segregated, black-only schools. Furthermore, the preferred pedagogy incorporated industrial classes. The emphasis may not have been on industrial-only or industrial-first, but the fact that industrial education was included as a necessary component implied a different education than was being offered to the Southern white students. The teachers who taught for the AFUC did not chose to teach in order to satisfy a missionary responsibility, they did however stress morality and religious teachings. Abbott argued that the freedmen were ignorant regarding such matters and in need of such an education. The AFUC published the following regarding the qualities they looked for in teachers in the first issue of the *American Freedmen* in September 1866:

> We desire the more that our schools may be truly Christian because they are unecclesiastical. For this purpose we aim to commission only teachers possessing the spirit of true religion, by which we do not mean persons of any particular doctrinal views, but such as are attracted to the work, not by curiosity, or love of adventure, or its compensation, but by a genuine spirit of love for God and man.\(^85\)

The AFUC, irrespective of statements regarding equality philosophies, assumed that the freedmen were in immediate need of an education that was unlike what white students were learning in that the lessons taught to freedmen stressed hard work, industry, and Christian morality over everything else. Moreover, the AFUC and Abbott assumed a political position in the South, regardless of the submission to be non-political, by submitting citizenship, moral, academic, and industrial education for the freedmen. Anticipating a time when black citizens

\(^{85}\) Morris, *Reading, 'Riting, and Reconstruction*, 60.
would participate in American politics, the AFUC made sure that Abbott’s philosophies regarding black labor and education would influence the roles and votes of the freedmen; however, due to lack of financial backing, lack of Southern support, and the inability to compromise with Southern ideology, the AFUC did not maintain a presence in freedmen schools as long as the AMA.
Chapter 3: Freedmen Readers: Politically Influential Texts

The freedmen were now free to attend school and obtain an education. Whether the school they attended was staffed by the AMA, AFUC, or one of the many smaller aid organizations, the question regarding what they should learn was the one of the greatest concerns for those who worked with them. Hundreds of thousands of new students, varying in age, gender, and literate abilities besieged classrooms in churches, rented rooms, and barns, all eager to learn to read. Should the so-called ignorant race use the same books as young white students? Or, should a new kind of textbook be published specifically for the freedmen that would address not only the experiences of the black people, but also the concerns regarding what their place should be in Southern economy and what role in Reconstruction politics? Southern whites, already resistant to freedmen education, certainly preferred that the freedmen schools and curriculum were not the same as that offered to white children. Similarly, freedmen advocates, such as Alvord, believed that the education offered the freedmen should be different because the freedmen were in need of moral and character development. The American Tract Society and abolitionist Lydia Maria Child both published texts that they hoped would provide an educational curriculum that would benefit the freedmen and be accepted in freedmen schools.

With the opening of freedmen schools in the South, there opened a market for spellers and readers designed specifically for the freedmen students. The decisions regarding what literature would be included in the texts, what characteristics would be emphasized, and how the black race would be illustrated varied depending on the political intentions of the writer and printer. The freedmen educational textbook market, the American Tract Society, and Lydia Maria Child were using the texts to drive their religious or political views onto the freedmen, the teachers of the freedmen, and influential white decision makers; thus the ultimate goal of
publishing a freedmen textbook was to influence Southern reconstruction. Just as in the
collection and administration of freedmen schools, freedmen textbooks were inherently
political in nature as well.

In 1865, bureau agent Charles Raushenberg of Albany Georgia argued that there was a
need for a specific set of readers that would be antagonize Southern ideals and would educate the
freedmen in way that spoke to their place in free society. Morris offers that “Raushenberg
proposed the creation of a series of readers, ‘gotten up with the particular view of not only
teaching [black students] to read; but at the same time to impart in their minds in an easy [sic]
comprehensible and attractive form that particular information on their duties and rights and their
relation to the white race which is of the most practical value for them in everyday life.”

Though the overall design of freedmen texts were similar to texts printed for white students, such
as the *McGuffey Readers*, there were specific decisions made regarding content and illustrations
which were different from the texts being used in white schools.

Two of the texts designed specifically for the freedmen were *The Freedman’s Library of
Readers*, printed by the American Tract Society (ATS), and *The Freedmen’s Book*, written by
abolitionist and freedmen advocate Lydia Maria Child. Focusing primarily on *The Freedman’s
Second Reader* and *The Freedman’s Third Reader* from *The Freedman’s Library of Readers*, I
argue that the ATS chose works which emphasized specific values, such as hard work and
morals, entries that centered on the ideal place for the freedmen in Reconstruction like farming
and servitude, selections that featured non-confrontational and religious characteristics of famous
black individuals, and illustrations that portrayed black people as being socially and
economically inferior to white people. Furthermore, I argue that content choices were made in
order to be appealing to the white Southern market, and to ensure that the early educational ideas

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and notions of the American Missionary Association (the aid organization with the most personnel and financial connections to the ATS) would be significant in the political reconstruction of the South. By establishing their texts in freedmen schools, the ATS would be in a position to influence Southern Reconstruction politics and, should the freedmen be given the opportunity to vote, their texts, rich in AMA and ATS ideology, could influence the black vote.

Lydia Maria Child’s text, *The Freedmen’s Book*, though similar in format to *The Freedman’s Library of Readers* and *The McGuffey Readers*, contained content that was considered by Southerners, many aid organizations, and the Bureau to be too radical. Child’s book emphasized the ability of the freedmen to work hard to become agents of change. The selections in *The Freedmen’s Book* included texts written by black authors who were considered rebellious, industrious, and often not willing to accept a lower social and economic status. I contend that Lydia Maria Child selected unambiguous entries in her book not to appease Southern whites who were not likely to be accepting of her texts, but in order to influence the political principles of prominent Northern white individuals, particularly on the topic of black enfranchisement. Additionally, Child hoped that if her book was distributed to freedmen, she could influence the freedmen to take control of their own progression and reconstruction.

Though both the ATS and Child aspired to aid in the education of the freedmen in the South, their texts were primarily published and distributed in order to influence the unsettled and heated political climate following the conclusion of the Civil War and the black vote. Because of their more modest and temperate contents and connections to powerful societies and individuals, *The Freedman’s Library of Readers* was more successfully implemented into freedmen schools than *The Freedmen’s Book*. Each of these texts offered a profoundly different pedagogical approach to freedmen education, one which indicated that the freedmen were free to labor, the
other of which offered that the freedmen were free to demand equality. The fact the American Tract Society printed and distributed more texts to the freedmen meant that more freedmen were presented with the ideology of labor than with the ideology of equality.

The American Tract Society’s Freedman’s Library of Readers

The American Tract Society (ATS) was founded in New York City in 1825 for the purpose of printing and distributing Evangelical Christian literature. In his analysis of the ATS, Mark S. Schantz argued that prior to the Civil War, the ATS’s “tracts trumpeted without apology the values of sobriety, thrift, and frugality- all essential components in a cultural ethos that rewarded individual ambition.”87 Prior to emancipation, the ATS published tracts distributed through the North and the South, that featured poor black, slave-like characters but, in their attempt at being non-political, they avoided direct representation of slavery. Of these tracts Schantz criticized, “Thus, in championing a distinctively religious rural order, the tracts failed to engage the role of Christianity on the nation’s plantations, or, for that matter, anywhere in the South.”88 He goes on to say, “Rather than taking on the issue of plantation slavery, the tracts blended slaves into the same rural landscapes that held humble cottagers, pious villagers, and theologically articulate millers.”89 In fact, the ATS’s pre-emancipation tracts were so conventional and non-radical that Lyman Abbott, executive secretary for the American Freedmen’s Union Commission noted that the ATS’s “publications would be welcomed if the group [Virginians] could put its own imprint on them.”90 The Society’s reputation as being a conservative and Christian publishing organization was one reason why their freedmen texts

88 Ibid., 438.
89 Ibid., 439.
90 Brown, “Lyman Abbott and Freedmen’s Aid, 1865-1869,” 27.
were appealing to the AMA and Bureau who were attempting to open churches and school in the unreceptive South. Furthermore, the ATS’s texts were likely to be acceptable to the Southern whites who understood the ATS to be a moderate company in their representation of slavery.

As freedmen schools began to populate the South, the ATS began to publish a library of readers designed specifically for the newly freed population emphasized the beliefs and opinions of a specific aid organization and the Bureau. After initially facing Southern hostility, the Northern publishers, aid organizations’ leaders, Bureau officials, and freedmen school administrators understood that in order to be successful in educating the Southern black population with a specific curriculum they needed the cooperation of and acceptance from the Southern white populace. This meant racially separated schools and a curriculum that would not blatantly challenge the Planter Class’s certainty that black people were innately less capable than white persons. However, these same organizations were not yet willing to concede to the same racist ideology as the Southern whites. It was with this knowledge and the previous approval of their tracts in the South, that the ATS created a series called *The Freedman’s Library of Readers*, which Butchart details “included a spelling book, two primers, three graded readers, a monthly four-page, single sheet paper reminiscent of contemporaneous Sunday School papers, and several didactic books written as advice manuals or, in a couple of cases, as admonitory stories.”

Robert C. Morris wrote the following regarding *The Freedmen’s Library of Readers*, “These texts clearly reflect a belief that schooling should develop not only academic skills but also religious and moral virtues. In this respect, these textbooks differed little from those used by white students. However, their orientation toward freedmen is indicated by emphasis on certain

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91 Butchart, *Schooling of Freed People*, 125.
moral values and the inclusion of several biographies of colored persons in the *Third Reader.*”  

The ATS’s goal was to create an educational textbook series that was similar to those used by white students but echoed those sentiments of the AMA and the Bureau and was moderate enough in content to avoid antagonizing the Southern whites. Successful distribution meant that the ATS would have a hand in freedmen education, in influencing the possible black vote, and in Southern Reconstruction.

The most prominent publications from the *Freedmen’s Library* were the *Freedman’s Spelling-Book,* and *The Freedman’s Readers.* These texts obtained generous distribution and readership because the ATS had political and financial associations with the American Missionary Association (AMA) and the Freedmen’s Bureau. Arthur Tappan, co-founder and brother of the AMA’s leader Lewis Tappan, was the Chairman of the Financial Committee of the ATS and personally offered generous contributions. Additionally, John Watson Alvord, General Superintendent for the Bureau, previously served as a secretary for the ATS. The relationship between these three powerful men and the equally dominant freedmen organizations they represented inevitably encouraged the content of the texts printed by the ATS would reflect the ideology of the AMA and the Bureau; thus, the ATS texts were distributed in greater quantities to freedmen schools supervised by the Bureau than Lydia Maria Child’s *The Freedmen’s Book.* This meant that the lessons and illustrations in *The Readers* implied a similar social and economic place for the freedmen to those notions supported by the Bureau, reflected an emphasis on industrious and religious morals like that of the AMA, and offered conservative

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93 Drake, “Freedmen’s Aid Societies and Sectional Compromise,” 175-186.
representations of slavery, emancipation, and black self-efficacy in order to attenuate the Southern whites.

By offering the freedmen students texts that depicted their race in such a manner, the ATS, AMA, and the Bureau were promoting those specific images as being worthy of imitation and necessary for the freedmen to succeed in free society, especially if the freedmen were to be enfranchised. *The Readers*’ lessons and sketches paralleled the views held by many of the Freedmen’s Bureau’s superintendents including Hampton, Virginia’s superintendent, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, in that they illustrated a lower-status for the freed blacks. In Butchart’s analysis of the *Freedman Readers* he said, “In its engravings, stories, sketches, and illustrations, the society’s publications portrayed the freed people as an ignorant, docile, apolitical southern black mass passively looking to godly white teachers and ministers for advice and direction, speaking stereotyped ungrammatical patois, striving pathetically to mimic their white superiors.”

**Lydia Maria Child’s *The Freedmen’s Book***

Countering or opposing the American Tract Society’s didactic and conservative texts, is Lydia Maria Child’s *The Freedmen’s Book*. Published by James T. Fields in 1865, *The Freedmen’s Book* was not designed to encourage the freedmen students to accept a lower place in society; rather it was intended to build pride and confidence in the abilities of the black race. Child’s objective for her textbook was written out in the introduction to the text, which she called the letter “To the Freedmen”:

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96 Butchart. *Schooling the Freed People*. 125-126. “Anticipating curricular strictures a full century after her time, Child sought to build racial pride through biographies of courageous, strong black leaders…”
I have prepared this book expressly for you, with the hope that those of you who can read will read it aloud to others, and that all of you will derive fresh strength and courage from this true record of what colored men have accomplished, under great disadvantages.97

Child wrote the text primarily for the education of the freedmen and took great care to include entries, essays, biographies, and poems designed to cultivate black pride and aid in the freedmen’s struggle for liberation.

Child was concerned about how President Andrew Johnson and the Congress’s stance that they could not enforce enfranchisement of the freedmen in Southern states would affect the rights of the freedmen. Child differed from the ATS, which write to influence the possible black vote; Child sought to influence the freedmen to demand the vote. She perceived the lack of support for the political rights of the freedmen as another form of slavery to which the freedmen would be subjected. Child’s concerns were not misguided; in fact, the freedmen’s former masters were voting members of Congress. Disfranchised herself, Child used writing The Freedmen’s Book and education of the freedmen as a tool to influence the former slaves to work toward equality and voting rights. Carolyn Karcher, a biographer of Child’s wrote, “Through The Freedmen’s Book she offers the key to a long term solution [to quasi-slavery]: education. With that key, Child hopes, the children of America’s emancipated slaves will ultimately obtain justice and equality for themselves.”98

In her biography of Lydia Maria Child, Karcher submitted that beginning in 1864 Child began to advocate for black voting rights and saw her work on The Freedmen’s Book as a way to influence political thought in both the North and the South on this topic. Kacher explains, “The tasks of abolitionists were to help equip the freedpeople for their new lives, to mobilize public

support for black suffrage, and to create the consciousness appropriate for multiracial, egalitarian society – the aims Child sought to fulfill in The Freedmen’s Book.”\footnote{Karcher, \textit{The First Woman in the Republic}, 1054.} In order to build black community, which she believed needed to be rebuilt after the Civil War, Child’s book sought to cultivate black pride in identity. Black pride and community, she believed, were imperative if the freedmen were to successfully merge into American politics and economics as more than mere laborers. Therefore, Child’s selections included narratives, most self-authored, of African peoples’ struggle to be freed from slavery, admissions that were directly critical of slavery, biographies of blacks who were resistant to Southern white politics, entries which portrayed Africa in a positive manner, and examples of successful, intelligent, and powerful black people. Karcher notes that Child realized, “No effort to combat anti-black prejudice or inculcate racial pride can succeed without overturning the image of African savagery.”\footnote{Ibid., 1067.} Child never indicated a desire to have her text accepted by the whites in South, the Bureau, or freedmen aid organizations. It is clear, however, that Child was attempting to use her text as way to participate in Southern politics through influential white Northerners.

While Child was insistent that her book was written to help the freedmen build pride in their race to educate them about their rights as free citizens, and to influence the freedmen to unite for the right to vote, Child was less vocal about her intention to influence the Northern white sentiment regarding the freedmen. In fact, though her book was distributed to some freedmen schools, the most likely reader was a white Northerner. Child’s book was distributed through the Northern store, Ticknor & Fields, and Child anticipated that the book would be rapidly sold in the North. Indeed, she guaranteed Fields a “sale of more than 500 copies among

\footnote{Karcher, \textit{The First Woman in the Republic}, 1054.}
\footnote{Ibid., 1067.}
Regardless of Child’s statement that the text was written “solely for the Freedmen,” she also expressed that she wanted this text to influence black suffrage. In order to influence the decision regarding the freedmen’s right to vote Child had to persuade white sentiment regarding the issue. Karcher quotes Child’s concern about using her book to influence black suffrage, “‘Eliminating prejudice was ‘essential, to the welfare of the country,’ Child emphasized: ‘The two races are here together, and together they must stay…Obviously, it is the most politic course, as well as the right course, to encourage mutual friendliness of feeling. It seems good to me that such as book as this will be an agent in that good work; and therefore I wish to have it published now.’” Through the inclusion of essays and biographies about successful black individuals, and by publishing narratives and poems written by popular black writers and poets, Child was highlighting the intellect and aptitude of the black race. This showcasing was not just to build black pride and community; it was also to combat white prejudice and to challenge biased ideologies of the many Northern whites. Regardless of her intentions, Child’s book received limited readership by Northern whites. During the time of the publication of her text, Northern sentiment was beginning to shift. Violent reactions from Southern whites to Northern aid efforts caused many Northerners to question their aggressive approach in the South. Furthermore, reconstruction of the South’s economy was necessary to rebuild the country after the denouement of the Civil War. Reconstruction of the South relied on white Southern corporation. In sum, Child’s text was too progressive, even for the North.

101 Ibid., 1064.
102 Child, The Freedmen’s Book, IV.
103 Karcher, The First Woman in the Republic, 1841.
Text Comparison and Analysis

In comparing the illustrations and content of the two texts this chapter analyzes and argues that the ATS chose illustrations and content which would be acceptable to Southern ideologies and appeal to the AMA and the Bureau. Child’s text, on the other hand, challenged Southern ideologies and would be appealing to Northerners who sympathized with her views.

Additionally, analysis and comparison of the texts shows that the ATS’s texts exemplified the freedmen as a laborer and dependent on white aid, whereas Child’s text epitomized black pride, community, and agency.

Significant Illustrations\textsuperscript{104}

*The Freedman’s Second Reader* contains only two illustrations of black people. The first of these images appears at the beginning of a story titled, “The Freedman’s Home.” (See illustration 3.1.)\textsuperscript{105} In this illustration a family is gathered around a well-kept table and the father is reading by lamplight. The family is well dressed and nothing in this sketch illustrates that the parents participate in hard or manual labor. The first paragraph of the story reads as follows:

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See this home! How neat, how warm, how full of cheer, it looks! It seems as if the sun shone in there all the day long. But it takes more than the light of the sun to make a home bright all the time. Do you know what it is? It is love.”\textsuperscript{106}
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The text and illustration suggest to the freedmen students reading this text that in order to have a warm and cheerful home they must have love. Through that suggestion, it also offers that if a house is not a tidy or well kept, if the father does not read, if the family’s clothes are more torn and tattered, then their home may be lacking love. Certainly this didactic story and sketch are

\textsuperscript{104} The Freedmen’s Book did not contain any illustrations. In an effort to keep printing costs low Child opted to include only text and, where there were black spaces, she filled with short poems or quotes.


\textsuperscript{106} Ibid. 35.
drawn from the evangelical ideology of the AMA whose primary objective was to teach “civilization and Christianity” by teaching the freedmen “order, industry, economy, self-reliance, and self-respect.”  

Illustration 3.1: The Freedman’s Home

The second image featuring black characters (illustration 3.2) illustrates a poem titled, “The Free Children.” This image shows the elation a newly emancipated family has at the news of their freedom. The dress is that of slaves and the setting is in a field. This sketch presents certain assumptions regarding slaves and slavery that were not likely to be true. First of all, the picture depicts a slave family—father, mother, and three children. The likelihood that a family would survive slavery intact was slim. Secondly, though not dressed as nicely as the family in image 1, these individuals are dressed in clothing that does not indicate it has been well-worn, and the mother appears to be well-fed. This picture creates the assumption that slaves were well taken care of, not in need of clothing or food. This image offers a conservative and, for many slaves, unrealistic portrayal of slavery. The South was already a hostile environment for Northern teachers and aid workers, but the AMA was not yet willing to depart of their views that

107 Morris, Reading, ‘Riting, and Reconstruction, 4.
108 American Tract Society, The Freedman’s Third Reader, 139.
slavery was morally, religiously, and humanely wrong. Because this image shows the jubilation of the freedmen for their freedom, this image presented a sense that slavery was a wrong that had been righted by the Civil War. However, this image is also moderate enough to not incite anti-white sentiment in its readers.

Illustration 3.2: The Free Children

_The Freedman’s Third Reader_, written for the most advanced students, featured a total of twenty illustrations; only five of those illustrations contain a depiction of an African-American. One is a portrait of Phillis Wheatley; another is a portrait of the daughter of Mrs. Mary Peake. 109 The other three depict black characters learning to read. (See Illustrations 3.3-3.5.) 110 These three illustrations imply that the characters are of a low class.

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109 Mrs. Mary Peake’s mother was a slave and her father a white man.
110 American Tract Society, _The Freedman’s Third Reader_, “How Father Henson Learned to Read,” 20; “Tidy Learning to Read,” 210; and opening page illustration.
In Image 3, a black adult, Father Henson, is learning to read the Bible from his son. The father and son are sitting at a small table, presumably in their home. The clothes hanging on the wall behind the father appear to be field labor clothing, and the wall is cracked. The details within this sketch all suggest that the family and their home are of lower class status, perhaps even field workers. This story that follows the illustration indicates that Father Henson and his son are free, in fact, they live in Canada. This image would have pleased the AMA because it combines learning to read with religion. The implication that Father Henson is laborer supported the Bureau Superintendent and, later, AMA’s Hampton School founder, Samuel Chapman Armstrong’s belief in, as Robert Morris stated, “an evolutionary ladder of civilization on which the Negro race occupied a lower rung.” Many white Southerners agreed with Armstrong and some white Northerners including Bureau Inspector Alvord.

Illustration 3.3: Father Henson Learns to Read

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Image 4\textsuperscript{113} shows a young black girl dressed in lower-class clothing, learning to read from a well-outfitted white girl. (See illustration 3.4.) The story offers that the black girl, Tidy, was a servant to her peer-teacher. “One summer morning Amelia and Susan were on their way to school, and Tidy was with them carrying their books.”\textsuperscript{114} Tidy is not of a class of people who has had the opportunity to attend school; she is of the class that carries books to school for white children. Though the children reading this story would be in a freedmen school and, therefore, able to attend school, many were likely to have started school later than white children or may not have been able to attend regularly because of domestic or labor duties.

In image 5,\textsuperscript{115} the cover sketch in the text, a white male teacher is instructing freedmen in an overcrowded room of students. (See illustration 3.5.) Behind the teacher, two posters are hanging on the wall; one of the posters is that of The Ten Commandments and other is The Lord’s Prayer. The teacher has the full, undivided attention from the freedmen pupils. This

\textsuperscript{113} American Tract Society, \textit{The Freedman’s Third Reader}, 210.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid. 210.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid. Cover page.
illustration represents the ideology that the freedmen need to be taught religion and reading. In fact, in the introductory note to *The Freedman’s Third Reader*, the ATS writes the following: “If we would adequately supply the Freedmen with religious truth, we must connect it with their early efforts in reading.” The note later suggests that the reader is “thoroughly Christian, containing numerous selections from able and interesting writers on religious subjects, and from the Word of God.” Similar to the AMA during the earlier years of the freemen education, the ATS argues that their *Freedman Readers* are first and foremost a Christian and religious educational text. Robert C. Morris offers that “the main purpose was religious rather than educational.”

![Illustration 3.5: Freedmen School](image)

Image 5 is worth a comparison to another illustration, image 6, from the *Freedman’s Second Reader*. (See illustration 3.6.) This illustration features a white classroom equipped with

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117 Ibid. I.
desks and individual seats for the students. This portrayal of the white school is vastly different from the black school in image 5. The freedmen students’ schoolroom, as illustrated in image 5, does not have desks or a seat for each student. Also, the ages of the students in image 6 appear to all be young adolescents, while the age range of the freedmen students seems to drastically vary. In the white school the children are reading from individual books; in image 5 the teacher is reading and not all students have a book. By comparing these two illustrations from the same educational series for freedmen, it is obvious that the freedmen students’ education was different from that of white students. For those individuals who disliked the notion that freedmen would be educated in a way similar to white students and for the freedmen students attending AMA or Bureau supervised schools, these illustrations served as a reminder that freedmen schools are not like white schools and the education for freedmen is not the same as it is for white students.

Illustration 3.6: Children Reading

Overall, the images the ATS chose to include in their readers appealed to the AMA’s sense of religious teachings. Similar to the AMA during the earlier years of the freedmen education, the ATS illustrations demonstrate that their *Freedman Readers* are first and foremost a Christian and religious educational text. Robert C. Morris offers that “the main purpose was
religious rather than educational.” Additionally, the images all alluded to the notion that the place for freedmen was in labor and domestic spheres. The portrayal of Tidy is representative of the ATS because she is a servant to white children but she is both willing and able, with the help of Susan, to read. Moreover, it is an image that would be tolerable the Southern whites, and therefore the Bureau, who believed that the freed blacks should work similar jobs to those they worked as slaves in order to build up the country’s economy.

Content

The ATS did not rely on illustrations alone to express a place and a certain kind of education for the freed black students. The content of their readers placed importance on civil, moral, occupational, and religious living for the freedmen. The Freedman’s Second and Third Reader are inundated with religious and moral entries, in this way the texts vary little from other texts printed during that time period. The greatest difference between the ATS’s freedmen texts and those printed for white students was the importance the ATS placed on the freedmen’s role in hard and domestic labor; in fact, none of the lessons in the ATS’s readers offer an example of any other kind of work for the freedmen. Additionally, the ATS’s entries on civil training offered specific lessons regarding civil society for the freedmen. The ATS acknowledged that the freedmen were in need of moral and civil training in their 1865 report on The Freedman’s First Reader; the report stated the following instructional intention of their textbook:

This is designed to be the first of a series of books for the use of the Freedmen in their schools, families, &c. While it teaches to read and write, the series will aim to communicate also religious and moral truth, and such instruction in civil and social duties as is needed by them in the new circumstances in which they are placed.121

120 Morris, Reading, ’Riting, and Reconstruction, 199.
Not only was the ATS advocating that the freedmen were ignorant, but also that they were void of moral and religious insight. They further offered that the students in the freedmen schools would need to be taught their duties to society; the duties demonstrated to be that of laborers and servants. The purpose of the ATS’s texts was not dissimilar from Samuel Chapmen Armstrong’s goals for the Hampton School as described by Donald Spivey:

At Hampton he [Armstrong] would work to alter black character. The school would devote little attention to disciplining blacks in the traditional three R’s. “[T]he negro’s deficiencies of character,” Armstrong said, “are worse for him and for the world than his mere ignorance.” The Founder [Armstrong] professed that his goal at Hampton Institute was to “civilize” the blacks, to imbue them with “general deportment…habits of living and of labor…and right ideas of like and duty.”

Moral and civil training was of utmost importance in AMA and Bureau supported Southern freedmen schools and the ATS was sure to saturate their textbooks with moral and civil lessons. Having similar religious and moral tenants as the AMA, the ATS’s entries would guide the freedmen as to how to live in a free society and how to vote, should they be granted the opportunity to do so.

Child’s goal was significantly different. Not only did Child’s text illustrate an equal place in society for the freedmen but she included essays and narratives that exemplified that the black race was capable of equality and agency. Additionally, Child did not seek to influence the possible black vote; she wanted her text to illuminate the right of blacks to participate in politics, particularly by voting. For example, Child included a short entry that detailed the Emperor of Russia’s proclamation of freedom to serfs which included granting voting rights to the newly

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122 Spivey, Donald, *Schooling for the New Slavery*, 16.
freed citizens. By providing this case, Child was offering a similar model of emancipation and enfranchisement.

As stated in their 1865 report, the ATS was sensitive to the fact that the freedmen were in a new position as freed people. Prior to their new circumstances, slavery was the only way of living for many of the black Southerners. The ATS understood that slavery and emancipation needed to be addressed in their texts. Staying true to their traditionalist reputation, the literature about slavery and emancipation was truly mild, especially in comparison to abolitionist Lydia Maria Child’s textbook *The Freedmen’s Book*. Where the ATS was conservative in their writing that addressed slavery, Child unabashedly offered the reality of slavery, often times using the words of the freed-slaves themselves to describe their experiences. However, the mildness of the ATS’s portrayal of the institution of slavery helped to ensure that the ATS’s textbooks would be more acceptable and more widely used than Child’s text.

**Civil and moral lessons in the readers.** One of the most specific civil lessons in *The Freedman’s Second Reader* and mentioned earlier in this chapter, “The Freedman’s Home,” contains some of the most explicit instructions for the freedmen students. The lesson asks the students if they know how to help make a happy and bright home, like the one illustrated in image 1 (illustration 3.1). The lesson then instructs them as to what they should do that, including waking up early, washing and dressing, eating quietly, and praying to God. (For more text see Appendix I.) Of God the text reads:

7. Then bring the Word of God, and let your father read some of the sweet lines which tell you of the love of God, and of his good and just law.
8. If you have time, it will be nice to sing a verse or two; and then you may all kneel down, and bow your heads, and shut your eyes, and join in the prayer that is said, while you think all the time, that—

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“God does not care for what I say. But I must mean it too.”

9. Now you can all start for the work of the day. You may have to plow or dig or how, or you may have to wash, to scrub, and to bake; or some you have a chance to go to school.
10. But, in all you do, God will be with you, and bless you, if you love and fear him, and try to do his will. This is the way to make a good home,-- a home such as the Son of God will be pleased to see.124

Infusing religious instruction with civil training, this story aims to teach the freedmen how to begin their day, and how to eat, pray, and work. This lesson was an answer to the AMA’s desire to teach religious training above all else and the Bureau’s concern over the “low down shiftless class” of freedmen.125

In their lessons, the ATS not only addressed Bureau fears and concerns but they also sought to include lessons that directly attended to the Bureau’s stated objectives for freedmen schools. John Alvord offered that the Bureau promoted lessons that benefit both freedmen children and adults. In *The Third Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen* he wrote the intentions of the Bureau supported schools were “the instruction of freedmen in civil affairs; the improvement of home life and family condition; the encouragement of intelligent industry, thrift, and the accumulation of property; the establishment of families, as soon as possible, in homesteads, where the duties of the citizen will be realized, and where the school, the church, and town affairs will be interests of their own.”126 The ATS included lessons which tackled issues such as drinking and temperance127 and general moral characteristics,128 but some of the lessons appear to address issues specific to adult freedmen students.

127 From *The Freedman’s Second Reader*, “Mary and the Drunkards Children,” “A Sad Sight,” “Bertie Rand’s Temperance Pledge,” and “Repentance.”
In *The Freedman’s Third Reader*, the ATS included a lesson titled “The Marriage Tie.”

This lesson is focused on the God’s instruction regarding marriage:

> When God created the first man and woman, and gave them to each other, he placed them together, as we know, in the home he had made for them. Thus God himself formed the marriage relation, and by his divine authority made it sacred and binding.  
> 2. No man or woman can lawfully live together as husband and wife unless they are united by the marriage tie which God had made. And no one can break this tie, or cause others to break it, without fearful sin. The husband and wife must love and be faithful to each other till death.\(^\text{129}\)

The emphasis on the marriage tie and what it biblically means, addressed the concerns the AMA and the Bureau had regarding the damage the institution of slavery had on families and Christian and moral character. In the early years of the AMA their primary desire was to teach the freedmen to read and live through Biblical teachings; certainly this lesson met this requirement. Additionally, the AMA and the ATS were, at this point, still preaching against enslavement. As dutiful organizations, they both insisted that slavery was religiously corrupt and had caused a detriment to the black race, especially when it came to marriage ties. In his report, Alvord, stated that the Bureau supported lessons that improved “home life and family condition,” and “the establishment of families.”\(^\text{130}\) These two specific objectives are addressed in this lesson printed by the ATS.

The ATS’s text also tackled issues dealing with the freedmen’s place in politics and included entries to provide the freedmen with a civic background. In addition to several essays


on President Abraham Lincoln,\textsuperscript{131} this text included lessons specific to the government such as, “The Declaration of Independence,” “The Emancipation Proclamation,” “State Governments,” and “The Liberty Bell.” These entries taught the freedmen about the history of freedom in America from the time of Revolutionary War to the effects of the Civil War on states. Aside from providing the students with a lesson on history and civics, the entries emphasized the responsibility of freedom. “The Liberty Bell” suggested that July 4, 1776 was a serious day as the colonists considered the prospect of freedom:

\begin{quote}
For twenty-four days they had been considering the question of declaring the colonies free and independent states. It was a momentous question to them. Would the States, so poor and feeble, be able to maintain their independence? If not, how much worse might their condition become, in consequence of their failure?
2. Let the children who now hail the return of the “the fourth” with so much merriment, remember how thoughtfully and anxiously those patriots felt when they were about to take the final on a question upon which so many and such weighty interests were depending.\textsuperscript{132}
\end{quote}

This essay argues that the freedmen should not take their freedom lightly and should remember those who made their freedom possible- the Union. As such, the freedmen should look to the Northern whites for guidance in most things, such as education, religion, and politics. Should the freedmen be given the right to vote, Northerners hoped that their allegiances would be to Northern politics. By including an essay such as “The Liberty Bell,” the ATS was helping to forge the alliance between the North and the possible voting freedmen.

At the time that the ATS published \textit{The Freedmen’s Library of Readers}, the enfranchisement of black Americans was a real possibility. The Bureau stated in their objectives

\textsuperscript{131} From \textit{The Freedman’s Third Reader}, “The Youth of Abraham Lincoln,” “President Lincoln’s Last Inaugural Address,” “Mr. Lincoln’s First Dollar,” “President Lincoln in Richmond,” and “The Burial of Abraham Lincoln.”

\textsuperscript{132} American Tract Society, \textit{The Freedman’s Third Reader}, 69.
that “the instruction of freedmen in civil affairs”\textsuperscript{133} was a priority. Both the AMA and the AFUC stated the importance of educating the freedmen to be able to vote.\textsuperscript{134} Likewise, Bureau Commission O.O. Howard stated the importance of educating the freedmen in both academics and citizenship before the freedmen should be enfranchised.\textsuperscript{135} The ATS was perceptive to these concerns when they included “The Declaration of Independence,” “The Emancipation Proclamation,” and “State Governments.” The essay “State Governments” was quite instructive in that it taught the freedmen the differences of state and United State laws by likening them to obeying a teacher and a father:

2. When a boy goes to school he obeys his teacher; that is being under the teacher’s laws. When he is at home he obeys his father; that is being under his father’s laws. He has two sets of laws. So it is in our country. Every day we obey the laws of our State, and the laws of the United States.\textsuperscript{136}

Not only is this entry remindful of the freedmen’s obedience to their white Northern teacher, it goes on to explain the necessity of following the rule and laws set of the free society. The essay also instructs the freedmen as to what kinds of laws fall under the United States and which fall under the States:

4. The United States take care of the \textit{general} interests of the country, “provide for the common defense and general welfare,” and the individual States do all the rest. All the laws about buying and selling within the States, about the care of schools, against stealing and murder even, are State laws.\textsuperscript{137}

This paragraph reminds the freedmen that ultimately, the State laws are the ones that govern their daily lives. This was an important distinction for Southern whites, especially when it came to the right to vote and how schools would be funded. This essay would not only meet the need to

\textsuperscript{133} Alvord, \textit{The Third Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen}, .33.
\textsuperscript{134} Butchart, \textit{Schooling the Freed People}, and Morris, \textit{Reading, ’Riting, and Reconstruction}.
\textsuperscript{135} Spivey, \textit{Schooling for the New Slavery}, 3.
\textsuperscript{137} Ibid., 203.
educate the freedmen in the area of civics, but it was likely to appease Southern whites by inculcating the freedmen with the knowledge that they must submit to Southern state law.

Like the ATS, Child’s text also included civic lessons. When it came to including texts that offered the freedmen students’ lessons in living in a civil society, Child was not passive. While she included such entries on healthy living such as, “The Laws of Health,” and, like the ATS, she offered government documents like, “The Emancipation Proclamation,” she also included letters and speeches written specifically for the freedmen. These letters and speeches typically advocated for the freedmen to stand up for and demand their rights, but to do so in a non-violent way. For example in her own, “Advice from an Old Friend” she wrote:

I do not mean by this that you ought to submit tamely to insult or oppression. Stand up for your rights, but do it in a manly way. Quit working for a man who speaks to you contemptuously, or who tries to take a mean advantage of you, when you are doing your duty faithfully by him, if it becomes necessary, apply to magistrates to protect you and redress your wrongs. If you are so unlucky as to live where the men authority, whether civil or military, are still disposed to treat the colored people as slaves, let the most intelligent among you draw up a statement of your grievances and sent it to some of your firm friends in Congress, such as the Hon. Charles Sumner, the Hon. Henry Wilson, and the Hon. George W. Julian.138

These instructions are vastly different from the ATS’s instruction to submit to State law. She does not offer that the freedmen should acquiesce or put their faith in those chosen by God to be leaders. Contrastingly, she tells the freedmen that they have the power to make a change and then she offers them exactly what they can do if they are not being treated justly. It was a reality that many of the freedmen working as laborers found themselves tied into contracts which equated them to nearly the same status as a slave. Child’s hope was that she could help the freedmen “to

act through the legal and political channels that emancipation has theoretically opened to them.”

In order to provide the freedmen students with an example of the amount of power that they now have with freedom, Child included the witty letter, dated August 7, 1865, written by freeman Jourdon Anderson to his previous master, Colonel P.H. Anderson, in response to the Colonel’s request that Jourdon return to Tennessee to work for him again. After pleasantries, Jourdon writes the following, clearly indicating that he is knowledgeable of his rights as a freedman (see Appendix II for more text):

I served you faithfully for thirty-two years, and Mandy twenty years. At twenty-five dollars a month for me, and two dollars a week for Mandy, our earning would amount to eleven thousand six hundred and eighty dollars. Add to this interest for the time our wages have been kept back, and deduct what you paid for our clothing, and three doctor’s visits to me, and pulling a tooth for Mandy, and the balance will show what we are in justice entitled to… Jourdon Anderson encompasses the power of the freedman—the ability to articulate concerns, use arithmetic to ensure fair payment, require pay for services, and demand kind and just treatment from an employer. All these forms of power and self-efficacy were not available to Jourdon when he was a slave at the mercy of Colonel Anderson, but they are now as a freedman. By providing the freedmen with this actual example of a freedman’s letter she is offering an instance of the control that they now have over their own lives and the lives of their families.

Another lesson in The Freedman’s Second Reader which addresses the Bureau’s and the Southern whites’ anxiety regarding the presumed lazy freedmen is titled “Idleness.” This lesson tackles the issue of being idle and instructs the freedmen why they must not be idle. The lesson begins by intimating that the freedmen do not wake up without being roused to do so and that if

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139 Karcher, The First Woman in the Republic, 1841.
they wake up for breakfast, they eat and go back to sleep, neglecting their duties to labor. The essay goes on to say:

3. If you don’t conquer this idle spirit soon, it will make you a slave for life; and you find that idleness is a bad master. It will feed you on husks, clothe you with rags, lodge you in a hovel, or send you to the poorhouse.
4. You don’t like such a prospect? Very well: then wake up, open your eyes, and go to work. Hang up the clothes in that closet; pick up those books; be off to school bright and early; learn your lessons; do your duty.”

This lesson makes the obdurate assumption that those students reading this lesson were idlers by nature and in need of specific directives to combat the condition. By addressing idleness in their text, the ATS was speaking directly to the Bureau and others who feared that if the freedmen class was indolent then the South could not be successfully reconstructed.

Child was not deaf to the concern that many whites, Southern and Northern alike, were voicing regarding the supposed laziness of the freedmen. Child, too, perceived an apathetic attitude in the freedmen. As opposed to blaming the laziness on characteristics innate to the black race, as Armstrong and other members of the AMA and the Bureau were inclined to do and as the entry from the ATS suggests, she blamed the idleness on slavery. Karcher claims, “The common thread linking them [essays dealing with idleness and duties] is the premise that the freedpeople must learn to overcome the dehumanizing habits ingrained in them by long abuse. Abuse sets off a chain reaction, Child argues. Its victims do violence to each other, their children, their own bodies, other living creatures, and the environment. Liberation must therefore reverse the process.”

To help the freedmen overcome this “ingrained” habit of idleness, Child included an excerpt from the Hon. Henry Wilson’s speech to the freedpeople of Charleston in 1865. The

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section that speaks to this particular concern reads as follows, “Remember that you are to be industrious. Freedom does not mean that you are not to work. It means that when you do work you shall have pay for it, to carry home to your wives and the children of your love. Liberty means the liberty to work for yourselves, to have the fruits of your labor, to better you own condition, and improve the condition of your children.” While encouraging the freedmen to be “industrious” and to “labor” to improve their condition, this excerpt is in no way suggesting that the only way or the best way for the freedmen to improve their condition is to be field or domestic laborers. In fact, in great contrast to the ATS’s readers, Child’s text does not include any narratives, essays, poems, or biographies which instruct the freedmen on how to use farming equipment, the best tool to use when shearing sheep, what a clean home looks like, or the way to dress in public. By omitting such suggestive material from her reader, Child was offering her readers the possibility of a life less conscribed than the ATS was willing to extend.

**Lessons evocative of place and habits.** While the majority of *The Freedman’s Second Reader* focused on religious, civil, and moral lessons, the stories within *The Freedman’s Third Reader* were more suggestive of the types of duties or jobs that the freedmen students were likely to work. With titles such as “Agriculture,” “The Clean Home,” “The Plow,” “The Farmers Machines,” “Mining,” “Manufactures,” “Glass-Making,” and “Commerce,” just to name a few, the lessons illustrate that the freedmen are capable of working hard labor jobs in farming, mining, and domestic servitude. There are not lessons expressive of any other class of work for the black man or woman. These narratives create the assumption that the value of literacy to the freedmen students, then, was to be able to read equipment manuals, farmers’ almanacs, domestic duty lists, and

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the like. In fact, many of the freedmen students were laborers or their parents were laborers. “Agriculture” and “The Plow” offer the historical significance as well as the present importance of farming and the plow:

5. In America, agriculture is a great and growing interest. This is especially the case in the Middle and Western States. The soil is naturally fertile; the art of enriching it, and thus increasing its power of production, is well understood; labor is directed and performed with skill and industry; and science assists labor by the invention of machines which do the work more rapidly and easily than the hand of man.144

7. But, in 1798, Thomas Jefferson wrote an article on the subject, insisting upon improvement being made; and by degrees this was done, until the plow now used is nearly perfect. A good plowman will strike a furrow true to a stake set up an eighth of a mile distance.145

The history of agriculture and plowing, as offered by the ATS, was once crude and painstakingly difficult. Now, however, agriculture is a field of labor that is rich and industrious, and best worked by skilled laborers. Plowing is “nearly perfect.” These entries submit to the freedmen that the work they do in the fields was valuable and their race was skilled to perform such duties in order to be an American. Much like Armstrong and other superintendents of the Freedmen’s Bureau, the American Tract Society understood that place for American’s newly freed citizens was in the field working hard agricultural labor and so their text offered the students only the prestigious accolades of the job. Additionally, entries like these that were farming and labor themed, offered an indispensable place for the freedmen in the South; this place satisfied two needs, the need for the freedmen to become self-efficient, and the need for the Southern white’s land to be, once more, profitable. Rebuilding the South’s economy was essential for Southern reconstruction. The ATS shrewdly incorporated these items in order to guarantee the acceptance of their texts by the Bureau and the Southern whites.

145 Ibid. 96-97.
To further make their statement, the ATS offered texts that advised the freedmen that their labor was necessary. In the lesson titled “Labor and Capital” the message is that labor is needed to sustain capital and satisfy needs, presumably the needs of the South:

First there must be labor. This condition is absolute…The condition of the support of life being labor, if labor were by some miracle to be stopped, after a season all animal life on this earth would end.

3. If a man needs a quart of corn for his support to-day, and he raises only that amount, then, if he should be sick to-morrow, or be kept from his daily labor, he would suffer or die. But if he raises each day more than he needs, then he has a provision for sickness or accident; he has capital.  

The needs of the individual were not all that this lesson or the American Tract Society was mindful of. Like Armstrong, the writers were concerned over the supposed laziness of black society and feared the economic cost to America should they decide not to pursue labor.

Perceiving labor relation issues in Hampton between the black laborers and white landlords, Armstrong fathomed the issue to lie with the “worthless” laborers. Donald Spivey narrates Armstrong’s description of the issue between the freedmen and landlords in Hampton when he was acting as the Bureau supervisor. “And in their most important function as laborers, he [Armstrong] believed that the majority of them were worthless: ‘One third are eye servants [workers that will only perform under the watchful eye of a white supervisor], and worth little or nothing; of the remainder, only another third could really be considered good workmen.’”  

To address the issue of the worthless laborer Armstrong and other Bureau superintendents turned to freedmen schools and curriculum, like The Freedman’s Third Reader, to instill in the younger generation of freedmen the work ethic he professed as being lacking in their parents.

Another lesson, “The Clean Home” was suggestive of domestic duties specifically for females:

146 Ibid. 131.
147 Spivey, Schooling for the New Slavery, 8.
2. On opening the door, I shall never forget what pleasure we felt. They were at tea. The cloth on the table was snow-white, the cups and saucers bright and clean, and the loaf, the morsel of butter, the knife and spoons were just as clean. The husband’s shirt, just ironed, was airing at the fire, and was as snowy as the table-cloth.\(^{148}\)

It is unlikely that many of the readers of this story would see a scene such as this in their own homes; instead they could see it in the homes of the more economically stable white class. The awesomeness and cleanliness of the scene is described in incredible detail, recommending that black children need to know the importance of spotlessness in the homes they visit, or in other words, the homes in which they work. Not only would the freed black girls witness this in white homes but it was also a scene in which it was suggested that they attain to have in their own homes. The people inside the home, even the sick husband, are content and pleased to be living in such clean conditions. The text was offering that to mimic the purity of the white family’s home was to be as content as they. Drake’s analysis of secular aid organizations in the South, the AMA included, argued, “Since children were seen as the most readily influenced group, the aid societies believed the principal means of regenerating the South to be through the education of the young.”\(^{149}\) Using curricula such as this story and others in *The Freedman’s Readers* the ATS were appealing to the AMA’s desire to influence the freedmen children to mimic clean behavior.

Child, like the ATS, deemed it necessary to instruct the freedmen about health and cleanliness. What sets her text apart for the ATS is that Child does not offer a white-example of cleanliness for the freedmen to mimic; instead she relied on the science of good bodily health. In her essay, “The Laws of Health,” she wrote, “There are three things peculiarly essential to health, - plenty of fresh water, plenty of *pure* air, and enough of nourishing food.”\(^{150}\) She

\(^{149}\) Drake, Richard B., “Freedman’s Aid Societies and Sectional Compromise,” 178.
continues by explaining healthy bathing habits, what perspiration is, how to detect a fever, and how to nurse minor fevers or wounds. When she explains the importance of pure air she discusses clean homes: “No dirty things, or decaying substances, such as cabbage leaves, or mouldy [sic] vegetables, or pools of stagnant water, should be allowed to remain anywhere near a dwelling.” “The bed, and the coverings of the bed, should have fresh air let in upon them every day; otherwise, they retain the fluids which are passing from the body all the time.” In great contrast to the ATS, Child does not include an illustration of a white home nor does she offer what a clean home does look like, only what should not be included in a healthy home. To conclude this essay, Child reminds her readers that their lack of clean and healthy living habits is not due to the quality of their race but to their lack of knowledge brought on by slavery. She said, “Dirt was a necessity of Slavery; and that is one reason, among many others, why freemen should hate it, and try to put it away from their minds, their persons, and their habits.” Child was careful to offer to the freedmen that their living conditions should be improved from the when they lived in slavery specifically because they were no longer slaves, they were free.

Biographies. New from The Freedman’s Second Reader, The Freedman’s Third Reader included biographies of famous African-Americans. These biographies included the following: “Life of Paul Cuffee,” “Phillis Wheatley,” “Toussaint L’Ouverture,” “The Amistad Captives,” “Lott Carey,” and “Frederick Douglass.” While it included the biographies, it did not contain any actual writings from black writers. The biographies, mention the successes of their subjects, but attribute those successes to qualities that the American Tract Society, The Freedman’s Bureau, and the American Missionary Association were hoping to inculcate in the students. These traits

151 Ibid., 248-249.
152 Ibid., 250.
include hard work, an industrious spirit, religious devotion, and literacy for religious and industrious purposes.

After the publication of *The Freedmen’s Book* Child wrote in a letter to Sarah Osgood that she hoped the content and stories within would “‘stimulate and cheer the poor freedmen’ by ‘showing them what their race is capable of becoming.’”\(^{153}\) One way Child achieved this objective was with her biographies. *The Freedmen’s Book’s* biographies were distinct from *The Freedman’s Library of Readers* because they highlighted not only the moralistic behaviors and industrial attitudes, but also the incredible accomplishments that the slaves or freedmen were able to achieve despite their position. Child often emphasized the rebellious spirit within the subjects of her biographies; spirits that allowed them to overcome and rise above.

In the ATS’s lesson “Life of Paul Cuffe” it is offered that John Cuffe, Paul’s father, earned his freedom by working hard. “John, being of good behavior and industrious habits, was favored by his master, a Massachusetts man, and allowed to work for his freedom.”\(^{154}\) By submitting that it was John’s “good behavior and industrious habits” that permitted him to be free, the text was also proposing that “good behavior and industrious habits” lead to the attainment of importance; hard work gains the acceptance of the white community. Of Paul, the text says, “…also became a Christian; and this lent the brightest charm to his manhood, and became the most important feature of his character. He was not only upright in all his transactions in trade, but he would not follow any business, however legal, which he believed injurious to his fellow-men.”\(^{155}\) The most important quality in Paul is his devotion to Christianity; the same quality was the most important attribute of the AMA teachers as well. Paul’s Christian belief and cautious business practices help him to become a successful and

\(^{153}\) Ibid., 207.
\(^{155}\) Ibid., 54.
philanthropic community member. To mimic Paul’s qualities would mean one was to be a Christian, careful, industrious, and philanthropic; the merits necessary to craft a group of people who would adhere to their defined place in society. In sum, ATS’s depiction of Paul Cuffee is that of the ideal freedmen as according the Bureau, and the AMA,

In comparison, Child included a biography titled “Benjamin Banneker.” Child highlights his ability to invent. Though this is not a slave biography (Benjamin was the child of freed black parents), the story is a demonstration against Armstrong’s idea that black people are naturally ignorant. “Benjamin was obliged to labor diligently when he was at home from school, but every spare moment he could catch he was ciphering, and planning how to make things.”156 Child also writes that “his hands worked hard, but his brain was always busy.”157 Like her counterparts, Child emphasizes hard labor, but she doesn’t stop there, supposing that hard labor is all that the freedmen were capable of; Child argues that the freedmen can also use their intelligence or mental labor to realize greater success. “At thirty years old, he made a clock, which proved an excellent timepiece.”158 What made this so amazing was that Benjamin had never seen a clock. “When he was fifty-nine years old, he made an Almanac…But notwithstanding Banneker’s limited means and scanty education, he made an excellent Almanac.”159 Child is offering that Benjamin accomplished great things in spite of the challenges he faced; Child was advising that her readers were able to accomplish the same level of success through the use of an industrious mind, not by working laboriously hard to please white society.

The ATS’s biography of Phillis Wheatley offers this closing lesson: “The life of Phillis Wheatley gives most interesting proof of the power of talent and virtues, crowned with ‘the pearl

157 Ibid. 15.
158 Ibid. 15.
159 Ibid. 17.
of great price,’ - the love of Christ, - to raise one from the lower position to the notice of esteem of the wise and good.” While it is true that Wheatley received notice for her poetic talents (as the lesson indicates) and she was in fact a pious Christian woman, the assertion that claimed that she achieved a higher position is questionable. Emancipated by the death of her Master, she fell into poverty, grew weary and weak, and finally died at the young age of twenty-six. To make the impressionable young reader believe that being a good Christian could change your position was the model that the writers wanted to impress on readers. In other words, this conservative representation of Wheatley’s life emphasizes that working hard keeps your life stable, but being a Christian brings the reward of “notice and esteem.” Unquestionably, the AMA and the Bureau appreciated such a lesson as this in their schools’ curriculum.

Child, like the ATS, included a biography of Phillis Wheatley. While the ATS chose to emphasize Wheatley’s hard work and Christian spirit, Child offered a more overall and honest representation. From the onset she offers that the ill-treatment and harsh conditions Wheatley experienced when she was torn away from her parents and sold into slavery were ultimately responsible for her poor health and untimely death. Child also mentions Wheatley’s ability to quickly learn, not only to speak English, but to learn to read and write:

A wonderful change took place in the little forlorn stranger in the course of a year and a half. She not only learned to speak English correctly, but she was able to read fluently in any part of the Bible. She evidently possessed uncommon intelligence and a great desire for knowledge. She was often found trying to make letters with charcoal on the walls and fences. Mrs. Wheatley’s daughter, perceiving her eagerness to learn, undertook to teach her to read and write.

Child’s emphasis on Wheatley’s eagerness to study and her seemingly natural ability to successfully learn challenges Armstrong’s assertion that the black race is lazy and innately more ignorant and incapable of learning to the degree of whites. Wheatley was a slave who came directly from Africa and yet, Child offers, she was not lazy, ignorant, or incapable.

Whereas the ATS argued that being a Christian brings reward and praise, Child contends that it was Wheatley’s industrious mind that brought her praise for her poetry. “Soon she [Wheatley] acquired a good knowledge of geography, history, and English poetry; of the last she was particularly fond.”163 Additionally, Child included the fact that Wheatley, even as a slave, was legally able to obtain an education. “There was no law in Massachusetts against slaves learning to read and write, as there have been in many of the states; and her mistress, so far from trying to hinder her, did everything to encourage her love of learning.”164 By including this sentence, Child is offering to her freedmen readers to take advantage of the great right to learn, a right that was just recently granted to them. Throughout this biography, and others, Child is arguing that through education the freedmen can learn to think for themselves, and not become the mere puppets of aid organizations and Southern whites.

In another ATS biography of the Amistad captives, the ATS describes the forty-four Africans who took over the ship Amistad as possessing “an unusual share of intelligence.”165 The actual details of the rebellion and the trial were not mentioned, in fact, the biography does not use the word “rebellion,” instead it is written that they took “possession” of the ship. The brutal treatment of slaves on slave ships was absent. What is included in the biography is that the Mendi captives were converted. “One of them said, ‘We owe everything to God. He keeps us alive, and makes us free. When we get home to Mendi we tell our brethren about God, Jesus

163 Ibid., 88.
164 Ibid., 88.
By focusing on the positive outcome of conversion and not on the negatives of slavery, this biography would have been acceptable for the Bureau, and the AMA. The biography of a slave revolt would not have been difficult for Southern whites to accept in curriculum; the ATS’s emphasis on conversion was likely to make the story easier to accept than if the emphasis was on the result. Additionally, it offered the freedmen students the ideology that being a converted Christian, not the slave-type of Christian who hollered in swamps and prayed in tongues, was the way to achieve true religious freedom. Once converted to an acceptable sect of Christianity, the freedmen would be easily influenced in other domains, such as politics.

“William Boen,” a biography in Child’s text, features the history of a slave born in 1735, in New Jersey. His master was a Quaker, at a time when Quakers still owned slaves; therefore, William grew up in a pious environment but was not serious “about religion, until the importance of it was impressed upon his mind.” After facing the possibility of death William became a deeply religious slave. “All who knew him saw that his religious feeling was deep and sincere, for it brought forth fruit in his daily life.” After buying his freedom at the age of twenty-eight he “led a peaceful and diligent life, doing good to others whenever he could, and harming no one.” “He was equally conscientious about telling the truth.” “He also had a very nice sense of justice with regard to the rights of property.” “He was scrupulously neat in his person.”

The qualities of William that Child accentuates advocate that freedmen have the same moral abilities of white people. William did not learn his spirituality from white men who converted

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166 Ibid., 106.
168 Ibid., 27-28.
169 Ibid., 28.
170 Ibid. 29.
171 Ibid. 29.
172 Ibid., 30.
him; he had the ability to be spiritual and righteous already within him. With this biography Child is attempting to instill in the readers that they, too, already possess the same righteous assets as William, and that they need not be converted to a particular denomination of Christianity.

As in the other biographies included in the ATS’s reader, the biography of Frederick Douglass, emphasizes the positive aspects of learning to read and becoming a Christian and omits the treatment he received and the hardships he experienced while he was slave. The biography writes, “At ten years of age he was sent to Baltimore to live. Here, when he heard his mistress reading aloud in the Bible, he asked her to teach him, and she consented.”\(^{173}\) Of becoming a Christian the text reads as follows:

> When about thirteen years old, he became a Christian. Deeply distressed for his sins, he ‘finally found,” he says, ‘that change of heart which comes by casting all one’s care upon God, and by having faith in Jesus Christ as the Redeemer, Friend, and Saviour of those who diligently seek him. After this I saw the world in a new light. I seemed to live in a new world. I loved all mankind, slaveholders not excepted, though I abhorred slavery more than ever.\(^{174}\)

Frederick Douglass wrote texts which expressed extreme criticism of slavery and was an outspoken abolitionist, and, after the end of the Civil War, he advocated for equal treatment of black persons. The ATS’s short entry on Douglass neglects to include any of Douglass’s radical or progressive attributes instead choosing to focus on his conversion and his forgiveness of the slaveholders. By including the benign stories of learning to read and becoming a Christian, the ATS’s conservative character appealed to the conservative Southern whites and Bureau. Likewise, emphasis on Christian character, particularly that of forgiveness, fell under the objectives of the AMA. In Reading, ‘Riting, and Reconstruction, Morris argues, “Without


\(^{174}\) Ibid., 207.
exception the subjects of these biographies were described as pious, industrious, humble, and eager to obtain education.” The lessons and biographies offer neither the idea that a black citizen may choose to live a life other than that ascribed nor that they should have pride in their race.

Child’s biography of Frederick Douglass exemplifies the great difference in representation between the ATS and Child. While the ATS opted to omit the parts of Douglass’s life when he was at the mercy of harsh slave owners, Child elected to include those parts of Douglass’s reality. Of his first experiences working as young slave child she wrote:

The slave children had no one to care for them but Cross Katy, the cook, who cuffed them about, and kept all, except her own children, in such a half-starved condition, that Freddy often had a tussle with the dogs and cats for the bones that were thrown to them. Summer and winter, they had no clothing but a coarse tow shirt that reached to the knees. They were provided with two a year; and if they wore out before allowance-day came around, they went naked. They slept anywhere on the floor without covering. Freddy suffered much from cold. His naked feet were cracked open in great gashes in the winter. When he could a chance, he would creep into the meal-bag at night. So much for the care taken of their bodies; and it fared no better for their souls.

Child’s honest account of Douglass’s childhood as slave was certainly more relatable than the ATS’s version that centered on conversion. Karcher offers that the freedmen, when they were given the opportunity to compare The Freedmen’s Book biographies to those in The Freedman’s Library of Readers, preferred Child’s frank accounts. “According to the teachers in the field, their students exhibited a clear preference for The Freedmen’s Book. ‘Their appreciation of all allusions to slave life and hardships is very marked,’ reported one teacher. ‘Sometimes they say, ‘Ah, Miss Alice, we could tell you bigger things that that!’’ By recording rather than glossing over those hardships, Child’s text performed a therapeutic function of allowing the ex-slaves to

175 Morris. Reading, Riting, and Reconstruction. 199.
176 Child, The Freedmen’s Book, 162
‘speak bitterness.’” By acknowledging the lived experiences of the freedmen through biographies such as Douglass’s, Child was offering validation to the students. Furthermore, she was providing the students with an opportunity to say, “Yes, that is how I lived too! If he could overcome those hardships and become a great speaker, writer, and advocate, I can too!”

**Portrayal of slavery and emancipation.** Prior to the emancipation of slaves the ATS had established themselves as conservative when it came to printing tracts about slaves or slavery. In fact, they never printed any tracts that dealt directly with the institution; instead if a character was black, mention of the character’s status was cleverly omitted. When it came to printing freedmen textbooks, however, omission of slavery and emancipation would not address the needs of the freedmen schools or students. Morris found that most northern teachers of freedmen “felt a great need of more Sabbath school books and tracts published expressly for the Freedmen.” More importantly, for the ATS to be successful they must not only be appealing to the freedmen but also to the Bureau, the AMA without being overtly offensive to Southern whites; writing about slavery and emancipation, therefore, had to be included in a conservative yet definitive manner.

In *The Freedman’s Second Reader* the ATS included two poems that addressed slavery, “The Free Children,” and “Praise For Freedom.” These poems walked the fine line between criticism of Southern practice of slavery and celebration of freedom. In “The Free Children,” the poem avoids the use of the word *slave* or *slavery*, instead focusing on being joy of being free:

1. Oh! none in all the world before
   Were e’er as glad as we:
   We’re free on Carolina’s shore;

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We’re all at home, and free! 179

While this poem plainly expresses the elation of freedom for the freedmen it also conveys condemnation of slavery, without naming the practice, in this way the ATS was staying true to their anti-slavery, evangelical roots, while attempting to stay non-confrontational. “To open every prison-door./And every yoke to break.” “To-day, in all our fields of corn,/ No driver’s whip we hear.”180 These four lines stand alone in portraying what the speaker of the poem is free from.

In the second poem, “Praise for Freedom,” the ATS boldly names the practice of slavery while keeping the attention of the poem to praising God (see Appendix IV for full text):

3. Long has our bondage been,
Heavy and hard our chain;
But there’s a Power above, who hears
When suffering hearts complain.
   We bless the Lord,
   Our prayers, our tears, were not in vain.

4. His red right arm hath struck
The shackles from the slave:
Though human hands his purpose wrought.
‘Twas God the impulse gave.
   Then bless the Lord,
   The Lord of hosts, might to save.181

Using the words “bondage,” “chain,” “shackles,” and “slave” was a step away from the conservative pre-emancipation tracts of the ATS. Surely, the inclusion of this poem may have prompted criticism from Southern whites who wished to offer a more positive view of slavery. The ATS, however, needed to make an impression with the AMA who, at this time, was still

179 American Tract Society, *The Freedman’s Second Reader*, 139-140.
180 Ibid.
primarily a missionary organization not yet ready to make the ideological compromises they would eventually make. By offering that the union soldiers acted on God’s impulse, the ATS likely appealed to the abolitionist sentiments of Bureau Chief Inspector John Watson Alvord.\textsuperscript{182} Moreover, the Bureau would have appreciated that the poem emphasized a grateful attitude and avoided expressing resentment toward the South.

The portrayal of the black race was also included in essays in \textit{The Freedman’s Third Reader}, particularly the freedmen’s role in securing freedom for slaves. These entries were likely to be the most criticized and unwelcome by Southern whites because they expressed censure of the practice of slavery. The least progressive of these entries is a narrative titled, “The Colored Standard-Bearer.” This essay tells the story of a brave black standard-bearer for the Fifty-Fourth Mass. After a long battle the bearer protected the flag and brought it back to safety:

5. When he entered the hospital, nearly exhausted from loss of blood, his companions, both black and white, rose from the straw on which they were lying, and cheered him and the colors till they could cheer no longer. “Boys,” he replied, “I have but done my duty; the old flag never touched the ground.”\textsuperscript{183}

While this story highlights the soldier’s bravery and dedication to duty it concludes underscoring that the bearer was fulfilling his duty to God by serving as a soldier. While this entry offers that black soldiers played an important role in Civil War, the ATS was careful to stay on the conservative side by offering that this soldier was satisfying a duty to God first, country and brothers, second. Additionally, the role that the soldier played, though symbolically important, was not one in which engaged in combat. The black standard-bearer then did not fight for the end of slavery; he stood for those who fought for freedom. This essay, much like the two poems in

\textsuperscript{182} Butchart, \textit{Schooling for the Freed People}.
\textsuperscript{183} American Tract Society, \textit{The Freedman’s Third Reader}, 217.
The Freedman’s Second Reader, spoke to the aid societies and the Bureau, but was not likely to be too progressive for the Southern whites.

The inclusion of the poem “No Slave Beneath the Flag,” in the reader is less conservative than the other essays and poems dealing with slavery in both the second and third readers, and was more likely to be challenged by the Southern whites. This poem directly addressed the institution of slavery in a way that the other entries avoided or merely implied. However, the poem calls attention to the end of slavery and not to the act of slavery (see Appendix V for full text):

4. No slave beneath that grand old flag!
   For ever let it fly,
   With lightning rolled in every fold,
   And flashing victory!
   God’s blessing breathe around it;
   And, when all strife is done,
   May Freedom’s light, that knows no night,
   Make every star a sun!184

While Southern whites may have disapproved of this poem, the emphasis on the hard fought attainment of freedom would have appealed to the Bureau. The inclusion of God’s blessing on the realization of freedom spoke to the AMA’s insistence on teaching through religion and stood fast on the not yet compromised AMA ideology. While this poem was considered progressive for the ATS, it was extremely conservative in comparison to Lydia Maria Child’s essays and poems dealing with slavery.

Child, an abolitionist before emancipation, depicted slavery, as was illustrated in Douglass’s biography, in a more brutal and honest light. In fact, Child’s many selections which address slavery, are quite critical of the practice and do not attempt to evade the realities, as the ATS’s texts did. Where the ATS was conservative and modest in the portrayal of slavery, Child,

184 Ibid., 49-50.
true to her abolitionist roots, was radical and progressive. Morris offers the following in regards to Child’s slavery selections in her text: “Considering Mrs. Child’s abolitionist background, her indictment of slavery in The Freedmen’s Book is not at all surprising. In fact, this textbook represents a direct outgrowth of some of her earlier polemical writings.” Morris goes on to claim, “The central themes of Mrs. Child’s abolitionist works were the injustice of slavery.” Child recognized that the realities of slavery were fresh in the freedmen’s memories and acknowledgment of the cruelties would instill a sense of knowledge and pride in her readers.

Child did not rely on her own writings to offer an unfavorable view of slavery. Many of the poems Child selected for the text were written by other writes, some of them black, who shared Child’s distaste for the practice. William Lloyd Garrison’s “The Hour of Freedom” calls slaveholders tyrants, and likens being black during slave-times a crime. “When glorious freedom shall be won/ By every caste, complexion, clime;/ When tyranny shall be o’er thrown,/And color cease to be a crime.” In the poem “Emancipation in the District of Columbia, April 16, 1862,” James Madison Bell expresses reproach of selling people. “The slaver’s pen, the auction-block,/ The gory lash of cruelty,/ No more this nation’s pride shall mock;/ No more, within those the miles square,/ Shall men be bought and women sold;/ Nor infants, sable-hued and fair,/ Exchanged again for paltry gold.” In the poem “The Colored Mother’s Prayer” by Harriet Jacobs, the topic of motherhood during slavery is addressed. “Then my poor child, my darling one,/Will never feel the smart/Of their unjust and cruel scorn,/That withers all th\’e heart./Great Father! who created all,/The color and the fair,/O listen to a mother’s call;/Hear Thou the negro’s prayer!” Like Child, the writers of these poems depicted slavery as a great evil. An honest

187 Ibid., 245.
188 Ibid., 219.
illustration of the slave experience, whether Child’s or another writer’s, was to concede the truth of the freedmen’s history.

In *The Freedmen’s Book*, Child offers several poems that celebrate emancipation. One such poem “The Last Night of Slavery” written by James Montgomery exemplifies Child’s belief that the freedmen should celebrate their freedom. The poem also offers that freedom is the will of God. “Let the islands be glad!/For their King in his might,/Who his glory hath clad/With a garment of light,/In the waters the beams of his chambers hath laid,/And in the green waters his pathway hath made.”189 By incorporating this poem in her selection, Child is advocating that the place for the freedmen, according to God, is to be free. While this message was acceptable to some aid organizations, Child’s overall contempt for the Southern institution and her inclusion of poetry that called out the evils of the slavery, kept Child’s text from being as widely accepted as the ATS’s texts.

In addition to her bold representation of slavery, Child also included writing from black authors and poets; thus setting Child apart from the writers of *The Freedman’s Readers*. In “The Aspirations of Mingo,” Child describes a southern slave by the name of Mingo. “If he had been a white man, his talents would have secured him an honorable position; but being colored, his great intelligence only served to make him an object of suspicion.”190 After being put in prison to wait being sold he wrote a poem on the wall. Mingo was eventually killed by bloodhounds but his words were saved and later published. After the vignette about Mingo, Child prints his poem:

Good God! And must I leave them now,  
My wife, my child, in their woe?  
‘Tis mockery to say I’m sold!  
But I forget these chains so cold,  
Which goad my bleeding limbs; though high  
My reason mounts above the sky.

189 Ibid., 146.  
190 Ibid., 84.
Dear wife, they cannot sell the rose
Of love that in my blossom glows.
Remember, as your tears may start,
They cannot sell the immortal part…
I feel high manhood on me now,
A spirit-glory on my brow,
I feel a thrill of music roll,
Like angel-harpings, through my soul;
While poesy, with rustling wings,
Upon my spirit rests and sings.
*He* sweeps my heart’s deep throbbing lyre,
Who touched Isaiah’s lips with fire.191

Child allows Mingo’s words to tell his story. His words speak of the cruelties of the institution of slavery, the deep love of husband to his wife, and profound spirituality. The subjects included in Mingo’s poem were offered as lessons in *The Freedman’s Readers* and suggested the freedmen needed to learn how to be married and how to be spiritual.192 Mingo proves, however, that freedmen do not need lessons on marriage, family, and religion; they already have those qualities.

**Successes and Failures**

Overall, in *The Freedman’s Library of Readers*, Butchart believed that the text taught the freedmen to be accepting of their place. “Both in tone and in much of the didactic advice, the tract society publications encouraged southern blacks to accept their place as field hands and domestic servants in a postwar agricultural economy dominated by southern whites. Ideas of black strength, autonomy, equality, and pride found no place in the society’s many publications.”193 Therefore, given the choice between the ATS’s readers and Child’s *Freedmen’s Book*, the Southern whites were more accepting of the ATS. It is a fact that the ATS’s readers

191 Ibid. 84-85.
192 See, “The Marriage Tie” and any of the Christian lessons included in in *The Freedman’s Third Reader*.
had a wider distribution than the Child’s text. This might be due in part to the political ties between ATS’s Arthur Tappan, the AMA’s Lewis Tappan, and the Bureau’s Alvord. The greater acceptance of the ATS’s readers might also have come from their conservative, non-Southern-provoking portrayal of slavery and emancipation. Undoubtedly, the ATS’s emphasis on agricultural and domestic labor was appealing to the Southern whites and the Bureau, and the inclusion of moral and religious lessons pleased the AMA. In his analysis of the textbooks used in freedmen schools, Butchart stated the following finding, “The Freedmen’s Bureau, with close ties to the American Tract Society, sent free supplies of the Freedman’s Library to some teachers.” Butchart goes on the say, “It is, in short, unlikely that more than a small number of black students had an opportunity to reach Child or the Torchlight,194 while a somewhat larger group may have been exposed to the tract society’s more conservative textbooks.”195 The ATS then was the most successful printing company to publish and distribute texts specifically for freedmen. In being the most successful they helped to dispense the ideology of the Bureau and the AMA, thus the Bureau and the AMA had the greatest impact on Southern freedmen education and politics, a position that set well for Northern whites should the Southern black men be given the opportunity to vote.

Unlike the American Tract Society, The Freedmen’s Book was not as successfully implemented into schools and Child never wrote or printed more than the first volume. In the letter at the beginning of her text she offers that all money spent to buy the book would “be invested in other volumes.”196 This may have been one other reason Child’s book was not as successful as The Freedman’s Readers. Supported by The Freedmen’s Bureau and the AMA,

194 The Torchlight was a short-lived weekly newspaper print published by the radical black group, the African Civilization Society.
195 Butchart, Schooling the Freed People, 126.
196 Child, The Freedmen’s Book, IV.
The Freedman’s Readers were purchased by the Bureau who sent them to freedmen schools at no cost to the actual students. The Freedman’s Readers were easier for students to obtain making The Freedmen’s Book a difficult sale to a poverty-ridden race. Karcher offers that “most freedpeople were too poor to be able to purchase the book, even at the low price of sixty cents a copy.”

Child sought assistance to distribute her book, but unwilling to make changes to the content, she was incapable of acquiring wide readership. In 1869 she sought the aid of Lewis Tappan, co-founder of the AMA. Child asked Tappan to purchase, at cost, and distribute 500 copies of The Freedmen’s Book in AMA schools. Tappan replied that the AMA would purchase the copies if they could “cut out several articles, and in lieu thereof insert orthodox tracts” and more entries about “redeeming blood.” Morris proposed that “Despite the fact that Mrs. Child had already paid $600 of her own money to finance publication of The Freedmen’s Book, she refused to accept the association’s terms, arguing that the work ‘contained not one sectarian word, except here and there an orthodox phrase in articles written by colored people.’” Staying true to her purpose may have ultimately been responsible for the marginal success of her textbook.

The Freedman’s Library of Readers and The Freedmen’s Book were the two most prominent texts published and distributed specifically for freedmen schools. The ATS, publisher of The Freedman’s Library of Readers, and Lydia Maria Child, writer and editor of The Freedmen’s Book both sought to influence Southern politics through their texts and the education of the freedmen. The ATS, with the financial backing of the Bureau and the AMA, inundated

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197 Karcher, The First Woman in the Republic, 1841.
198 Ibid., 1841.
199 Ibid., 1041, and Morris, Reading, Writing and Reconstruction, 207.
200 Morris, Reading, Writing, and Reconstruction, 207.
their texts with entries on religious and moralistic didactic lessons and submissions implied freedmen should industriously work as field laborers and domestic servants, should accept their role as workhands to reconstruct the South, and hould look to the Godly whites for guidance and protection. Child, on the other hand, included entries that called for the freedmen to make their own way as free citizens, stand up for their rights, and be proud of their African heritage and the abilities of their race. In the end, Child’s book was too progressive and radical to be accepted for use in the North or the South and the ATS’s text was more widely used. Ultimately, the conservative ATS, the Evangelical and Southern conciliatory AMA, and Freedmen’s Bureau controlled the political molding of the freedmen in the South because they were willing to make concessions to their ideologies and educational practices; allowances that Child was not willing to make. At the end of the day, those willing to compromise their conceptual practices were the ones who were in the best position to influence Southern reconstruction and freedmen politics.
Chapter 4: Teachers of the Freedmen: Political Missionaries

If the AMA, AFUC, other missionary societies, and the Bureau were the organizers and administrators of freedmen education, and the ATS and Lydia Maria Child were two of the producers of the tools necessary, then the teachers were the political agents given the charge of instructing the freedmen. Ultimately, the beliefs and concerns of the aid organizations and the evocative lessons included in texts meant little without the support of the teacher. Butchart argues, “Yet surely it did matter who taught and toward what vision of the educated individual they applied their craft….All sorts of teachers could contribute to their [freedmen] literacy and engage them in the elementary sciences, yet each sort would have conveyed quite different lessons about compassion, commitment, race, democracy, justice, and human possibility.” For these reasons it was imperative that the aid organizations and the Bureau outlined specific characteristics and qualifications for the teachers they would employ in their schools. However, Southern whites were not receptive to many of these teachers; hostile relations made it difficult for agencies to keep teachers in their assigned locations. This chapter argues that in order to maintain a presence in the South, retain control over freedmen education and politics, and receive funding and support from Northern citizens, some of the organizations compromised their teacher qualifications as well as their initial pedagogical ideologies. Those who compromised little could not sustain their presence in freedmen education. Additionally, I argue that the teacher of the freedmen played the role, willingly or not, of a political spokesperson advocating specific ideologies.

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201 In a letter to the Charlottesville Chronicle of Virginia, Southerner, James C. Southall claims the following: “The idea prevails that you come among us not merely as an ordinary teacher, but as a political missionary”. Bullock, Henry Allen, A History of Negro Education on the South: From 1619 to the Present; 1967; p. 42.
202 Butchart, Schooling the Freed People, 121.
Once employed by an aid organization and placed in a location to teach, the teacher became the representative of specific ideologies to the freedmen. What education was, how much or how little a freedmen should be taught, what the freedmen’s place was in a free society, and what citizenship offered or limited for the freedmen, may have been stipulated by aid societies and Bureau leadership and implied in the freedmen textbooks, but it was the teacher who ultimately gave a voice to the ideologies and beliefs. The teacher was, in fact, a political agent placed in a precarious situation. To influence the freedmen through education in the classroom and through charitable deeds, and to affect Southern philosophy through leadership and representation were the tasks implicitly given to the teachers. Often times, these responsibilities placed the teachers in volatile situations; circumstances which proved to be too much for many teachers, thus threatening Northern control in the South, unless compromises were made.

The teacher of the freedmen was the only individual who could offer authentic first-hand accounts of the freedmen classroom. What the teachers reported in published and private letters and editorials became the Northerners only window into the South and showed them how effectively the aid organizations were using their money. In this sense, the teacher was not only the man or woman standing in front of the classroom offering a particular idea of education to the freedmen, but they were also the persons to whom those in the North looked to in order to measure what was needed to ensure success in the freedmen schools. Of course, the determination of success varied according to the different political ideologies present in the North. Regardless of their intentions or purposes in becoming teachers, the educators employed by prominent aid organizations, such as the American Missionary Association and the American
Freedmen’s Union Commission became influential political figures during America’s Reconstruction era.

**The Persuasion of the Teacher’s Voice**

The role of the teacher of freedmen went beyond teaching in the classroom or preaching from the pulpit. The teacher was expected to provide moral and religious guidance, health, comfort, and occasionally, financial aid. Additionally, there were times when the teacher acted as a negotiator between the freedmen and their white employers and as a scribe and reader of letters and contracts. The role for many teachers, however, extended beyond working with the freedmen and Southerners and branched into the North. From their desks teachers like the Chase sisters, wrote letters to their friends, churches, and aid societies; teachers and superintendents such as Edward L. Pierce and Laura Towne published editorials and letters in monthly publications. These writings not only gave a voice to the teachers but they provided an important political function for the organizations they worked for and for potential donors and teachers, and politically influential Northerners. In addition to expressing or requesting a need for funds or supplies, their letters and editorials endorsed certain freedmen texts, provided a window into the South and freedmen schools, and promoted and acted as political agents for the AMA and AFUC.

**Endorsed Freedmen Texts**

As mentioned earlier, the texts written primarily for the freedmen were the American Tract Society’s (ATS) *Freedman’s Library of Readers* and Lydia Maria Child’s *The Freedmen’s Book*. As clearly demonstrated, the AMA preferred their teachers to use the ATS’s text because
the ideologies presented therein were similar to the AMA, who had political, financial, and familial ties to the ATS. It also presumed that Child’s book was more in line with the ideologies of the AFUC. Most often, however, teachers used texts that were immediately available to them and to their students, and which were often not one of the texts created for the freedmen but were used prior to the Civil War in white schools. Books such as the *New England Primer, United States Primer, McGuffey’s Eclectic Reader,* and *Hillard’s Reader* were often mentioned as being used to teach the freedmen to read. That being said, it is also true that there are, in fact, a few accounts by teachers where they endorsed a specific text as being beneficial to their students. It is clear that these two curriculums were deeply involved in Southern Reconstruction politics. Therefore, when teachers wrote about a particular curriculum they were acting as political agents.

Lucy Chase, AFUC teacher wrote to her friend, Miss Lowell in 1869, of her students’ progress in the Child’s *The Freedmen’s Book.* She wrote, “I have one class in the Fr’dm’ns Book which offers an amazing store of valuable words. I frequently call attention of the whole school to illustrations of the meaning of familiar words.” 203 Where Lucy found the book valuable for its use of helpful words, other teachers reported that the students found the entries to be authentic. Morris reports, “A similar sense of relief was manifested by a South Carolina black woman after listening to a selection from *The Freedmen’s Book.* While a young boy was reciting James Madison Bell’s poem “Emancipation in the District of Columbia,” the old woman ‘was so affected that she vented her feeling with a heavy sigh, from a heart that had ached oft on account of the evils of slavery.” 204 This last account was published in the *Freedmen’s Record,* a monthly publication distributed primarily in the North. Child was an abolitionist and promoted black

203 Letter from Lucy Chase to Miss Lowell, Dec. 14, 1869, box 4, folder 1, CHASE, AAS.
204 Morris, *Reading. ‘Riting, and Reconstruction,* 209.
equality and voting rights. When teachers such as Chase and the teacher of young James argue to
the effectiveness of Child’s text, they are aligning themselves and their students with her politics
regarding freedmen education and rights.

Similarly, an AMA teacher in North Carolina writes a student’s reaction to the
Freedman’s Reader. “When I first noticed his seriousness, he seemed to have been impressed by
the religious lessons in his Freedman’s primer (published by the A.T.S. of Boston.) He could
repeat most of its simple teachings from memory, and felt plainly the need of a change of hear,
but did not see the Way.”205 Where the teachers who found Child’s book to be authentic and
valuable for its words and lessons in relation to lived experiences of the freedmen, this AMA
teacher notes the value of the Freedman’s Reader in aiding in the conversion and salvation of a
freedmen student. Simply by publishing in the American Missionary and being employed by the
AMA, the teacher thus politically tied himself to the ideologies of ATS. Submitting that the text
could be used to help freedmen find the “Way,” was also suggesting that the role of the AMA
teacher was to convert and denominational-ize the freedmen through education.

Window to the South

Potential benefactors, donors, and teachers living in the North primarily relied on the
accounts of individuals working in the South for an idea of what it and the freedmen were like.
For some it was mere curiosity; for others these editorials provided the inspiration to act in the
form of donating supplies or money, or to seek employment with an aid organization to work
with the freedmen. The authors of these accounts, whether intentional or not, likely inspired
individuals to participate in freedmen education and Southern Reconstruction.

In 1863, AFUC leader, teacher, and superintendent, Edward L. Pierce published “The Freedmen at Port Royal” in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Though directly employed through a Commission that would become part of the AFUC, his early duties in the freedmen education required him to work directly with teachers and superintendents from several aid organizations, including the AMA. In this article he provided details about the freedmen way of life, the beginnings of freedmen schools, and the experiences of the early aid workers and teachers at Port Royal, North Carolina. He began his description by offering a brief history of the region, emphasizing the remoteness of the island and the native-like qualities of the freedmen until the first commission arrived in 1862. “On the morning of the 3rd of March, 1862, the first delegation of superintendents and teachers, fifty-three in all, of whom twelve were women, left the harbor of New York, on board the United States steam-transport Atlantic, arriving at Beaufort on the 9th.”

Pierce spends the majority of the article detailing the experiences of this delegation. He offered the following regarding his description of the delegation:

It is fitting here that I should bear my testimony to the superintendents and teachers commissions by the associations. There was as high a purpose and devotion among them as in any colony that ever went forth to bear the evangel of civilization. Among them were some of the choicest young men of New England, fresh from Harvard, Yale, and Brown, from the divinity-schools of Andover and Cambridge, -- men of practical talent and experience. There were some of whom the world was scarce worthy, and to whom, whether they are among the living or the dead, I delight to pay the tribute of my respect and admiration.

In this description Pierce is emphasizing, not only the intellectual talent of these men, but also their dedication to their role in freedmen education and aid. In fact, by calling his account a “testimony,” Pierce is contending that the experiences of these superintendents and teachers were a religious occurrence. For the readers of the *Atlantic Monthly*, many of whom were wealthy

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207 Ibid. p. 299
Northerners, Pierce’s “testimony” was equivalent to a missionary’s witness, showing a need for support of the brave, talented, and dedicated individuals willing to risk their lives for those in need. Indeed, four of the original delegation did die!

Francis E. Barnard died on October 18, 1862 because “his excessive exertions brought on a malarious fever.” Samuel D. Philips was next to pass. Of him Pierce says, “He had good business-capacity, never complained of inconveniences, was humane, yet not misled by sentiment, and he gave more of his time, otherwise occupied, to teaching than almost any other superintendent.” Once his health began to decline Pierce offers, “He was tended in his sickness by the negroes and one day, having asked that his pillow might be turned, he uttered the words, ‘Thanks God,’ and died.” The other two men, William S. Clark and Daniel Bowe experienced similar deaths; all four men’s lives are illustrated by Pierce as being Godly and devoted to their schools even while on the brink of death. Though this publication was three years before the AFUC published the Christian morality qualifications in the American Freedmen, Pierce’s accentuation of the men’s religious aptitude and commitment was to have been appealing to other young men who were considering working with freedmen. Indirectly, Pierce is advising that position of teacher or superintendent should be pursued by those men who were devoted enough to risk death.

Pierce reasons the some of the same qualities of the female teachers as the men; however, more emphasis is given to their devotion to teaching than to Christianly duties:

One of the teachers of this school is an accomplished woman from Philadelphia. Another is from Newport, Rhode Island, where she had prepared herself for this work by benevolent labors in teaching poor children. The third is a young woman of African descent, of olive complexion, finely cultured, and

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208 Ibid., 299
209 Ibid., 300.
attuned to all beautiful sympathies, of gentle address, and, what was specially noticeable, not possessed with an overwrought consciousness of her race.210

At Coffin Point, on St. Helen Island, I visited a school kept by a young woman from the town of Milton, Massachusetts, “the child of parents passed into the skies,” whose lives have both been written for the edification of the Christian world.211

On the 8th of April, I visited a school on Ladies Island, kept in a small church on the Eustis estate, and taught by a young woman from Kingston, Massachusetts. She had manifested much persistence in going to this field, went with the first delegation, and still keeps the school which opened in March, 1862.212

Like the men, there is a certain kind of teacher that should embark on the duties and the labor of teaching the freedmen. She should be educated, Christian, experienced, and devoted to teaching. In his descriptions of the superintendents and teachers, Pierce is providing an advertisement for what both the AFUC and the AMA were looking for in their applicants.

In another section of his account, Pierce discusses the terrible conditions in which the freedmen live and their superstitious rituals. He insinuates that these conditions and habits were developed and sustained primarily because of the peoples’ lack of access to civilized society.

“Nowhere has the deterioration of the negroes from their native manhood been carried so far as those on these Sea Islands, -- a deterioration due to their isolation from the excitements of more populous districts, the constant surveillance of the overseers, and their intermarriage with each other, involving a physical degeneracy with which inexorable Nature punishes disobedience to her laws.”214 He recounted superstitious beliefs in evil spirits, invoking the spirit of a sleeping child before waking it, the belief that putting an alligator on its back will bring rain. These issues,

210 I believe he is referring to Charlotte Forten. During this time she was one of the few light complexion black teacher employed by an aid organization (New England Freedmen’s Aid) in the Sea Islands. She published her account of teaching in the Atlantic Monthly in May 1864.
211 Pierce, “The Freedmen at Port Royal,” 305.
212 Ibid.
213 Ibid., 305-306.
214 Ibid., 301.
lack of civility and belief in spirits and rituals, Pierce maintains, can be addressed and corrected
with education, and the development of manhood.

Of education, Pierce offers statistics regarding the number of schools, teachers, and
students. He offers that the students “did not know even know their letters prior to a year ago last
March.” He goes on to say, “It was not until October or November that the educational
arrangements were put into much shape; and they are still imperfectly organized. In some
localities there is as yet no teacher, and this because the associations have not had the funds
where with to provide one.”215 Pierce is not only arguing that the education movement of the
freedmen is essential but also that there was a need for more funds and teachers to make
freedmen education a success, which, as he previously offered is a necessary step in reforming
the freedmen into becoming civilized American citizens, some with the potential right to vote.
Pierce goes to prove that those freedmen in schools are learning. “In several of the schools a
class was engaged on an elementary lesson in arithmetic, geography, or writing. The eagerness
for knowledge and the facility of acquisition displayed in the beginning had not abated.”216 He
even transcribes a question and answer session between a teacher and young students who were
able to answer questions regarding slavery, history, geography, social studies, industry and labor,
and economics. Pierce proposes, “One who listens to such answers can hardly think that there is
any natural incapacity in these children to acquire with maturity of years the ideas and habits of
good citizens.”217

The AMA frequently published teacher narratives and accounts in their monthly
publication, American Missionary. These accounts heavily emphasize the Godly devotion and
missionary duties in which the teachers partake. One teacher wrote the following: “How must

215 Ibid., 303.
216 Ibid.
217 Ibid., 307.
every pious heart throb with gratitude to God, to see the warm sun of his blessing beautifying these late abodes of cruelty, and spreading light and love over almost half a continent, lately cursed with the sales of human flesh. How we bless the hand that stayed the sward, and sent here a more glorious conqueror to finish the conquest.”218 In fact, few of the letters published by the AMA documented the goings on within the classrooms. When a school or students are described in detail, it was typically to illustrate a need. By promoting the missionary-like work through letters which seemed to proselytize, the AMA was posing that the South was a land ripe for the missionary and missionary-teachers.

One such exception to the preaching-like letters is one that reports that the AMA teacher is part of a revenge plot in the South. Placed in the town of Andersonville, Georgia, she writes, “This is the Andersonville of dreadful memory- a place made sacred by the dust of sixteen thousand martyred heroes- a place at whose mention patriotic hearts throb with new impulse; for here was wrought our most visible, the spirit of the system which has so cursed over our land with its presence. Here our brave men were distressed, persecuted, murdered, and here we institute our plan of revenge.”219 From here she begins to describe her school in which she notes, “In seven years teaching North, I have not seen a parallel to their appetite for learning, and their active progress.”220 Mary Battey is presenting her work as a missionary-teacher educating the freedmen to read, is revenge upon the Southerners responsible for the death of Northern “martyrs” murdered on that land. Initially, this ideology seems to run counter to the more widely promoted beliefs of the AMA; however, the Bible, especially the Old Testament, is full of stories in which Christians enact revenge against those who do not worship God. Battey was not, in fact,

219 Battey, Mary S. American Missionary, “From Miss Mary S. Battey,” 11, no. 3 (March, 1867): 52.
220 Ibid.
going against the missionary philosophy of the AMA, rather she was promoting the work as being part of a “plan of revenge” against those who were not, in her estimation, true followers of the word of God.

The AMA’s window into the South was different from the AFUC’s, primarily because the AMA emphasized the missionary work of the teachers and the AFUC stressed the importance and necessary dangers of the teachers’ work. Regardless of the teachers and superintendents’ intentions, by submitting for publication their narrative or letters, they were engaging in the political work of their aid organization. They were offering the window to the South that was reminiscent of the certain kind of teachers needed, or to prove that teaching in the South was God’s work. Not only, then, were the teachers providing an illustration of the South but they were also promoting their aid organization.

**Political Propaganda**

What is of immediate importance, Pierce recommends, in Southern Reconstruction is to make “good citizens” of the freed people. His account of the freedmen at Port Royal was more than a narrative; it was a persuasive argument for more aid in the South. Though Pierce never makes mention of voting rights, even in 1862 the notion was at the forefront of political concerns. It was well known that black men outnumbered white men in the South. Should the black men be allowed to vote, how they would vote and what their politics would be, were some of the greatest anxieties of Northern and Southern whites. Education, Pierce offers, provided by Christian men and dutiful women, where at the head of this movement. In this sense his article not only provided a window into the South, but was a piece of political propaganda used to
promote the belief that to control the freedmen’s vote, one must first control their education. Pierce was not the only educator whose writings could be used in this manner.

In 1865, a primary concern for many involved in freedmen education was determining who was most qualified to teach the freedmen. Many organizations, the AFUC and the AMA included, were wary of the intentions of Southern whites seeking employment. In fact, Butchart contends that the majority of Southern white teachers likely taught in freedmen schools out of financial necessity and not out of a desire the educate the people. “While very few southern whites spoke of religious ends, or philanthropic intentions, or social or political visions for their work, many of them, very many, did voice their immediate reasons for engaging in the black schools. Others did not say it, but their circumstances spoke loudly as words. Their reason was simple. They were poor to the point of desperation.”

It was during that year that the Chase sisters published a two part account of their first journey into south in the *Worcester Evening Gazette*. The account was constructed by compiling pieces of their letters and was published with the title, “A Journey Through the South.” In the first section of this article the sisters address this anxiety:

Most of our travelling [sic] companions were haughty secessionists. In Petersburg, some of the leading citizens called on some southerners at our hotel who had “succeeded in finding a school that was purely Southern.” “I was educated in New York, I am ashamed to say,” said one lady. A large body of our fellow travelers expressed the conviction that the horrors of Jamaica will be re-enacted here, unless the negroes are colonized, “they are so vindictive and cruel.” A gentleman said at the hotel in Charleston, in reply to the inquiry, “How are the niggers doing with you?” “Very bad, very bad! They won’t work.”

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221 Butchart, *Schooling the Freed People*, 67.
223 Ibid., 183.
This paragraph not only addresses the dire need to “colonize” the freed people so they can become socialized citizens, but it also illustrates Southern white sentiment toward the black race. This account begs the question: are the Southern whites fit to teach the freedmen? The Southern whites’ fear and distaste regarding the black characters seems to suggest they are not. The sisters offer another account, this time with a black woman, which also offers the need for Northern white teachers in the South:

S. [Sarah] rebuked an old cotton-picking “auntie” for calling her fellows niggers. “We are niggers,” she said. “We always was niggers, and we always shall be: nigger here, nigger there, nigger do this, and nigger do that. We’ve got no souls, we are animals. We are black and so is the evil one.” “That you don’t know,” said S. “Yes I do,” she replied. “The Bible does not say the devil is black,” said S. “Well, white folks say so, and we’se bound to believe ‘em, cause we’se nothing but animals and niggers. Yes, we’se niggers! niggers! niggers!”

It is certain that this woman believed what she spoke because she was taught to believe this way by Southern whites. In fact, for both the ATS and Child, the perception of blacks as animals was a notion that their textbooks challenged, attempting instead, to represent the freedmen as humans. Clearly, this was not the belief of the AMA, AFUC, or any of the Northern aid societies sending teachers south. Whether or not it was the Chase sisters’ intention to advocate that the Southern people should not be the teachers of freedmen is unknown; however, in the political climate in which this article was published it is very likely that many readers would have come to a similar conclusion.

The AMA also published accounts from teachers. One account came from Sara G. Stanley in St. Louis, Missouri. Stanley provided a detailed account of one of her students whom she describes in the following manner:

Among my pupils is a young man whose slave life was one of the most cruel and wretched among the millions of his fellow sufferers. The hardships he

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224 Ibid., 189.
endured wrought a fearfully evil effect upon his character. He was a hardened and
desperate sinner. He tells me he never experienced but one emotion or passion in
all his life in slavery, and that was hatred and revenge. He was freed by the
proclamation of Emancipation but the change in his condition had but little
influence on his hear or mind. He considered it but tardy justice, and, in his own
words, “thanked neither God nor Abraham Lincoln for it.” Last winter by God’s
grace he was converted (and some of his religious experiences are most striking
and beautiful), and soon after, fully convinced that his Heavenly Father, whose
infinite love and tenderness had pardoned his sins so great, required him to testify
his love and gratitude by preaching the gospel to his people.225

Stanley goes on to recount he was recently disheartened because he was going to have to quit
school due to the unfair wage practices of the Southern white employers. He was no longer able
pay his tuition. Stanley, explained to him “how money that day had been received for the use of
the school sent by kind Christian friends and especially designated for him and such as he; how
the rent would be paid and all embarrassment removed, and how God and our friends would take
care of us so that no more troubles about unpaid bills would arise.”226 Stanley’s published letter
not only insinuates that the Southern whites were using unfair practices to keep students out of
AMA schools, but also that Christian friends would take care of her students’ and her needs. In
this letter Stanley was acting as an agent for the AMA, indicating to their friends that it was not
only their Christian duty, but the will of God that they provide financial support for the AMA
schools and freedmen students.

Qualifications and Duties: Hired to Proselytize, Teach, and Influence

When the Freedmen’s Bureau began its operations in 1865, their role in freedmen
education was mainly as a support system for the aid organizations operating freedmen schools
in the South. In her analysis of the Freedmen’s Bureau, Parker offered that the primary objective

226 Ibid., 55
of the Bureau was to “cooperate with such organizations [private relief and aid organizations] and with state authority in the establishment and maintenance of schools, until a system of free schools could be supported by the reorganized local governments.”

227 Due to limited funding in their first year of operation, the Bureau’s aid was restricted to “supervising schools, transporting teachers, and providing buildings.”

228 The aid organizations had to provide the funds to hire teachers, maintain the buildings, and supply materials. A few years later the Bureau, having appropriated funds from the sale of confiscated Confederate land, was able to provide the aid organizations with more money, buildings, transportation costs, and supplies than previously. The numerous organizations began to compete for Bureau support.

229 Many associations and organizations vied for Bureau support; few of those organizations lasted long enough to claim success.

The American Missionary Association and the American Freedmen’s Union Commission were two of the larger aid organizations operating in the South which enjoyed aid from the Bureau. Each of the organizations had a set of qualifications they were looking for in the teachers they hired; however, as the need to secure aid from the Bureau grew, so did the competition to secure multiple school locations to send teachers, and adherence to the set qualifications became less important. What was important was gaining a stronghold in freedmen education in order to use teachers to influence the freedmen and Southern whites alike.

The American Missionary Association, listed six specific qualities that the teachers they hired had to possess: “(1) a missionary spirit; (2) good health; (3) energy; (4) common sense; (5)

228 Ibid., 10
229 In “Some Educational Activities of the Freedmen’s Bureau” Parker argues that the number of organizations the Bureau aided may have been in the vicinity of 79 organizations. “The exact number of the associations with which the Freedmen’s Bureau worked is difficult to establish, but as many as seventy-nine have been listed. However, the brief life of many associations, their tendency to unite and separate, frequent changes in title and area of work as well as in the number of units of affiliate societies, would mean that in such an inclusive list there might be considerable overlapping.” Ibid., 11.
an absence of marked singularities and idiosyncrasies; and (6) experience as a teacher.”

In the early years of the AMA’s participation in freedmen education the primary objective of the AMA was send South teachers who were first and foremost missionaries in spirit, if not in fact. If an applicant appeared to be too much of an abolitionist or did not express a desire to place preaching above all else, they were not likely to be hired. William Warren Rogers Jr. studied, in-depth, the lives of two AMA teachers. In his study he found that many of the AMA teachers had close affiliations to the Congregationalist Church. He wrote, “A close connection existed between the AMA and the Congregationalist Church; most of the AMA representatives who traveled to the South were Congregationalists. Extending that New England-based denomination and initiating the freedmen into Congregationalist dogma dovetailed with the paternalistic impulses of the AMA.”

Likewise, Butchart discusses that early on the AMA was willing to hire teachers who may not fit the qualifications of having energy, being in good health, or having teaching experience, but they would not hire a teacher with abolitionist associations.

The American Freedmen’s Union Commission (AFUC) did not claim an explicit list of the qualifications for teacher candidates. To determine the qualities that the AFUC teachers were likely to possess, it is necessary to restate the foundational ideologies of the AFUC. The AFUC’s primary purpose was to provide aid and education to individuals, black or white, in the South who were displaced by the Civil War. The aid was provided by those of Christian character; however, the AFUC did not affiliate with particular sects of Christianity. In fact, the AFUC was willing to employ abolitionist and black teachers and superintendents, so long as they were of moral character. Additionally, Lyman Abbott, AFUC’s general secretary, proposed that

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232 For a more in-depth discussion of this requirement see chapter 2.
233 For a more in-depth review chapter 2.
helping the South to learn to care for itself was also a primary responsibility of the Commission’s employees. “The South must become self-educative. She will; and ours it is, primarily to help her become so, only secondarily to assist to provide her with a partial education mean-while.”

In his analysis of Lyman Abbott, Brown describes a correspondence between a teacher in the South and Abbott:

One teacher wrote Abbott of her annoyance at the offer of a local citizen to take over the teaching of her pupils. Although she had no objection to a new school being opened by the people there, she had no desire to release the one she had organized. Abbott replied: “That is a serious mistake. This is just what we want to do. The whole object of the Commission is to stimulate the Southern people to take up and carry on this work of education for themselves.” The more Southerners the Commission’s agents could take into partnership with them, the better. The sooner they could turn the movement entirely over to Southerners, the better for all concerned. The faintest inclination to co-operate in the work of educating the colored people should be welcomed.”

The teachers, then, who were employed by the AFUC, in addition to embodying a Christian spirit, also desired to rehabilitate the South so that the South could take over the duties of aiding and educating the freedmen.

**Why they taught: White Teachers in the South**

Applicants who applied for teaching positions with aid organizations had specific motivations for doing so. The most common reasons included political ambition, desire to reform, and aspiration to be a missionary. If hired, these motivations influenced the teachers’ perspectives regarding the abilities and qualities of the freedmen, as well as what the teacher’s role in the South should be. What inspired the teacher to apply for the position also influenced

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234 *American Freedmen*, 2, No.5 (August, 1865): 258. AF, AAS.

their decision to request employment with a specific organization. For example, Nathan and Lucy Willis chose to work through the AMA because Nathan was an ordained Congregationalist minister who “was convinced that only after exposure to education and religion could ex-slaves begin the long climb to some type of parity with whites.” Additionally, the reason an individual was hired by certain aid organizations, at times, had less to do with their qualifications and more to do with their ability to self-fund their positions or raise funds for the organization through familial or political influence. This too affected the teachers’ pedagogical and ideological notions regarding the freedmen and their education. The very act of hiring teachers, often times, became an ideological compromise for the AMA and the AFUC. Both of the organizations were created on specific ideological pillars however, early on they were both willing to compromise on some of their tenants in order to maintain a presence in the South.

**Political Aspirations**

Morris argues that some teachers used the position of freedmen teacher as way to move into politics. Though these individuals were not openly sought-out or purposely hired by the organizations, these teachers, mostly men, inevitably made it into the classroom. Joseph W. Clint was hired by the AMA in 1867 to set up a church and school in Georgia. Clint used his position to gain political status by organizing Union Leagues in his district in order to influence the possible black vote in his favor. What is more interesting is the AMA was not unaware of his activities. In fact, he wrote a letter to the AMA making them aware of his actions. “The colored people in this Congressional district will vote for me for almost anything…I am organizing Union Leagues everywhere among them and teaching them the importance of learning to read.”

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236 Rogers, William Warren, Jr., “‘The Prospect Before Us,’” 8.
immediately; before the election anyhow.” Aware of Clint’s ambitions the AMA expressed no desire to eliminate his employment. A vote for Clint was, in a sense, a vote for the AMA.

Based on their definitive stand against being a political entity, it is unlikely that the AFUC would have knowingly hired a political activist affiliated with any specific party. No examples of AFUC teachers acting in a political manner are presently known. What is known, however, is the AFUC actively hired known abolitionists who had a reputation of influencing politics. The aforementioned, Harriett Jacobs, and her ties to abolitionist Lydia Maria Child, is one such example. Laura Towne presents another example of an outspoken abolitionist hired by the AFUC. In fact Towne was one of the few women to attain the position of superintendent. Towne began with the AFUC as a teacher and was later hired by the Bureau as a superintendent of schools on St. Helen Island. Towne did not try to downplay or hide her abolitionist ties and often submitted letters to the *American Freedmen*, AFUC’s monthly publication, voicing her intentions in the South. Butchart reasoned the following about Towne, “Abolitionist Laura Towne, deeply critical of the northern evangelicals around her in South Carolina, was blunt about her intentions: “We have come to do antislavery work, and we think it noble work and we mean to do it earnestly.” Hiring abolitionists was, regardless of the AFUC’s stated declarations, participation and promotion of radical political ideologies.

**Southern Reformers**

Many applicants desired to participate in the reformation of the South. Reformation for some took place in the form of missionary work; for others it was about building up the freedmen so they could participate in civilized society. For some organizations, the reformation

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238 Butchart, *Schools the Freed People*, 110.
and reconstruction of the South depended on the freedmen returning to work, often times, at the same plantation working for their previous master. Jacqueline Jones argued that AMA was one of those organizations: “The emphasis on education and moral suasion- rather than vigorous agitation for civil rights, for example- fit in well with congressional programs to relieve the most obvious instances of physical suffering and prevent further economic dislocation. The AMA might have favored the creation of a black yeomanry, but it was immediately concerned with the importance of productive labor and urged the freed people to go back to work until they could purchase land on their own; in the meantime, blacks would study the industrial and business habits of the northern whites who settled among them.” Jones goes on to offer the Bureau held similar beliefs, “Predictably, the Freedmen’s Bureau’s efforts to encourage former slaves to eschew idleness and revelry in the months after emancipation received the enthusiastic support of northern aid societies.”

In other words, the AMA and the Bureau’s idea of Southern Reconstruction depended on the willingness of the freedmen to return to their positions as laborers. Additionally, they believed that the freedmen needed to be steered away from radical notions of equality and racial class mobility and instead rely on the Northern whites to do what was in the best interest of, not only the freedmen, but of the entire South, in order for Reconstruction to be a success.

One of the AFUC’s prominent figures, Edward L Pierce240, wrote a story for Atlantic Monthly, in 1863, titled “The Freedmen at Port Royal” in which he states the reformation goals of the AFUC in Southern Reconstruction:

239 Jones, Soldiers of Light and Love, 28.
Two questions are concerned in the social problem of our time. One is, Will the people of African descent work for a living? and the other is, Will they fight for their freedom? An affirmative answer to these must be put beyond any fair dispute before they will receive permanent security in law or opinion. Whatever may be the theses of philosophers or the instincts of the justest [sic] men, the general sense of mankind is not likely to accord the rights of complete citizenship to a race of paupers, or to hesitate in imposing compulsory labor on those who have not industry sufficient to support themselves. Nor, in the present development of human nature, is the conscience of great communities likely to be so pervasive and controlling as to restrain them from disregarding the rights of those whom it is perfectly safe to injure, because they have not the pluck to defend themselves. Sentiment may be lavished upon them in poetry and tears, but it will all be wasted. Like all unprivileged classes before them, they will have their full recognition as citizens and men when they have vindicated their title to be an estate of the realm, and not before. Let us, then, take the world as we find it, and this people accordingly…To vindicate their title to a fair chance in the world as a free people, it is sufficient, and alone sufficient, that it appear to reasonable minds that they are in good and evil much like the rest of mankind, and they are endowed in about the same degree with the conservative and progressive elements of character common to ordinary humanity.241

Southern reformation or reconstruction for the AFUC was unlike the AMA in that it required the reformers to aid the freedmen in becoming self-sufficient, educated, and independent of aid, in order to achieve full citizenship rights and responsibilities and not to create a class of people dependent on Northern aid. Commission teacher Sarah Chase wrote a letter to her friends in the aid organization in 1866, expressing the sentiment of teaching self-reliance to the freedmen. In this letter she offers her belief that black people need to be taught to care for one another without financial aid or rations from the government. Sarah’s attitude reflected the AFUC’s goal of reforming the South through teaching self-reliance.

In the cold, leaking, tottering quarters of a handsome house near us, I found two women crouching and shivering over a few chips smoking in the fire place, each wrapped in a piece of Yankee blanket to which they were mostly indebted for the little comfort they had; their clothing underneath being extremely worn and thin. They were 95 and 103! years old; had worked all their days…From a woman who came in I learned the people in the house let them stay there and gave them weekly rations of meal; and the poor neighbors give them

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now and then a bit. Govt. gives no rations now (Tis right, I think) and if it did, such feeble old souls could not go for them or cook them-and the Home will be the place for them. I shall speak in the different colored churches about it, helping them organize committees to sustain it. I changed their bed to the warmest corner away from the “leakings”-engaged a woman to stop up the chinks, and after doing a few other things from their comfort left them, wondering how many old people were more blest than these in temporal things, and as blest in spiritual.²⁴²

Like that of the AMA, teacher of freedmen Sarah Chase believed that the freedmen needed to accept aid, charity, and education from Northern whites, to whom they must trust and who had their best interests in mind. Jones offers that “the reformers placed principle over politics, just over expediency.”²⁴³ However, the freedmen educator-reformers, played an important political role in that they employed ideological notions to influence the reformation of the freedmen, particularly, that the black race was in need of Northern white guidance.

Missionary “Teacher”

The most conspicuous difference between AMA and AFUC teachers is the emphasis on the “missionary spirit” requirement of the AMA versus the Christian morality requirement of the AFUC. It was during this time period Butchart calls, quoting Jon Butler, “the American ‘antebellum spiritual hothouse,’ an era marked by widespread spiritual belief and religious pluralism but rising Christianity,²⁴⁴” in which Northerners were answering the call of teaching in the South. It would be extremely unlikely that any applicant to any aid organization would not be a Christian. The difference was in the emphasis on mission work versus teaching the freedmen.

The early post-emancipation era AMA listed “missionary spirit” as top requirement for their teachers. In fact, the AMA gave each of its applicants a questionnaire where they asked

²⁴² Letter from Sarah Chase. December 29th 1866 from Charleston, SC, CHASE, box1, folder 9, AAS.
²⁴³ Jones, Soldiers of Light and Love, 27.
²⁴⁴ Butchart, Schooling the Freed People, 85.
questions regarding the person’s experience teaching, health and energy, reasons for wanting to
go south, and their denominational affiliation. In general, they favored some denominations, such
as Congregationalist, over others, like the Quakers. AMA teacher, Harriet Greely who taught in
St. Augustine, Florida with her AMA missionary husband, was the embodiment of the kind of
missionary teacher the AMA hired. Laura Wallis Wakefield describes Greely: “To her there was
no earthly authority that needed to be consulted. She and her husband had only ‘to give ourselves
wholly to the work our lives even, if God will it, that we may have it to say we have done what
we could.’”245 Another AMA teacher, Sarah S. Smith, wrote of her missionary desire in her
application. Butchart writes, “Sarah S. Smith made no reference to the freed people when she
applied to the American Missionary Association, declaring simply, ‘I believe I am prompted by a
sincere desire to serve Him more entirely in my works.’” 246 Teachers like Greely and Smith
could be depended on to convert the freedmen to follow specific religious ideologies. Richard B.
Drake offers the following: “However deep their feelings about slavery and civil rights for the
Negro, Northern churches were inclined to be primarily interested in making good
denominationalists of their Negro charges.”247 Emphasis on the missionary work in the South, as
opposed to stressing the education of the freedmen, reasoned that the conversion of the freedmen
was more important for Southern Reconstruction than educating the population. Furthermore, the
AMA advocated certain religions that were less likely to influence the freedmen to demand racial
equality or question white superiority. This ideology was greatly dissimilar from other religions,
like the Quakers, who accentuated racial equality and ethnically impartial politics. The AMA,

246 Butchart, Schooling the Freed People, 106.
247 Drake, “Freedmen’s Aid Societies and Sectional Compromise,” 181.
however, was not the only aid organization who emphasized religion over education; other organizations just didn’t call it “missionary work.”

Though the teachers desiring to fulfill their Christian duty and become missionaries in the South were likely to apply to the AMA, the AFUC had a decided set of religious standards to which their teachers must adhere. In 1866, a committee convened in order to make the Commissions’ stance on religion in freedmen education. They offered that “The education of the South is a truly religious work,” though it was also decidedly undenominational. The AFUC published the following statement in the *American Freedmen*:

> We desire the more that our schools may be truly Christian because they are uneclesiastical. For this purpose we aim to commission only teachers possessing the spirit of true religion, by which we do not mean persons of any particular doctrinal views, but such as are attracted to the work, not by curiosity, or life of adventure, or its compensation, but by a genuine spirit of live for God and man.

Morris contends that “Men and women employed by the AFUC would be expected to offer instruction in ‘secular knowledge’ and in ‘fundamental duties of the Christian religion.’” He further offers that “This secular society was content to leave the inculcation of ‘more specific religious truth’ to the churches.” While the AFUC did not advertise their desire to send South missionaries, they did insist that their teachers instill in the freedmen the fundamentals of Christianity. The variance, then, between the AMA and AFUC, was more in the role that religion played in the teachers’ pedagogies; the AMA teacher put conversion and religion above all other instruction, and the AFUC teacher used religion as part of their instruction rather than the whole.

Ultimately, the AMA found that they had to compromise their emphasis on Congregationalist denominational teachers and missionaries. As the AMA absorbed more and

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248 *American Freedmen*, “Education and Religion,”1, no.1, (September 1866):126. AF, AAS.
more aid organizations, and the need for teachers in the South increased, the AMA found it was financially necessary to keep the previous organizations’ teachers employed or to hire teachers who were tied to other more radical denominations, such as Quakers, Baptists, and Methodists. The AMA also found that they could have more of an influence on freedmen education if they could maintain a presence in the South. This meant making the work less dangerous for the teachers and missionaries who were finding the Southern whites were aggressive and, at times, violent. Moving toward a more Southern, white-friendly pedagogy, meant moving toward an industrial labor pedagogy, and making religion less of an emphasis. This was a compromise the AMA had to make in order to stay in the South. The AFUC, however, never intended on staying in the South for an extended period of time; only until the South was ready to take-over the education and aid of the freedmen. This notion, in it of itself, was designed to be appealing to Southern white and black teachers alike. Hiring teachers for the AFUC or the post-compromise AMA then, was more about employing individuals who would be able to sustain an authority in the South, than it was about recruiting for a religion.

**Hiring the financially secure**

Initially, financial support from wealthy Northerners flooded into the early aid organizations and they operated as though that money flow would continue; however, as early as 1867, many aid organizations found that they needed more funds than they were being provided. In part, this was due to the fact that there were so many organizations being created and the funds were being funneled to too many organizations. The AFUC was created by combining several Commissions into one larger organization, in order to combine and distribute the monies
The AMA met this challenge by using some of their funds to acquire the schools and employees of some of the smaller organizations and societies when they were no longer able to financially support their schools and teachers. In the long run, finances were also a determining factor in teacher employment; being able to self-support or lobby for funding, made a white teacher-candidate appealing to both the AMA and the AFUC.

The early era of the AMA was marked by the loss of several teachers as they returned north and, often times, abandoned their teaching positions. Though other factors contributed to teachers’ decisions to give up teaching (such as hostile Southern whites, illnesses, and the belief that their mission duty had been fulfilled), financial strain was frequently the given reason. The AMA was not alone in this experience. Often times, teachers of many organizations, the AMA and AFUC included, went months without receiving their salary or supplies. However, the AMA, being the largest organization operating schools and churches in the South, was most often criticized when they did not have the funds to pay their teachers. One such teacher commented, “It might be better for the A.M.A. just now, if it had fewer ‘poor country ministers’ daughters.’ These classes are not supplied with bank stock, U.S. Bonds and independent friends who have a store of cash constantly on hand, from which supplies can be drawn in cases of emergency.”

For reasons such as these, finances were often important to the both the applicant and the hiring organization. Jones offered an example of a teacher hired by the AMA because she was financially stable. Anne W. Phillips, was a wealthy Bostonian who had ties to “many of the aristocratic families” in Boston. Though she lacked most of the AMA qualifications and was a Southern sympathizer during the war, she was given a commission because she had property

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250 See chapter two.
251 Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love*, 38 quoted from O.W. Dimick to E.A. Ware, Oak Hill, Mass. 14 Sept. 1868, Ware papers.
and could go to Georgia “at her own expense.”\textsuperscript{252} By giving Anne a commission to teach, the AMA compromised their most significant ideologies, but at what cost? Assumedly, the AMA not only gained a volunteer-teacher, but they likely gained the financial support of Anne’s “aristocratic” friends who could help them build more churches and schools and send more Northern teachers to the South.

The AFUC hired two sisters from Worcester, Massachusetts, Lucy and Sarah Chase. The Chase sisters were the daughters of a wealthy insurance agent and, like Anne, had connections with many affluent families in Massachusetts. The sisters, Jones says, “proved to be valuable assets for the AFUC because they channeled funds from their home into social welfare projects in Columbus [Georgia].”\textsuperscript{253} Though the AFUC did not have to compromise their ideological foundation in order to hire the Chase sisters, it is true that the sisters were “valuable assets” to the Commission. Lucy and Sarah only needed to send a letter asking for support and they were supported, either directly from the friend or indirectly through the friends’ donations to the AFUC. The support came in the form of money and supplies. In one letter Sarah Chase tells how $10.00 was used:

\begin{quote}
The money met absolute need of people who has [sic] nowhere to look for money. 1. A worn weary woman with 11 children, and another with three, came in one night from ten days in the woods; coming away from the plantation. “We was drive off, Misses, kase wese no account with our chider.” $1. made a nourishing soup for the party for one day & a good meat dinner for the next. 2. Carried a woman with her children & “pack” to the hospital. 3. enabled an old rheumatic man to “get about a little to pick up jobs to earn a little to keep his old body alive” he could not step on the group without shoes, & was wholly dependent on others—while with them he takes care of himself. 4&5 purifications after Small Pox, for a very old woman & a blind man. 6 sent an old man, who could do nothing for himself, to his friends who will take care of him as long as he lives. 7 furnished three loaves to a sick woman with young children-whose husband finds himself free to run away from home and its duties. 8 sent a Dr. to an intense sufferer and to an old man who thought he could “knock about and get
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{252}Jones, J. \textit{Soldiers of Light and Love}, 39.
\textsuperscript{253}Ibid., 38.
his food for the chores he could do when he got about.” Both should have had attention long before but count not afford [sic] it. Poor Ben is released from his suffering, which has confined him for three yrs, to his bed. Always gentle and patient, never blaming his hard master for over straining him as a dray man: after having been told by the Dr., “You’d better not let your smart little dray man lift so much alone-or you’ll lose him.” 10th has relieved many violent attacks among the old and poor people- curing some cases where “Missus allers use to give me whisky when I was so” – (I can give not spirit).

By providing her donors with a detailed description of exactly how their money was used to help the freedmen, Sarah was also showing that the need for aid was desperate. The AFUC was providing some, but what they gave was not enough. To the same end, Lucy wrote a letter to her friend Miss Stevenson in 1864, wherein she recounts some of the supplies sent to her from other smaller aid organizations and friends from the North.

The Friends (Orthodox in N.Y. and Orthodox and Hicksite in Phila) have sent to us far the larger part of our clothing. Surprisingly excellent it has been, all new, stout as heart (or body) could wish. The only people who seem to know what to send-shirts and chemises of very substantial cotton- Dresses, firm as the bust home-spun-All things wanted, and all things right. Worchester Freedmen’s Soc six or eight barrels. 6 or 8
- Roxbury boxes 3
- Boston [not decipherable]
- N.Y. friends box & bar (15 or 20 I imagine)
- Phil both soc 15 perhaps
- Boston several
- Salem 1
- Lynn 1
- Freedmens Relief N.Y. several

Like her sister, Lucy is not only showing a need for supplies but also listing what other societies have sent to her and the AFUC. The Chases’ influence with their well-to-do friends in the North profited the AFUC in countless ways. In a sense, the AFUC was acting hypocritically. While the Commission was promoting black self-reliance and independence from Northern aid, they

254 Undated and unaddressed letter from Sarah Chase, Columbus, GA. CHASE, box 1, folder 9, AAS.
255 Letter from Lucy Chase to Miss Stevenson, Norfolk, VA, 9 Dec 1864, CHASE, box 4, folder 1, AAS.
themselves were reliant and dependent on Northern aid, specifically on the aid that wealthy and well-connected families, like the Chases, could provide them.

In order to maintain a prominent position in the South, the AMA and the AFUC relied on the generosity and wealth of others, particularly white women from rich and influential Northern families. While the AMA was willing to compromise their core values in order to gain access to some of the wealth and the AFUC acted disingenuously, so they could receive supplies and funds to aid their teachers in the South. These conciliations were essential in order for the organizations to maintain a presence in the South in order to influence freedmen education, religion, politics, and ideologies. More persuasive than the qualities, politics, and financial suasion of the AMA and AFUC teachers, was the actual written words of their teachers.

“**They are My People;” Black Teachers in the South**

Both the AMA and the AFUC had policies regarding the hiring of black teachers. In Butchart’s study of teachers of freedmen he reports that 35.5% of teachers in the South between 1861 and 1976 were black. A slight majority (51.9%) of all Southern teachers were black.\(^{256}\) Regardless of the high numbers of black teachers working in the South, a small percentage were actually employed by aid organizations. Butchart does offer, however, “While most black teachers began their work without aid from the major northern societies, and many never associated with aid agencies, a few hundred were supported by those groups for much or all of their southern careers.”\(^{257}\) Black teachers played an important role in Reconstruction and freedmen education politics. The perceived capabilities or incapability to teach the freedmen

\(^{256}\) Butchart, *Schooling the Freed People*, 20.

\(^{257}\) Ibid., 37.
became the foundational argument for the necessity of black normal schools where black teachers were influenced and instructed how best to elevate their race through education.

The AMA was the largest employer of black teachers supported by aid organizations in the South, most of those being Northern black citizens. The qualifications desired in a black teacher of the AMA, in addition to the six previously listed teacher recommendations, included the willingness to work in places that white teachers would not be safe or accepted, and that their training and experience deemed them competent for the task. Butchart, quoting from *American Missionary* wrote, “The American Missionary, for instance, argued that black teachers, ‘can go where white ladies cannot, on the plantations, into the interior of the country, living in negro cabins, and roughing it in the most primitive way.’”

The place then, for the black teacher in the South was not the same place for white teachers or, more specifically, female white teachers. The black teachers employed by the AMA were deployed to the most dangerous and hostile regions; thus leaving the more civilized, organized, and hospitable positions for the white teachers.

Willingness to teach in the hostile regions of the South was not the only necessary qualification for black AMA teachers. While the AMA might have been willing to overlook certain qualities that would have disqualified white teacher candidates, such as poor health and lack of experience and education, for black teacher-applicants those requirements were just as important as having a Christian spirit. Francis Cardozo, a Northern black AMA Superintendent of freedmen schools in Charleston and his brother Thomas Cordoza, a black AMA freedmen teacher, found the lack of funds required them to hire “native,” meaning Southern, black teachers. They wrote the AMA recommending that black Northern teachers were preferable to black Southern teachers. “[T]he southern teachers [referring to the recently employed Southern

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black teachers] are very faithful; are good Christian young ladies of respectable parentage. But they (with two or three exceptions) do not understand our system of teaching.”\textsuperscript{259} This description is not surprising when considering \textit{The Freedman’s Library of Readers} instructed students to be loyal to Northern white teachers and aid workers They went on to claim that one Northern teacher could do the work of two Southern teachers, and hiring Southern black teachers could “retard the progress of their own people.”\textsuperscript{260} Furthermore, Morris argues that “Cardozo’s standards were high, but he gladly employed black instructors whom he considered qualified.”\textsuperscript{261} However, Cardozo and the AMA found that it was difficult to find “qualified” black teachers in the North or the South; thus, they determined it necessary to hire teachers they felt were less competent and intellectually inferior until a more qualified candidate could be hired. The AMA, though offering that intelligence, experience, and being of Northern descent were the best qualities for black teachers, found it necessary to comprise these requirements in order to fill the vacancy; this compromise offered that it was better to have a less-competent teacher than no teacher.

In addition to complaining about the lack of intelligence in Southern black teachers, Bureau superintendents offered they also lacked the moral character necessary to teach and preach to the freedmen. In 1866, a Bureau superintendent in Georgia wrote “although there is much to commend in the Negroes, under the difficulties which they labor, I am becoming daily more impressed with their total unfitness to assist in the moral and mental elevation of their own race. Slavery had completely divested them of every moral attribute-every idea that lead to true moral rectitude.”\textsuperscript{262} Depending on the support of the Bureau for funding and protection, it is not

\textsuperscript{259} Morris, \textit{Reading, ‘Riting, and Reconstruction}, p. 87
\textsuperscript{260} Ibid, 88.
\textsuperscript{261} Ibid., 88.
\textsuperscript{262} Ibid, 89.
likely that the AMA and other aid organizations would have agreed with such sentiments and attempted to hire a Southern black teacher only when no other options were available.

Additionally, when a black teacher, Northern or Southern, was hired they were not often placed in positions of authority, instead they were placed under the authority of a white person. Maxine Jones, who studied the participation of black people in the AMA offered the following: “As a rule, Blacks hired by freedmen aid societies occupied the least important positions and had to answer to white superiors. The situation was little different for Blacks in the AMA. Most served as monitors and instructors alongside white teachers.”263 As with AMA superintendents’ dissatisfaction with Southern black teachers, so were AMA teachers who were assisted by Southern blacks. Robert Harris, a white AMA teacher in Fayetteville, North Carolina employed two local black teacher assistants, Mary Payne and Caroline Manuel. In 1867, he wrote the AMA expressing his frustration with his assistants. “They [Mary and Caroline] were engaged only as a temporary expedient, and I hoped that ere this, we should have had one or two competent teachers from the North. I can not[sic] recommend either as worthy of a commission. These native teachers are not competent to manage a school or to give proper instruction to those who are beyond the Alphabet. We can only use them as assistants, and they are poor at that.”264 After having said that, Harris mentions the way in which the native teachers were a benefit the AMA, “We only pay them $15 a month. It is ‘poor teach’ and ‘poor pay.’”265

Little is known about the number of black teachers commissioned by the AFUC or whether they were from the North or South, from a family that enjoyed freedom before the Emancipation Proclamation, or were freedmen. However, the few examples of AFUC black

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264 Ibid., 84 as quoted from “Robert Harris to E. P. Smith, January 9, 1867” from the American Missionary Association Archive.
265 Ibid.
teachers, as well as a clear understanding of the AFUC’s educational goals in the South, imply that the AFUC was not as biased in their employment of black teachers as the AMA. Furthermore, the ideologies of the AFUC, specifically with their treatment of students and employment of black teachers who believed in racial equality were likely to contribute to the Commission’s eventual removal in the South.

One black teacher of whom much is known, Harriet Brent Jacobs, was employed by the AFUC. Jacobs was a slave in Georgia whose experiences and escape from slavery are documented in her autobiography, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself*. In 1865, Jacobs, along with her daughter, Louise Jacobs, were commissioned by the AFUC to teach in Savannah, Georgia. Jacobs’ views regarding slavery and Southern politics were well-known, as was the fact that her endeavors were supported by abolitionist and *The Freedmen’s Book* author, Lydia Maria Child. Because Jacobs was an ex-slave, had little formal education, was associated with abolitionists, and wrote an autobiography which recounted experiences that questioned the use of Christian rhetoric to justify slavery, it was not likely that the AMA would have considered employing someone as controversial as Jacobs. It is also not likely that Jacobs and her daughter were welcomed by Georgia’s white community. Jacobs’ autobiography did not show Georgian plantations in a positive light. Perhaps that is why Jacobs and her daughter taught for only a year before returning to the North, a short tenure when compared to other AFUC teachers.

As mentioned earlier, the AFUC’s primary objective was to help the South and the freedmen become self-educated. In order to do so, it was essential that the AFUC place black teachers in the classroom. Abbott, a prominent member of the AFUC, also believed in the prospect of unity and equality with black and white citizens, opening up schools in the South that
welcomed black and white students. To become self-educative was of utmost importance because Southern blacks may be given the right to vote, a concern that was addressed in both the ATS’s and Child’s freedmen textbooks. Brown argued that Abbott was keenly aware of the possibility of the black vote and how a proper education was necessary. “Its [AFUC] objectives were both philanthropic and ‘politico-economical.’ It was devoted to the planting of free government in the South and assumed that the ballot ‘is the right of every man, but also that a developed manhood is his best guarantee of the ballot.’ Earlier Abbott pointed out that to give the Negro the vote without proper preparation for it would ‘only increase the power of Southern demagogues,’ whereas education and suffrage would ‘destroy the power of both demagogue and aristocrat.”266 Creating a force of Southern black teachers alongside curriculum designed to influence the black vote, then, would have been ideal for the AFUC. In Lorien Foote’s biography of AFUC treasurer Francis George Shaw, she argues that just prior to the disbanding of the AFUC in 1869, the Commission employed a large number of black teachers whose endeavors were supported by AFUC members like Shaw. “Shaw recommended black teachers and supported every request for funding from Southern black who wanted to teach, even where they were ill trained and under his influence, the number of black teachers steadily rose. By 1867, blacks made up a full third of AFUC’s teaching force.”267

Though black teachers accounted for the majority of the teachers in the South, few were employed by the AMA, AFUC, Bureau, or any other organizations. Most were paid by the local black community and maintained schools out of their homes or churches, teaching the freedmen from whatever materials were available. Furthermore, the black teachers employed by influential freedmen educational and aid organizations were likely to be of Northern descent and not likely

266 Brown, “Lyman Abbott and Freedmen’s Aid, 1865-1869,” 34.
267 Foote, Lorien, Seeking the One Great Remedy: Francis George Shaw and Nineteen Century Reform, (Athens, OH: University Press, 2003), 137.
to maintain a position of power or authority in the freedmen educational system. The political role of the black teacher was two-fold. Firstly and most obviously, the lack of authority given to the black teachers, particularly those from the South, by the most powerful educational organizations, ensured that the freedmen would not be influenced by the ideologies of their own people. Additionally, keeping black teachers in submissive positions helped ease the tensions with the Southern whites who desired to maintain a semblance of black inferiority in the South. Secondly, by supposing the intellectual and moral weakness of the black teachers and indicating that a primary goal of freedmen education was to create self-reliance, aid organizations, particularly the AMA, placed themselves in a position that enabled them to create and dominate the black normal-school market, thus controlling the ideologies, beliefs, and pedagogies of the black teachers.

Anderson argues that the creation of normal schools for black teachers was one way aid organizations could influence the ideologies taught in freedmen schools. “But those interested in shaping the beliefs and behavior of southern black children through formal schooling viewed the great teacher shortage as an opportunity to influence significantly the form and content of black teacher training and thereby contribute directly to the socialization of black children”\textsuperscript{268} The AMA funded and maintained one of the most notorious and influential black normal schools; Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. Founded by previous Bureau superintendent, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, in Hampton, Virginia, and funded by the AMA, the school taught many black teachers the best way to educate their race was through industry of body. \textsuperscript{269} This ideology was quite different from the original philosophy of the AMA, which postulated that freedmen education should emphasize Christian morality and spirituality, in other words--

\textsuperscript{268} Anderson, \textit{The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935}, 111.
\textsuperscript{269} For more information on Armstrong see chapter 2.
industry of spirit. Armstrong and the AMA founded what came to be known as the Hampton Model. The model supported “a pedagogy and ideology designed to avoid such confrontations and to maintain within the South a social consensus that did not challenge traditional inequalities of wealth and power.” The Hampton School trained black students to become common school teachers. The emphasis of the curriculum, like that in freedmen common schools, was on industrial and agricultural labor, an ideology the teachers then taught their own students. In other words, the teachers at Hampton were being trained to instruct freedmen students in agriculture, industry, labor, and character, the same values and lessons represented in *The Freedman’s Library of Readers*. The most famous of Armstrong’s students was Booker T. Washington, founder of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in 1889. Like Armstrong, Washington maintained Southern blacks were best educated in the areas of agricultural and industry and should not spend too much time on learning higher level academics. The Hampton Model, with the support of powerful and influential white men and associations like the AMA, continued to be the preferred method of training of black teachers well into the 20th century.

In the long run, the AMA maintained a longer presence in the South and influenced freedmen education and Southern Reconstruction politics longer than the AFUC. Concessions were made by both organizations with their teacher qualifications, emphasis on certain ideologies, and hiring practices. Whereas money continued to come in for the AMA, especially after drastic ideological compromises and alliances with Southern sympathizers, the AFUC was not able to maintain donors and sponsorship past 1871. Increased hostility from Southern whites

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271 A major opponent of this model was W.E.B. DuBois. So vocal was DuBois to the Hampton Model that his opposition became known as the Washington-DuBois debate or controversy. Anderson states, “The Washington-DuBois controversy merely represented one of the last great battles in the long war the determine whether black people would be educated to challenge or accommodate the oppressive southern political economy.” *The Education of Black in the South*, p. 77.
and the loss of the protection of the Freedmen’s Bureau when they cancelled operation in the South, contributed to the AFUC inability to sustain freedmen education work. Likewise, the AMA’s willingness to conciliate and negotiate with Southern whites made it possible for them to increase their work in the South. This included opening successful black normal schools, such as Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute. At the end of the day, being able to operate in the freedmen education longer than any other freedmen aid or educational organization made the AMA the most influential entity on the freedmen’s role in the Southern economy, reconstruction, and politics.
Conclusion

By 1880, tuition-free freedmen schools, mostly controlled by local governments, existed in great numbers in the South and by 1900 black common schools in the South were commonplace. Statistics from James Anderson, using the U.S. Bureau of the Census show that in 1900, Southern states reported a total of 1,120,683 black children between the ages of 5 to 9 and 1,015,333 black children between ages of 10 to 14. A total of 22% of the children aged 5 to 9 and 52% of the children aged 10 to 14 were attending school on regular basis.\textsuperscript{272} Using reports from the Commissioner of Education, Anderson offers that in 1900, 1,322 Southern black students were enrolled in public black normal schools, and 3,361 Southern black students were enrolled in private black normal schools. Additionally, 179 black students were enrolled in public colleges and 1,557 were enrolled in private colleges.\textsuperscript{273} Pre-existing statics regarding black student enrollment is not comprehensive enough to illustrate a complete picture. Despite that fact, it can be known for certain that both educational opportunity and enrollment had dramatically increased from 1860, when education was illegal for most Southern blacks.

Statistics show that this trend continued. In 1900, an estimated .39\% of Southern black adolescents aged 15 to 19 were enrolled in high school; in 1910 the percentage rose to 2.8\%.\textsuperscript{274} Compared to the percentage of black high school enrollment today, these numbers may appear to be dismal; however, the percentage was promising especially when compared to 4\% (1900) and 10.1\% (1910) of Southern white high school enrollment. During this time period, the South’s economy was still largely dependent on agricultural; most children, black and white, only went to school long enough to become functionally literate. The South, unlike the North, had not yet

\textsuperscript{272} Anderson, \textit{Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935}, 151
\textsuperscript{273} Ibid., 112.
\textsuperscript{274} Ibid., 189-191.
passed compulsory education laws that required students to attend school until a specified age. Still, hostile Southern whites were opposed to black education and passed legislation, known as the Black Codes, which ensured white control over Southern politics and black school funding.

Despite the improved opportunities for black students, some were critical of the limited kind of education available to the black population. W.E.B. Du Bois was one such critic. Du Bois, a graduate from Fisk University and Harvard and a founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, argued that the education offered to Southern black students was designed to keep black people in the lower class, working minimally skilled jobs. Diane Ravitch argues that Du Bois foresaw the dangers of black agricultural and industrial education as the only educational opportunity for the Southern black population:

To rely wholly on industrial education, he warned, would be a mistake, for it would preclude the education of future leaders, who would require a liberal education. He insisted that “the Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men,” of whom he called the “Talented Tenth.” Du Bois asked, “Can the masses of the Negro people be in any possible way more quickly raised than by the effort and example of this aristocracy of talent and character? Was there ever a nation on God’s fair earth civilized from the bottom upward? Never: it is, ever was and ever will be from the top downward that culture filters.”

What Du Bois understood was that there was and would continue to be an achievement gap between black and white students as long as black students were not educated to the same degree or in the same subjects as their white counterparts. This gap meant the education and politics of the black community was determined mostly by powerful white men. The black race as a whole, Du Bois believed, should demand an education that would help them become self-reliant. Freedmen schools, while an improvement, offered the freed blacks an education that afforded different opportunities for black students than from white students. That being said,
how might things have been different if the charity societies, teachers, and other participants in freedmen education refused to compromise with the Southern white planter class? Would educational opportunities for the Southern black population be better than what it became? Would it have been worse? Would black schools have even existed? What could have been, can never be known; what is recognized is that black education became what it is due to the political work of textbooks, teachers, and compromise.

**Textbooks and Compromise**

*The Freedman’s Library of Readers,* exemplifies ideological compromise for political gain. Desiring to work with the Freedmen’s Bureau and the American Missionary Association, and to create political ties that would position the American Tract Society to influence Southern Reconstruction and freedmen political participation, the Society made changes to their pre-Civil War ideologies. Instead of presenting slavery as a religious evil, promoting black race upward mobilization, and encouraging racial equality, the ATS created textbooks that represented the freedmen working for, learning from, and relying upon white people. Additionally, the text taught freedmen to adhere to state laws designed to oppress the black race. A compromise, however, does not allow for a complete ideological change. The ATS still included moral and character instructions in line with their philosophies. Likewise, while not explicitly calling attention to the demoralizing and dehumanizing effects of slavery, the ATS insinuated such thinking with the illustration of slaves jubilant upon hearing of their freedom. (See illustration 3.2). By including the Emancipation Proclamation and stories about Abraham Lincoln, the ATS was not outright advocating racial equality, but they were also not rejecting the notions of the equality promoted by Lincoln.
Lydia Maria Child, unwilling to make compromises within her text, enjoyed little success. Perhaps if Child had agreed to compromise with the American Missionary Society, who asked her to include more about the “redeeming blood” and less about racial equality, she would have achieved the same distributions and readership as the ATS. However, standing firmly on her convictions meant that she had less of an influence on freedmen education and Southern politics than the ATS.

The ATS and Child were only two creators of textbooks that were produced in order to influence black education, in addition to Southern politics and ideology. Jonathan Zimmerman, argues in his text, Whose America? the representation of the black race in history has been a point of contention from textbook writers and Southern states since the early 1900’s. Du Bois and Carter G. Woodson both fought for non-racist textbooks that promoted black pride. For Woodson, Zimmerman offers, “the struggle for black history was ‘the most important effort…on behalf of the Negro’ since Emancipation.” Southern resistance to creating textbooks that encouraged race pride for black students, were non-racist, or offered a more honest account of slavery and the Civil War, was not a compromise the South was willing to make in the 1930’s when Woodson was demanding such changes. While Woodson was criticized for pushing Afrocentric education, little criticism was placed on the Southern whites using curriculum that taught Southern or Confederate pride. Zimmerman contends:

Across the American South, the UDC [United Daughters of Confederacy] and other Dixie loyalists taught children the beauty of slavery, the glory of the Ku Klux Klan, and the overall superiority of their race. Rather than condemning these activists for their bigotry, however, [Marcus] Garvey congratulated them for their honesty. “If I were of your race, I would have

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276 Zimmerman, Jonathan. Whose America?: Culture Wars in the Public Schools. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), Kindle, loc. 479
277 Marcus Garvey was a black member of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Zimmerman says he made “grassroots efforts to promote black pride and ‘Africa for Africans.’” Where Du Bois and Woodson argued for non-racist texts, Garvey argued for racist texts.
written with the same force and probably with prejudice,” Garvey wrote to the white author Earnest Cox, who maintained that all great civilizations were Caucasian.\textsuperscript{278}

It would not be until after the Civil Rights Movement that serious consideration was given to racial representation in textbooks. Black activists may have lost the battle for the black-specific content classes, but, as Zimmerman points out, in the 1970’s “the campaign left a strong imprint on the general history curriculum, which opened its doors to a new set of multicultural heroes.”\textsuperscript{279} In 1994, representation of the black race in textbooks was again brought into educational debate when new national standards were written. Conservatives charged that the new standards offered exaggerated representations of black accomplishments and oppressions. Others believed the new standards presented a more honest and complete picture of the slave and black experience. At present, racial representations are still a point of contention among politicians, special interest groups, textbook publishers, curriculum designers, and educators.

**Teachers, Organizations, and Compromise**

Teachers in freedmen education held the power to influence the freedmen in a way that textbooks and the ideologies of the aid organizations could not. Like Ms. Wells in the first chapter, the teachers made the ultimate decision about how they would teach the material. Indeed, in the beginning of the move to the South, aid organizations, particularly the AMA, employed hiring practices to ensure that the teacher’s ideologies were the same as the organization’s principles. Southern white hostility toward these teachers was one reason the AMA strayed away from their original teacher requirements. The AFUC’s practice of hiring

\textsuperscript{278} Zimmerman, Jonathan. *Whose America?*, Kindle loc.555
\textsuperscript{279} Ibid. loc. 1167.
abolitionists and black equality activists made it difficult for the AFUC to maintain a teaching force in the South.

Butchart argues, “Unbridled white resistance, violence, and terror, dating from the beginning of the education of the freed people, took an incalculable psychological and physical toll on the southern black community and its few white supporters and set the stage for a white supremacist shaping of black education.”

The ideology of Southern conversion did not fit into the Southern whites’ idea of Reconstruction. The AMA and AFUC alike were having difficulty keeping teachers at their posts because of the South’s hostile reaction to their work. Bullock details several of these events:

When Fannie Woods entered Warrenton, Virginia, as a teacher of freedmen in 1866, hostile forces threatened to burn her school. Only the impeding interference of Union forces dampened the rebel aggression directed at her. Some citizens of Georgetown, Texas, applied to the Freedmen’s Bureau for a teacher, promising to provide her with a school and place to board. A teacher was sent but was there only a short time before she was expelled from her boarding house and unable to secure another. Neither the teachers nor the pupils were absolutely safe at school. When marauding bands of irresponsible citizens attacked the school, the teachers found little protection except where there were Union soldiers to defend them. Although rebellious citizens fired into the night school at Orangeburg, South Carolina, on several occasions, the culprits were never apprehended. A schoolhouse located in the northeast part of Haygood County, Tennessee, was burned by a group that had drifted in from border counties, and the school at Springhill Maury County of that state was stoned several times by rebellious citizens of that vicinity.

What Bullock refers to as the Union forces were soldiers hired by the Freedmen’s Bureau to protect education and aid workers in the South. The protection ended when the Freedmen’s Bureau was terminated in 1870. The AFUC, stating that the South was ready to take over the aid and education of the freedmen, followed suit and concluded their work that same year. The AFUC and most other small aid societies and organizations left the South when their protection

280 Butchart, Schooling for the Freed People. 155.
281 Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South: From 1619 to the Present, 43.
from the Bureau left. The AMA, if they could maintain a presence in the South, would have a near monopoly over freedmen education. Compromising their teacher qualifications by hiring Southern whites, financially secure applicants, and Southern sympathizers, the AMA continued to manage black common and normal schools well into the twentieth century.

It is important to note that Southern resistance to freedmen education was more about education and less about the nativity of the teacher. Butchart notes that black teachers, from the North and South, were victims as violence from Southern whites just the same as white Northern teachers:

Peter Hamilton opened a school in Bonham, Texas, right after the Civil War ended. As soon as Union troops were withdrawn, local whites struck. “Hamilton was driven off, his life threatened, and the school broken up.” The former Confederate guardhouse Hamilton used as his schoolhouse was torn down to drive home the point that black schooling was intolerable… In William A. Jones’s first two years as a teacher in Mississippi he was shot at several times and wounded once. From his first days until he returned to his home in Elmira, New York, for his father’s funeral, he “was persecuted in every shape imaginable… Solomon Derry faced down Alabama Klansmen who ordered him to close his school or die. Richard Burke, minister and teacher in Sumter County, Alabama and Benjamin F. Randolph, Oberlin College graduate, teacher, and state senator in South Carolina, did not fare so well – they were murdered by whites for their educational work.\(^{282}\)

The contention Southern whites had with freedmen teachers was about education and the belief that freedmen schools were promoting racial equality. An illustration published in *Harpers Weekly* in 1874, best illustrates this Southern ideology. (See illustration C.1.)\(^ {283} \) Titled, “Worse than Slavery” shows a Klansman and a member of the White League, another white supremacist group, shaking hands in agreement over a banner that illustrates a freedmen couple holding their dead baby. In the foreground is a schoolbook and in the background, a smoldering schoolhouse with a black man hanging from a tree. Behind the Klansman and the White League member the

\(^{282}\) Butchart, *Schooling for the Freed People*, 159.

following phrase is written, “The Union as it was: This is a white man’s government.” Below that is scrolled, “The Lost Cause,” insinuating that freedmen education was a lost cause and would not succeed in the South because these groups will use violent and deadly means to end it.

Conclusion 1: “Worse than Slavery

In 1874, the AMA was nearly the only aid organization still operating schools in the South and were facing this sort of opposition. When the AMA hired Samuel Chapman Armstrong in 1864, they were hoping to combat this sort of mentality and it may have helped. Armstrong had a reputation of being a Southern sympathizer and was vocal regarding his belief that black people were intellectually inferior to whites (see chapter two). However, the largest ideological compromise from the AMA came in 1878, when the Association published they believed “all men shall be regarded as equal before God and the law”\textsuperscript{284} but not in intellectual ability.

\textsuperscript{284} Drake, “Freedmen’s Aid Societies and Sectional Compromise,” 183.
Teachers for the AMA must have been aware of the compromises that organization was making in regard to their ideologies. Likewise, teaching in the very depth of hostility, victims of violence, threats, and ostracized by white communities, they too had to decide what they were willing to teach in order to remain safe. Early accounts of AMA and AFUC teachers offer that the teachers were acknowledging the religious and social evils of slavery with their students, even if the curriculum was not. In his editorial describing the Sea Island schools, Edward L. Pierce, employed by the AFUC, reported that the song most sung in the freedmen schools was “John Brown.” He says it “very much amuses our white soldiers, particularly when the singers roll out, - ‘We’ll hang Jeff Davis on a sour apple-tree!’”\textsuperscript{285} Teaching this song or allowing the song to be sung by the students in school was an act of political agency. Though both the AFUC and their teachers made claims that they were not political, such songs suggest otherwise.

Interestingly, after the retraction of the Bureau and the AFUC, teacher accounts from the AMA are not found. Aside from those educators who had political positions, like Armstrong, the teacher voice from inside the classroom seems to have disappeared. This poses an interesting question: Why? It could be that teachers feared Southern hostility so much they became silent, not wanting to be accused of being anti-Southern or pro-equality. It might also have to do with a notion proposed by Butchart. He argues, “By the end of the nineteenth century a triumphal white supremacy reunited the North and South, or in Edward J. Blum’s more provocative rendering, reforged [sic] the white republic. Thereafter, northern and southern white elites would begin to work together to reshape black education to better serve their ends.”\textsuperscript{286} While I challenge the idea that this ideological change or unification was the first time Northern and Southern white elites were shaping education to serve their ends, I agree with the argument that

\textsuperscript{285} Pierce, “The Freedmen at Port Royal,” 304.
\textsuperscript{286} Butchart, Schooling the Freed People, 155.
the North and South became united in the ideology of white superiority and, therefore, black inferiority, in education. If teachers believed differently, it was clearly not safe for them to voice their dissent.

**Practical Application**

In recognizing the political work of the aid organizations, textbooks, and teachers and by critically analyzing the motives, ideologies, and compromises that were fashioned in order to influence the freedmen and Southern politics through freedmen education, I am identifying the history of literacy of African-Americans. David Moore argues, “The values of history for classroom practice, then, seems to lie not so much with prescribing what to do, but with other contributions.” Moore goes on to say that historical research adds to educators’ conceptual backgrounds, orientations, and feelings. The historical research presented in this thesis can be practically used by educators by offering contextual perspective (conceptual background), by informing the social contexts of literacy practices (orientation), and by providing opportunities to question traditions or standards and develop a sense of community (feeling).

**Conceptual Background and Orientation**

The history and analysis of the participants and textbooks used in freedmen schools presented here provides educators with an historical perspective they may not know or may challenge previous notions. Many histories of the aid organizations and teachers operating freedmen schools concentrate on the individuals’ benevolent motivations, generous spirits, and martyrdom. It is true that most of aid societies, textbook writers, and teachers had the best

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intentions and truly desired to educate the freedmen, but that is not the complete story. True
critical analysis of motivations proves that the organizations and teachers had political impetuses
and were undertaking political work in the South through manipulation of the freedmen.

Paulo Freire had devoted a great deal of his educational research and writing to the study
of manipulation of the oppressed. Freire argues:

Populist manipulation of the masses must be seen from two different
perspectives. On the one hand, it is undeniably a kind of political opiate that
maintains not only the naïveté of the emerging consciousness, but also to
people’s habit of being directed. On the other hand, to the extent that it uses
mass protest and demands, political manipulation paradoxically accelerates the
process by which people unveil reality. This paradox sums up the ambiguous
character of populism: it is manipulative, yet at the same time a factor in
democratic mobilization.²⁸⁸

Northerners and Southerners alike were attempting to politically manipulate the freedmen
because they were a mass. The population of freedmen outnumbered Southern whites; how the
freedmen would be involved the economy and politics was feared by both regions. The North
wanted to control their participation and the South wanted to control their right to participation.
Using their “habit of being directed,” the aid organizations attempted to use education to
manipulate freedmen’s participation; but the Southern whites presented a challenge and forced
the aid organizations and publishers to compromise ideologies. Without compromise, the AFUC
lost their position in freedmen education, thus they lost the ability to manipulate the freedmen
“mass.” Using this historical perspective, educators today can see how their participation in
education is inherently political and may choose to critically analyze the motivations and
intentions of the textbooks, curriculum, and their personal pedagogical decisions.

Feelings

The participants in freedmen education questioned existing ideologies. The first aid organizations and Northern teachers questioned the illegality of education for the freedmen. Several individuals questioned where the freedmen would fit into free society, economics, and politics. The notion that freedmen could not learn was questioned. In the later years of freedmen education, racial-equality was interrogated as was the kind of education that the freedmen should have. As time progressed, the conclusions drawn by the individuals would be probed by Du Bois, Woodson, and many others. Eventually Du Bois’s theories were challenged, and so on. Teachers today, like Ms. Wells, are often confronted with the conundrum of being told to teach a curriculum that they do not believe will best educate their students. Questioning the curriculum and the ideologies behind can be done quietly, through clandestine classroom instruction, or publicly through editorial writing and participation in civic actions.

Moore offers that recognition of historical perspectives can produce emotional responses and can be used to challenge previous histories. “History can arouse and embolden educators to contest outmoded traditions by showing that schooling is neither natural nor preordained but is socially produced in response to circumstances.” 289 Shonda Allen provides an example of an educator being provoked by this history of black education to challenge a tradition. Allen argues that teachers can help students to understand the achievement gap by critically evaluating the history of American public schools and history’s effect on current educational practices. Specifically, she claims, “because of the residual effects of historical events such as slavery, Black Codes, Jim Crow, racism, discrimination, social inequalities, political and economic disenfranchisement, and many other disparate events, African Americans have continued to face

institutionalized racist views of black intellectualism in educational systems.”

Plainly, the research I have presented supports the notion that freedmen education was the beginning of an institutionalized racially-specific educational system and may be a factor in the continuing “racist views of black intellectualism in educational systems.”

Finally, Moore says, “Knowledge of the past also can offer hope, or at the least guard against despair.” The history presented in this thesis traces the very beginning of a revolutionary movement to educate the freedmen, an undertaking which led to universal education in the South. Educators, regardless of political motivations, opened schools and taught a race of people previously restricted from learning. They taught despite the danger. They taught despite the overwhelming belief that black people were inferior. They taught and the freedmen learned. To build schools, organizations had to make compromises. To teach, teachers had to make compromises. To maintain a presence in the South and to influence politics, compromises were made. Though the compromises made were not primarily for the benefit of the freedmen, they enabled schools to be built and preserved in the South. For educators today, recognition of these compromises means they must also acknowledge the compromises they make in their classrooms so they are able to teach. They must also recognize that to teach is to be a political agent, and they must critically evaluate what it means to be participating in the political work of curriculum design and textbook choices that may offer representations and ideologies of which they disagree. Educators must ask of themselves: What are the consequences of my compromises?

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Appendix I

“The Freedmen’s Home” from The Freedman’s Third Reader

3. When the cock crows at the dawn of the day, you wake up. Once you had to catch your food, and run as fast as you could to the field to work. But not so now.
4. Now you may wash and dress with care and put your room in order. You may spread the board with a clean cloth, and place the cups and plates and knives on it, and the chairs around it.
5. When the food is cooked, you may sit down and eat. But, first, you must thank God for it, and ask him to bless it, that it may make you strong to work, and to serve him.
6. Now you may eat, but not too fast, nor with a noise like the pigs. If you want more food, ask for it in a low but clear voice, and wait till you are helped. If you do not want more, wait till the rest are done too.
7. Then bring the Word of God, and let your father read some of the sweet lines which tell you of the love of God, and of his good and just law.
8. If you have time, it will be nice to sing a verse or two; and then you may all kneel down, and bow your heads, and shut your eyes, and join in the prayer that is said, while you think all the time, that—

   “God does not care for what I say, But I must mean it too.”

9. Now you can all start for the work of the day. You may have to plow or dig or how, or you may have to wash, to scrub, and to bake; or some you have a chance to go to school.
10. But, in all you do, God will be with you, and bless you, if you love and fear him, and try to do his will. This is the way to make a good home,—a home such as the Son of God will be pleased to see.
Appendix II

More text from Jourdon Anderson’s letter to his former master, *The Freedmen’s Book*:

As to my freedom, which you say I can have, there is nothing to be gained on that score, as I got my free papers in 1864 from the Provost-Marshal-General of the Department of Nashville. Mandy [Jourdon’s wife] says she would be afraid to go back without some proof you were disposed to treat us justly and kindly; and we have concluded to test your sincerity by asking you to send us our wages for the time we served you. This will make us forget and forgive old scores, and rely on your justice and friendship in the future. I served you faithfully for thirty-two years, and Mandy twenty years. At twenty-five dollars a month for me, and two dollars a week for Mandy, our earning would amount to eleven thousand six hundred and eighty dollars. Add to this interest for the time our wages have been kept back, and deduct what you paid for our clothing, and three doctor’s visits to me, and pulling a tooth for Mandy, and the balance will show what we are in justice entitled to…

In answering this letter, please state if there would be any safety for my Milly and Jane, who are not grown up, and both good-looking girls, you know how it was for poor Matilda and Catherine. I would rather stay here and starve—and die, if it come to that—it than have my girls brought to shame by the violence and wickedness of their young masters. You will also please state if there have been any schools opened for the colored children in your neighborhood. The great desire of my life is now to give my children an education, and have them form virtuous habits.
Appendix III

“Idleness” from *The Freedman’s Second Reader*

Wake-up! wake up! you sleepy fellow. If you waste your days in idle slumbers, you will be good for nothing when you grow to manhood. So wake up, my lad, and go to work or studies with hearty good will.

2. You don’t want to wake up? I never knew an idler who did, unless he was hungry; and then, after eating his fill, he would fall asleep again. But you must wake up, or be a poor wretched drone all your days.

3. If you don’t conquer this idle spirit soon, it will make you a slave for life; and you find that idleness is a bad master. It will feed you on husks, clothe you with rags, lodge you in a hovel, or send you to the poorhouse.

4. You don’t like such a prospect? Very well: then wake up, open your eyes, and go to work. Hang up the clothes in that closet; pick up those books; be off to school bright and early; learn your lessons; do your duty.

5. Work hard, and idleness will let go its grasp: you will be somebody by and by, and make your mark on the world for good. What say you idlers, to this advice? Will you take it? Good! Sergeant Worthy, enlist those penitent idlers into the “Try Company.”
Appendix IV

“Praise for Freedom” from *The Freedman’s Third Reader*

1. And can we go to heaven, –
   We of the sable hue?
   And can our sins be all forgiven,
   Our sinful hearts made new?
       Yes: bless the Lord!
   The great, the glorious news is true.

2. The Bible and the school –
   We’re free from each to learn:
   We’re free to read, to walk, to talk;
   Free, honest hire to earn.
       Oh! bless the Lord!
   And all our warmest thanks return.

3. Long has our bondage been,
   Heavy and hard our chain;
   But there’s a Power above, who hears
   When suffering hearts complain.
       We bless the Lord,
   Our prayers, our tears, were not in vain.

4. His red right arm hath struck
   The shackles from the slave:
   Though human hands his purpose wrought.
   ‘Twas God the impulse gave.
       Then bless the Lord,
   The Lord of hosts, might to save.
Appendix V

“No Slave Beneath the Flag” from *The Freedman’s Third Reader*

1. No slaves beneath that starry flag,
The emblem of the free!
No fettered hand shall wield the brand
That smites for Liberty!
No tramp of servile armies
Shall shame Columbia’s shore;
For he who fights for Freedom’s rights
Is free for evermore!

2. Go tell the ashes of the braves
Who at Port Hudson fell;
Go tell the dust whose holy trust
Stern Wagner guards so well:
Go breathe it softly—slowly—
Where’er the patriot slave
For right has bled, and tell the dead
He fills a freeman’s grave!

3. Go tell Kentucky’s bondmen true,
That he who fights is free!
And let the tale fill every gale
That floats o’er Tennessee;
Let all our mighty rivers
The story southward pour,
And every wave tell every slave
To be a slave no more.

4. No slave beneath that grand old flag!
For ever let it fly,
With lightning rolled in every fold,
And flashing victory!
God’s blessing breathe around it;
And, when all strife is done,
May Freedom’s light, that knows no night,
Make every star a sun!
Vita

In Jacksonville, Florida she taught creative writing and language arts to 6th, 7th, and 8th graders. In 2011, she moved to El Paso and was accepted into the Masters in Teaching English program at UTEP. She started at UTEP in May 2011, and maintained a 4.0 GPA in all her classes. In 2013, Ashley was awarded the program’s Outstanding Graduate Award. In May of 2012, she began working at the University in the Centennial Office as a researcher, writer, and editor. Her research and writing is featured on UTEP's Transformations blog and in UTEP Magazine. Soon her writings will be on the UTEP online encyclopedia and in a book on UTEP food history and traditions. Ashley's future goals include: publishing parts of her thesis in history and education journals; teaching high school or college level students; presenting her research and papers at conferences; further researching current urban pedagogy; and returning to school to pursue a Ph.D.

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