

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the period immediately following the close of the Civil War, philanthropic endeavors were undertaken to reconstruct secessionist states, establish wide-scale peace among still-hostile factions, and develop efforts to enact social, legal, and educational support. This philanthropic era is characterized by the activities of a number of individual, denominational, organizational, including state and federal supporters that were subsequently responsible for engendering a Negro College Movement, which established institutions for providing freed slaves, and later, Negroes with advanced educational degrees. This dissertation studied: the genesis, unfolding, contributions, and demise issues in conjunction with the social, economic, and political forces that shaped one such institution in Harper's Ferry (Jefferson County), West Virginia: Storer College, which was founded in 1865 as an outgrowth of several mission schools.

By an Act of Congress, in 1868, the founders of Storer College initially were granted temporary use of four government buildings from which to create their campus.¹ Over the next 90 years, until its closure in 1955, the college underwent four distinct developmental phases: (a) Mission School [Elementary], (b) Secondary Division, (c) a Secondary Expansion, and (d) Collegiate. Even today—as a result of another Act of Congress—it continues to exist, albeit in altered form: in 1960, the National Park Service branch of the United States Department of the Interior was named the legal curator of the

¹ United States. Congress. Legislative, Department of War. *An Act Providing for the Sale of Lands, Tenements, and Water Privileges Belonging to the United States at or Near Harpers Ferry, in the County of Jefferson, West Virginia* (1868).

former college campus. The campus is *currently* being developed as part of the National Monument consolidation.²

² *United States Congress, Storer College and The Harpers Ferry National Monument, H.R. (1960); United States Congress, Addition of Lands to Harpers Ferry National Monument, S. Rep. No. 86-1219, (1960).*

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

This section will discuss the post-Civil War philanthropic and social activities that ultimately led to the creation of Storer College.

Brief Historical Unfolding

In 1867, during the post-Civil War philanthropic era which gave rise to the *Negro College Movement*, Storer College was established by the Free Will Baptist denomination in Lockwood House on Camp Hill, in Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, as an outgrowth of the mission school that had existed there since 1865.³ Since the end of the war, the Free Will Baptists, early anti-slavery activists, worked in collaboration with a number of agencies—among them, the Bureau of Refugees, Abandoned Lands, and Freedmen; United States Christian Commission; American Missionary Association; American Baptist Home Mission Society; [Free Will Baptist] Home Mission Society; and the Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society—to educate freedmen in southern states. In these formative years, they had established an entire network of mission schools throughout the Shenandoah Valley, and their Home Mission Society had in this manner invested in the

³ Gideon A. Burgess and John T. Ward, "Storer College," in *Freewill Baptist Cyclopaedia* (Chicago, IL: The Woman's Temperance Publication Association, 1889), 625. Storer's founding denomination, over the course of three centuries, is intermittently referred to as: New Lights and Separate, or Separatist Baptists [re: Second Great Awakening]; Randalians; Arminian Baptists; Free Baptists; Freewill Baptists; and, Freewillers. This investigation will be particularly sensitive to the denomination's theological orthodoxy as it was understood, in the 18th century, by Benjamin Randal since Randal's emphasis on *free will* was a vital component of Randalian theology and therefore responsible for the denomination's founding. The denomination will be consistently referred to throughout this investigation as Free Will Baptists in an effort to preserve not only the denomination's historical integrity but also, and perhaps more importantly, to respect the denomination's nineteenth-century missionary appeal; Also see: John Buzzell, *The Life of Elder Benjamin Randal* (Limerick, ME: Hobbs, Woodman & Company, 1827}, 10-15. Phyllis P. Medeiros, *The Seeds and the Soil* (Lanham, MD: University Press, 1998); "Storer College," *The Morning Star* (Dover, NH), August 26, 1867; Sarah Jane Foster, *Sarah Jane Foster, Teacher of the Freedmen: A Diary and Letters*, FWB Mission Teacher, Manuscript Diary, ed. Wayne E. Reilly (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 32; Anne Dudley, "Anniversaries: Home Mission Society." Special Edition. *The Morning Star* (Dover, NH), Wednesday, 23 October 1867, 1-2.

moral, social, and educational uplifting of a number of the four million freedmen that were dependently indigent and grossly undereducated.⁴

The Free Will Baptists were a New England denomination, with the first church established in 1770, in New Durham, New Hampshire by Benjamin Randal, a George Whitefield convert.⁵ Whitefield, an 18th century British evangelist associated with the religious revival of the Second Great Awakening and influenced by the Age of Enlightenment, made several trips from England to Colonial America, which was indeed “reawakened” and “enlightened” as a result of such evangelical efforts to a greater sense of moral principle and social obligation through autonomous reasoning.⁶ Thus, through his conversion of Randal, Whitefield became the model for the evangelical fervor and missionary zeal closely connected with the Free Will Baptists.⁷ By the 19th century, the ecclesiastical concentration of the Free Will Baptist denomination had expanded to include Maine, Rhode Island, Vermont, and various points west and south.

⁴ John E. Stealey, III. "The Freedmen's Bureau in West Virginia." *West Virginia History* 39 (1978): 99-142; Henry T. McDonald. "U.S. Christian Commission." (Storer College Archives: Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, 1937); M. Davis. *History of the Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society*. Boston, MA: The Morning Star Publishing House, 1900; Gideon A. Burgess and John T. Ward, "Storer College," in *Freewill Baptist Cyclopaedia* (Chicago, IL: The Woman's Temperance Publication Association, 1889), 625; Norman A. Baxter. *History of the Freewill Baptists: A Study in New England Separatism*. (Rochester, NY: American Baptist Historical Society, 1957).

⁵ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 206-214. The spelling of Randal's name is period sensitive; in the 19th century, Randal is spelled as: Randall. For purposes of this exploration, the document will adhere to the original spelling as it appeared in 18th century denominational literature and Buzzell's biographical account of Benjamin Randal, whose title indicates: *The Life of Elder Benjamin Randal, Principally Taken From Documents Written by Himself*. Hence, it is suggested by Buzzell that the founder of the Free Will Baptist denomination spelled his name as: Randal.

⁶ Norman Allen Baxter, *History of the Freewill Baptists* (Rochester, NY: American Baptist Historical Society, 1957); C.C. Goen, *Revivalism and Separatism in New England (1740-1800: Strict Congregationalists and Separate Baptists in the Great Awakening* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), i-xx. Also see: George Whitefield, *Eighteen Sermons Preached by the Late Rev. George Whitefield..Taken Verbatim in Short-Hand, and Faithfully*, trans. Transcribed: Josephy Gurney, ed. Revised: Andrew Gifford (Newbury, Massachusetts: Edmund M. Blunt, 1797).

⁷ Stephen A. Marini, *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England* (Cambridge & Oxford: Harvard University Press, 1999), 40-101; Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 557-561

In an effort to relieve the plight of a number of these four million freedmen, the denomination had already devised for them a graduated plan of education and founded several mission schools for that purpose throughout the Shenandoah Valley.⁸ Free Will Baptists readily and willingly relocated to the valley not only to establish the schools but also to organize the Shenandoah Mission center in Harper's Ferry. After a period of time, however, their educational plan demanded further advancement. A high school was planned, but their ultimate goal was the establishment of a college for Negroes in the south.⁹ This missionary initiative eventually led to the establishment of Storer College, which developed incrementally: (a) mission school (elementary); (b) secondary division (Academic/Normal Department); (c) secondary expansion (Musical, Biblical, and Industrial Departments); and (d) collegiate divisions (junior/senior).¹⁰

While religious organizations, like the Free Will Baptists, did much in the post-war years to establish a standardized level of education for southern freedmen, the subject also gained the attention of northern philanthropists, who became equally involved in the cause. In fact, Franklin and Moss advocate that “[t]he philanthropists contributed substantially toward bringing about a new day for education in the south...philanthropists did much to stimulate self-help on the part of the individual, the institution, and the states of the South...” since the philanthropists began to specify definitive terms and

⁸ Sarah Jane Foster, *Sarah Jane Foster, Teacher of the Freedmen: A Diary and Letters*, FWB mission teacher diary, ed. Wayne E. Reilly (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 48-52, 95-99, 114-117, ; Emeline Burlingame-Cheney, *The Story of the Life and Work of Oren B. Cheney, Founder and First President of Bates College* (Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House, 1907), 160. Also see: Burgess and Ward, “*Shenandoah Mission*,” 594 .

⁹ Emeline Burlingame-Cheney, *The Story of the Life and Work of Oren B. Cheney, Founder and First President of Bates College* (Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House, 1907), 159-160. Emeline Burlingame-Cheney was the second wife of Reverend Doctor Oren Burbank Cheney; she specifically addresses the conversation between Cheney and Storer in her husband's biography.

¹⁰ Richard I. McKinney, President, Storer College, *Preliminary Research Interview: Richard I. McKinney*, Audiovisual Transcription (Baltimore, MD, December 21, 1999).

requirements before they would invest in any educational venue.¹¹ Storer College was itself identified with such a philanthropist, John Storer, a Congregationalist from Sanford, Maine, who owned numerous stores throughout that state and had made several profitable investments.¹² Dedicated to the goal of education, Storer pledged \$10,000 to Reverend Oren Burbank Cheney to institute a school in the south for freedmen, and Storer proceeded to enter into a two-party contract with the Baptists leading to the formation of Storer. That contract included five clauses: (a) Storer's pledge was contingent upon a corresponding investment by the Free Will Baptists; (b) the sum was to be entrusted to an investment-third party for municipal bonds until the original pledge yielded \$40,000; (c) the corresponding Baptist investment was to be raised on or before January 1, 1868; (d) the institution should bear the name of its greatest benefactor; and (e) the original pledge, in the event of premature death, was to automatically revert to the estate of John Storer.¹³ When Storer died, on October 23, 1867, and his heirs exercised hereditary privilege over his real property and liquid assets, the Free Will Baptists initially feared their endeavors had been undertaken in vain; however, Storer's children eventually were convinced that their father's endowment should be fulfilled. They emulated his philanthropic model and

¹¹ John Hope Franklin Jr. and Alfred A. Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1988), 242.

¹² Edwin Emery, "John Storer," in *The History of Sanford, Maine, 1661-1900*, ed. William Morrell Emery (Fall River, Massachusetts: Published by the Compiler, 1901), 507-508; John Storer, jstorer@ezonline.com, Telephone Conversation, John Storer, Great-Grandfather (July 31, 2002).

¹³ James Calder, Dover, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, January 30, 1868, West Virginia Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322. James Calder was involved in the establishment of Storer College; and, later, James Calder was to become the President at Pennsylvania State College (now Penn State University). In this denominational correspondence, Calder relates his concern for the terms of contract to Brackett regarding Senator Fessenden's position as third-party investor to the Storer estate; Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical;" See: "The Morning Star," (Dover, NH: February 27, 1867); Emeline Burlingame-Cheney, *The Story of the Life and Work of Oren B. Cheney, Founder and First President of Bates College* (Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House, 1907).

relinquished their legal claim to his \$10,000 pledge to the Baptists. Later, they even donated an additional \$1,000 to be used for establishing the school's first library.¹⁴

The Lockwood House, one of four buildings acquired by the founding denomination, was the first physical structure to accommodate the school under the benefactor's name, Storer College.¹⁵ The abandoned house, which provided temporary accommodations for the Baptists by ordinance of the reorganized government in 1865, formerly housed both Union and Confederate officers before and during the Civil War, as Harper's Ferry passed from Union to Confederate hands and vice versa.¹⁶ Official acquisition of these buildings was granted, by an Act of Congress, through the War Department's Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, the federal authorization of which included the requisition and resale of abandoned properties, the supervision of freedmen activities, and provision for humanitarian aids and services.¹⁷

¹⁴ "Storer College," *The Morning Star* (Dover, NH), August 26, 1867; Emeline Burlingame-Cheney, *The Story of the Life and Work of Oren B. Cheney, Founder and First President of Bates College* (Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House, 1907); "Death of A Good Man," *The Morning Star* (Dover, New Hampshire), 6 November 1867, XLII, Notices, Appointments, Etc.: 147.

¹⁵ Kate J. Anthony, Storer College Collection, Box 16, FF7, 1891, Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House; James M. Brewster, Morning Star Office; Dover, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, February 7, 1868, West Virginia Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322; Thomas A. Moore Clerk of County Court, Deed Book H, 579-81, *Bargain and Sale*, 14 March, 1882, File: Deed, United States to N.C. Brackett, Charles Town, WV, Jefferson County Court House, Clerk of the Circuit Court; Sarah Jane Foster, *Sarah Jane Foster, Teacher of the Freedmen: A Diary and Letters*, FWB Mission Teacher, Manuscript Diary, ed. Wayne E. Reilly (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 32; Anne Dudley, "Anniversaries: Home Mission Society." Special edition. *The Morning Star* (Dover, NH), Wednesday, 23 October 1867, 1-2.

¹⁶ Kate J. Anthony, Storer College Collection, Box 16, FF7, 1891, Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House.

¹⁷ James M. McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975); James Stealey, III, "Reports of Freedmen's Bureau Operation in West Virginia: Agents in the Eastern Panhandle," *West Virginia History* 42, no. Fall/Winter (1980): 94-129. "Although Bureau activities encompassed other areas of the Thirty-Fifth State during subsequent months, especially the Great Kanawha Valley, most agency effort centered in Jefferson and Berkeley counties until the Bureau's removal in October 1868" (94); *Report of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Abandoned Lands, and Freedmen, A House Executive Document No. 11, 39th Congress, 1st Session, 1865*; Also see: *Annual Report of the Assistant Commissioner, for the District of Columbia and West Virginia for the Year Ending October 22, 1867*.

In 1867, Storer College was thus founded and granted a charter by the West Virginia Legislature as “an institution of learning for the education of youth, without distinction of race or color,” although the qualifying phrase “without distinction of race or color” was fiercely debated between the two legislative houses.¹⁸ Those in favor of the school’s charter likely believed that educational development was essential for the state’s entire population, beneficial for all including the state’s minority populations, since Storer College was granted its charter as a state-approved normal department the same year as that of the West Virginia State Normal Department established at Marshall College in Huntington, WV in Cabell County.¹⁹ In opposition to the school’s charter were resistant pockets of Confederation loyalists, who were having difficulty assimilating to post-war social reforms that now hoped to reconstruct the state in such a way that hostile factions would quell under the state’s attempt to comply with national efforts to establish wide-scale peace.²⁰ Despite oppositionist debate due to lingering Confederate sentiment, Storer College eventually became West Virginia’s first higher education facility, as well as the first to offer a State Normal Department, for Negroes, and it remained so for the next twenty-five years, until the Second Morrill Act (1890) led to the establishment of the West Virginia Colored Institute just outside of Charleston, WV in Kanawha County.²¹

¹⁸ Storer College Catalogue Collection, 1869, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, WV, Libby & Co., Printers--Enquirer Office: Dover, NH. 1. See: West Virginia Congress, West Virginia History & State Archives, Sixth Session: Chapter 117, 106-107, March 3, 1868, *An Act to Incorporate*, Wheeling, WV: John Frew, Public Printer.

¹⁹ Acts of the Legislature of West Virginia, , Page 148th Cong., Fifth Session sess., at 148 (February 27, 1867); Charles H. Ambler, *A History of Education in West Virginia* (Huntington, WV: Standard Printing & Publishing Company, 1951), 170; Robert Chase Toole, "Part II: A History of Marshall Academy, 1850-1886," *West Virginia History Journal* 14, no. 1 (October 1952): 44.

²⁰ Ambler, *From Early Colonial Times to 1949*, 169, 246.

²¹ Storer College Catalogue Collection, 1869, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, WV, Libby & Co., Printers--Enquirer Office: Dover, NH; Carter G. Woodson, "Studies in Social Science: Early Negro Education in West Virginia," ed. Carter G. Woodson, Special Issue of, 3 (Institute, West Virginia: The

The legislature's vote for the institution's charter, however, was remanded for vote until the spring session of the following year. Thus, although the institution had been in full operation under its legal name since 1867, the charter's passage is thus dated March 3, 1868.²² From what initially began as a mission school evolved, a four-year college.²³ The first four-year class graduated in 1936 and, as previously mentioned, Storer College continued operation until 1955, when it finally closed its doors, to be officially taken over five years later by the federal government in 1960.²⁴

Storer College in the Context of the Negro College Movement in Post-Civil War America

To be fully understood and appreciated, the history of Storer College must be viewed against a larger post-war context in which numerous, varied schools were organized on behalf of emancipated slaves: known as *freed men* after the war. Collectively, these schools comprised the *Negro College Movement*, a post-war response to destruction, deprivation, confusion, and emancipation.²⁵ Caliver suggests that this period of American history, which details the struggles of an oppressed population to become an educated citizenship, offers a wealth of knowledge concerning American educational

West Virginia Collegiate Institute, December 1921), 1-55. After the Second Morrill Act of 1890, which provided higher education for Negroes, West Virginia Colored Institute was established, in 1891, in Charleston, WV; and, subsequently, Bluefield Colored Institute was founded in 1895.

²² West Virginia. Congress, West Virginia History & State Archives, Sixth Session: Chapter 117, 106 - 107, 3 March, 1868, *An Act to Incorporate*, Charleston, WV, Wheeling, WV: John Frew, Public Printer.

²³ David Cole, Personal Communication. RE: Accreditation (July 30 2002). David Cole is the historian for, and maintains the private collections of the Storer College National Alumni Association in Washington, D.C. Mr. Cole is also the Storer College National Alumni Executive Board of Directors, Chairperson. Cole is a member of Storer's 1950 graduating class.

²⁴ *United States Congress, Public Law 655* (1960)

²⁵ W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Freedmen's Bureau," *Atlantic Monthly* 88 (march 1901): 354-65; D.O.W Holmes, "Curriculum Offerings in Negro Colleges Contributing to Functional Citizenship," *Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes* 4 (January 1936): 12, 1-9; D.O.W. Holmes, *The Evolution of the Negro College* (NY: AMS Press, 1970), 1-15, 163-78; Kelly Miller, "The Past, Present and Future of the Negro College," *Journal of Negro Education* 2, no. 3 (July 1933): 411-12, 411-22; Kelly Miller, "Forty Years of Negro Education," *Educational Review* XXXVI (Dec. 1908): 484-98, 484-98; Carter G. Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 5 (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1928); Ullin Whitney Leavell, *Philanthropy in Negro Education* (Westport, CN: Negro Universities Press, 1930); Henry Allen Bullock, *A History of Education in the South: From 1619 to the Present* (NY: Praeger Publishers, 1970).

opportunity.²⁶ Further, Franklin and Moss claim this movement formed the impetus for decisive social change in post-Civil War America since from the earliest days Lincoln supported education as an essential criterion for citizenship.²⁷ Thus, an understanding for the evolution of colleges founded during the *Negro College Movement* is mandatory for those seeking to fully comprehend the impact of the American creed, the humanity that stands behind the American citizenship, and the struggle of marginalized population's within the context of both to become educated citizens.

A Focus for Resourceful Scholarship

Many scholars have investigated the *Negro College Movement* and its developmental period from fixed historical chronologies directly relevant to the time periods of the investigations. A few representative accounts—depicting a historical cross-section, since as Anthony Brundage states, “[d]iligent historians assemble as many such accounts as they can”—are those by Woodson, Miller, Holmes, Klein, and Bowles & DeCosta.²⁸

Discussing Negro education, Woodson separated the movement into three distinct periods: (a) the “Pre-Emancipationist Period” (before 1863), during which a restricted number of benevolent whites assumed legal risks to educate their own slave-chattels; (b) the “Year of Emancipation Period” (1863), which witnessed a mounting number of benevolent whites willingly and knowingly undertaking unlawful actions to

²⁶ United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, by Ambrose Caliver, *National Survey of the Education of Teachers*, Vol. IV, Bulletin no. 10 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933)

²⁷ John Hope Franklin and Jr. and Alfred A. Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1988), 162, 205.

²⁸ Anthony Brundage, *Going to the Sources: A Guide to Historical Research and Writing* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1997), 19.

educate Negroes; and (c) the “Post-Emancipationist Period” that offered education designed by military personnel and missionary teachers.²⁹

Kelly Miller, who taught mathematics and introduced sociology into the curriculum at Howard University, studied the college movement as two unilateral periods of development. Miller’s first period begins with the inception of the Negro college at the close of the American Civil War and ends with the beginning of World War I.³⁰ According to Miller, this period was characterized by the involvement of Northern philanthropists whose “chief aim was to make them [Negroes] pious and serviceable to their race and country.”³¹ The second period begins with the conclusion of World War I and ends in 1933. Miller claims, “In the fullness of time the *fathers and founders* [italics added] passed on from labor to reward [because they had died]... . They were succeeded by a newer type of philanthropists [sic] who, themselves, had not been baptized in the spirit and fire of war.”³² Miller’s claim differentiates the genuine act of conscience, as demonstrated by the “*fathers and founders*,” from the “newer type of philanthropists [sic]” act of contribution. Further, according to Miller, “the Negro college became wavering and uncertain,” because it was simultaneously influenced by a biased public reaction from the social majority (whites) that resulted when the administrative control of these institutions were transferred to the social minority (blacks).³³

Holmes argued that the Negro College Movement experienced four fixed chronological periods. The first period, 1860 – 1885, was exemplified by military, benevolent, and federal intervention. Decreasing societal confusion, economic and

²⁹ Woodson, "Studies in Social Science: Early Negro Education in West Virginia," 7-10.

³⁰ Kelly Miller, "The Past, Present and Future of the Negro College," *Journal of Negro Education* 2, no. 3 (July 1933): 411-22.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 413.

³² *Ibid.* 413.

³³ *Ibid.* 414.

political instability, and the cumulative effects of poverty characterized the period. A second period, 1886 – 1916, involved decreased funding yet improved organizational structures. At this time, a second influx of Northern teachers helped to re-shape advancing curricula above secondary levels. During this period, most colleges were fashioned after traditional seminaries, classical academies, and advanced institutions in which white, northern teachers had been trained.³⁴ The third period identified by Holmes' investigation is marked by the publication of a federal study in 1917 by Thomas Jesse Jones. The Jones study, *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States*, was published in two volumes.³⁵ After this study, a new-found orientation—based on need, accomplishment, and advancement—was created by the various philanthropic agents who financed education for the institutions that were making routine appeals to them for financial support. The federal exploration proved to be beneficial for both agents and institutions. Philanthropic agents began to systematically approach educational problems, while colleges developed a sense of educational self-censure, as they began to evaluate their own marked progress or the lack thereof.³⁶

Holmes' final period, 1928 – 1934, corresponds with another federal investigation, conducted by Arthur Klein, in 1928, when education turned toward

³⁴ Holmes, *The Evolution of the Negro College*, 205-06.

³⁵ United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, by Thomas Jesse Jones, *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States.*, Vol. I, Bulletin no. 38 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1917); United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, by Thomas Jesse Jones, *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States.*, Vol. II, Bulletin no. 39 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1917).

³⁶ Bullock, *A History of Education in the South: From 1619 to the Present*; Jones, *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States.*, Vol. II, Bulletin no. 39

scientific measurement.³⁷ As opposed to previous investigations, which had not systematically processed earlier data collections, Klein's approach proved closer to true scientific application. At the request of organizational and federal representatives, Klein conducted a methodical survey, involving in many instances on-site research teams, of those states that had established higher education institutions. Holmes suggests that the final period for his investigation is based on the Klein survey, which "definitely marked the beginning of a new era" for the *Negro College Movement*.³⁸ This period is defined by an increasingly definitive methodological direction that corresponds with escalating accreditation standards in these institutions.

Frank Bowles and Frank A. DeCosta divided the Negro College Movement into four periods: (a) Pre-Civil War; (b) Civil War to 1895; (c) 1896 – 1953; and (d) 1954 – 1971. The first period is characterized by "apprenticeship training, nondegree [sic] courses, training for teachers, training abroad, training in higher institutions and self-education."³⁹ Although the period 1865 – 1895 marks the emergence of numerous higher educational facilities, to label such institutions colleges and universities was deceiving, for during their formative years they provided little more than elementary and secondary education. Most philanthropic investors during the period commissioned missionaries and ecclesiastical fathers to work directly with these underprivileged populations through a multitude of relief efforts. The third period, 1896 – 1953, is described by Bowles and DeCosta as the period during which southern institutions achieved greater autonomy prompted by a separate system of education in the south. As

³⁷ United States Department of Interior, Bureau of Education, by Arthur J. Klein, *Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities*, Bulletin no. 7 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1929)

³⁸ Holmes, *The Evolution of the Negro College*, 206.

³⁹ Frank Bowles and Frank A. DeCosta, *Between Two Worlds: A Profile of Negro Higher Education*, The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, vol. 5 (NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971), 25.

populations increased, such Negro colleges “developed from elementary and secondary schools to degree-granting institutions.”⁴⁰ A final period, 1954 – 1971, benefits from a shift in legal interpretation by the United States Supreme Court in the *Brown et al. v. Board of Topeka, Kansas* decision. The court’s interpretation for *separate, but equal* thereafter took on new meaning nationwide.⁴¹ A Northern migration ensued following the court’s decision since the education of Negroes was no longer a fixed Southern domain. Northern colleges, universities, and professional schools consequently began to share this educational responsibility with Southern states. As a result, the Southern exodus exponentially affects not only Northern cities but also Northern colleges.⁴²

Collectively, these concur that the period of greatest social and educational advancement for the Negro race emerged in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War. Between 1865 – 1910, the plight of four million freed people changed both quantitatively and qualitatively as the college movement encouraged educational opportunities that began with the development of the individual. Quantitatively, thousands of abecedarian-type schools, which had been instituted all over the south, anticipated further educational development, as students graduated from elementary to secondary and beyond.⁴³ Qualitatively, of these post-Civil War schools, expressly organized for freedmen, several

⁴⁰ Bowles and Frank A. DeCosta, *Between Two Worlds: A Profile of Negro Higher Education*, 59.

⁴¹ *Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka et al.*, No. 347US483 (1954) (United States Supreme Court May 17, 1954)

⁴² Frank Bowles and Frank A. DeCosta, *Between Two Worlds: A Profile of Negro Higher Education*, The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, vol. 5 (NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971), 61-80.

⁴³ Kate J. Anthony, Storer College Collection, Box 16, FF7, 1891, Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House; Curry, "Education of the Negroes Since 1860," in *Occasional Paper*, (Baltimore, MD: Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, 1894); W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Negro Common School* (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University Press, 1902); R. Bruce, "Freedom Through Education," in *Negro Orators and Their Orations*, ed. Carter G. Woodson (New York: Russell & Russell Publishers, 1905), 585-95; Emeline Burlingame-Cheney, *The Story of the Life and Work of Oren B. Cheney, Founder and First President of Bates College* (Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House, 1907); Loretta Funk, "The Negro in Education," *The Journal of Negro History* V, no. 1 (January 1920): 1 – 21.

survived for future charter as secondary academies, normal, or college-type institutions.⁴⁴

Of this period, Du Bois proclaimed “[t]he object of education was not to make men carpenters, but to make carpenters men.” It was very clear to Du Bois that the purpose of education was then, as now: to educate and develop the whole person to greatest potential.⁴⁵ Representatives from various philanthropic organizations were firmly committed to the continued development of schools for freedmen.⁴⁶ Storer College was such an institution, as it evolved from its 1865 abecedarian-type mission school into a four-year collegiate program, by 1934, with its first four-year graduation class in 1936.⁴⁷

To summarize, these representative accounts published by: Woodson, Miller, Holmes, Klein, and Bowles & DeCosta have four common characteristics: (a) increased social awareness for basic educational foundations (inception); (b) philanthropists, missionaries and benevolent others established various plans of education (organization); (c) advancing school populations and curriculums imposed a system of order

⁴⁴ United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, by Thomas Jesse Jones, *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States.*, Vol. II, Bulletin no. 39 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1917); United States Department of Interior, Bureau of Education, by Arthur J. Klein, *Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities*, Bulletin no. 7 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1929); Beverly Clark Carlson, "Pursuit of the Promise: An Overview," *American Baptist Quarterly* 12, no. 1 (March 1993): 2-9.

⁴⁵ W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, "Education and Work," *Journal of Negro Education* 1, no. 1 (April 1932): 60-74; Du Bois delivered this commencement address to Howard University in 1930; it was thereafter published in the *Journal of Negro Education*. 61; Also see: Miller, "The Past, Present and Future of the Negro College;" Evelyn Brooks Higgenbotham, *Righteous Discontent* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

⁴⁶ Jesse Brundage Sears, *Philanthropy in the History of American Higher Education* (Washington, D.C., 1922); Carter G. Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 5 (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1928); Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873* (Atlanta, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1992).

⁴⁷ George W. Hancock, Storer College Alumnus, ed. Dawne Raines Burke (Hancock Residence, 5 November 2001). George Wessel Hancock graduated three times from Storer College: Secondary Division (1932), Junior College (1934), and Senior College (1936). Hancock proudly shares: "I was a member of the first four-year college class."

(standardization); and, (d) the gradated educational plans progressively developed (accreditation). Chapters four and six through eight of this study focus on each of those characteristics in turn.

Sketch of Storer College

Few accounts of the institution's history exist, and most focus on its founding years and earliest periods of development. The first study on Storer College occurs in a "sketch" delivered by Kate J. Anthony on August 15, 1883, but this account did not appear in published format until 1891. Anthony's sketch, entitled a "Brief Historical Sketch, 1867 – 1891," was delivered to a Free Will Baptist Centennial gathering in Ocean Park (Old Orchard Beach), Maine in an effort to stimulate both interest in, and generate revenue for, Storer College.⁴⁸ Anthony's work, a primary resource since she had visited the campus and her father had been a trustee, "sketch[e]s" the college's first quarter-century, and mainly outline facts, dates, individuals, and organizations that shaped the school's founding years. Short declaratives, with scant background often predominate; however, this is possibly due to the evangelical fervor with which Anthony conveys to her denominational audience, her personal concerns for the school's continuation and future potential. Anthony's "sketch" was likely most akin to a public speech. Since the main purpose of the writer's work was to appeal to her audience for endowments, bequests, and donations through a historical "sketch" of the ongoing work then in operation in the Shenandoah Valley, "Supplementary Notes" included in and following Anthony's

⁴⁸ Kate J. Anthony, Storer College Collection, Box 16, FF7, 1891, Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House.

published sketch discuss initial courses of study, campus usage and physical plant, tuition, and departmental briefs.⁴⁹

A more systematic approach was undertaken by Alfred Mongin, who in 1960, generated “this first report” for Superintendent Frank H. Anderson and the National Park Service, entitled: “A College in Secessia: The Early Years of Storer College.”⁵⁰ Mongin’s report resulted in an 11-page chronology. Mongin claims, “The purpose of this report is to summarize the early years of Storer College. The original purpose of its preparation was submission for publication in the National Parks Center – The Newspaper of the Stephen Mather Family Association.”⁵¹ The report was compiled from primary data largely taken from Storer College catalogues, most of which had been abandoned after the school’s closure and were subsequently inherited by the National Park Service. Since a complete catalogue collection was unavailable, Mongin’s report organizes catalogue information between the years of 1869 – 1939, a seventy-year intermittent effort. As the year of the report corresponds with the year of campus acquisition, this was likely the first effort by a federal ranger to synopsize the history of Storer College for the National Park Service. Mongin’s conclusions resulted in the first historical chronology of the institution; therefore, it formed pertinent groundwork for future explorations since it verified and began documentation for the school’s early chronology. In his prologue, however, Mongin states that “[n]o adequate treatment of this education *movement* [italics added] has appeared,” a claim that was directly relevant to the primary aim of this study.⁵²

⁴⁹ Anthony, See: *Supplementary Notes* in “Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College,” 1891.

⁵⁰ Mongin, *Research Report: A College in Secessia, The Early Years of Storer College*, 1960.

⁵¹ Ibid, Preface i.

⁵² Ibid, 1.

Two years later, Mongin reframed his report in order to publish it as an article under the same title in the *West Virginia History [Journal]*.⁵³ In the journal article, Mongin refers to Storer as an example of a “major constructive force” following the Civil War, but he notes that the college was “destined for extinction” since its charter specified “education without distinction of race or color,” and therefore began under legislative controversy and ended in much the same manner under the *Brown et al. v. Board of Topeka, Kansas* decision in 1954.⁵⁴

In 1961, Vivian Verdell Gordon became the first scholar to extend both the historical and educational information on the college when she integrated dates and facts with supplemental catalog information.⁵⁵ Gordon’s article, based on “information presented in Storer College Bulletins, 1870...1947,” surveys the school’s founding years and early institutional context.⁵⁶ In her short history, Gordon gives various examples of the school’s prescribed curriculum and development, its physical building arrangement, and the federal acquisition on April 12, 1960. No in-depth conclusions are reflected in the article, the primary purpose of which was to provide a basic, historical review of Storer for, *The Journal of Negro Education*, a national review of colleges published annually by the ethnic journal. It is important however to understand Gordon’s perspective: she was an “Education Analyst in the Education & Public Welfare Division,” under the direction of the Library of Congress.⁵⁷ Consequently, since Gordon was a federal-level, professional analyst she was likely using a standard format by which

⁵³ Alfred Mongin, "A College in Secessia: The Early Years of Storer College," *West Virginia History* 23, no. 4 (July 1962): 263-68.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 283.

⁵⁵ Vivian Verdell Gordon, "Section E: A History of Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia," *Journal of Negro Education* 30 (Fall 1961): 445-49.

⁵⁶ Gordon, "Section E: A History of Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia," 445.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

to examine the school's overall educational development up to that point with no in-depth conclusions.

Another report, submitted by Anna Toogood to the Historical Data Section of the United States Department of the Interior, in 1969, focused on the first decade of the school's development. In the preface to her report, entitled "The Lockwood House: Birthplace of Storer College, A Furnishings Study," Toogood states, "The purpose of this report (RSP-HAFE-11) is to provide the available information on the furnishings of the two west rooms of the Lockwood House at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, as they appeared during the nascent years of Storer College.⁵⁸ The history of Storer College begins in the Lockwood House and with the refurnishing of the two west rooms, its memory will herein be preserved in the Lockwood House so as to commemorate the successful efforts made there to uplift the freedmen and community as a whole."⁵⁹ While the report largely resulted in a description of the dedication, exertion, and sacrifice required by the Free Will Baptists to sustain the school, Toogood drew upon a variety of records and documents left behind after the institution's closure. Toogood credits the Freedmen's Bureau with the school's establishment and includes a discussion of the Harper family dispute over properties on Camp Hill. The author refers to her report, as a "brief narrative" undertaken to determine the degree to which primary data analysis coupled with background information might inform a federal restoration project slated for the "two west rooms of the Lockwood House."⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *The Lockwood House: Birthplace of Storer College*, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, by Anna Coxé Toogood, Park Historian (Harper's Ferry National Historic Park: United States Government, 3 January 1969), Furnishings Study: Historical Data Section, REP-HAFE-11.

⁵⁹ Toogood, *The Lockwood House: Birthplace of Storer College*, i.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 54.

The Toogood report does make two conclusions: (a) “The memory of Storer College in the community . . . suffers little damage with the years;” and (b) “In Harper’s Ferry the fine legacy left by Storer College, its leaders and graduates, symbolizes the remarkable transformation from racial hostilities to racial coordination and respect.”⁶¹

Sometime between 1963 – 1965, Bradley Nash wrote “Crusade of Brotherhood: The Part of Storer College in the Education of the Negro, 1865 – 1955,” an unpublished manuscript with seven subdivisions that is part of the manuscript collection in the Storer College Archives. Nash, a former school trustee, introduced various topics that began to explore the larger religious, social, and educational aspects associated with “Early Negro Education”.⁶² The Catholic, Protestant, and Quaker influence on “regional patterns [of] develop[ment]” to educate Negroes, Civil War aspects, administrative histories, philanthropic agencies and physical structures along with developmental variations in the school are explored.⁶³ However lacking in clear articulation or development, Nash’s unpublished manuscript did expand the historical context of the school since Nash was a longtime resident and an elected official of the Harper’s Ferry township.

Since the manuscript attempts to address multi-layered, complex subjects, as well as sub-subjects within that complexity, it is difficult to discern the primary thesis of Nash’s study. Nash’s manuscript was evaluated by Dr. Michael R. Winston, a history professor at Howard University, who states, “The author has attempted to write a history of Storer College based almost entirely on college catalogues.”⁶⁴ Quotations are

⁶¹ Ibid., 79.

⁶² Bradley Nash, Storer College Archives, HFR-00430, 1965, Crusade of Brotherhood: The Part of Storer College in the Education of the Negro, 1865-1955, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park.

⁶³ Bradley Nash, "Crusade of Brotherhood: The Part of Storer College in the Education of the Negro, 1865-1955,"

⁶⁴ Michael Winston, Department of History, Howard University, Washington, D.C., to William Everhart 1965, Winston's critical review of Nash's "Crusade of Brotherhood," Storer College Archives, HFR-427.

intermittently integrated, but their sources are frequently unidentified. Winston concludes of Nash's Chapters I-V that "[i]n general there was little use of the sources available for an account of this type."⁶⁵ Nash's "VII Summary and Comments," although listed in the index, was missing from the body of the manuscript, which made it difficult to ascertain his findings. Also, there is no bibliography to which subsequent researchers might refer; hence, it was difficult to determine what was yet to be explored based on the lack of "sources available for an account of this type." Winston concludes that Nash's manuscript requires a more elaborate profile of resources to "provid[e] a usable account of Storer College from which the National Park Service could develop an interpretative facility."⁶⁶

Another historian, Dr. Roland C. McConnell, Chair of the Department of History, Political Science, and Geography at Morgan State College suggested, in 1968, that Storer's narrative should be advanced under three primary headings: origin, development, and decline.⁶⁷ McConnell was specifically suggesting that Storer College should be investigated as a topic with: beginning, middle, and ending periods. McConnell also suggests that Nash investigate the larger body of African-American literature. McConnell likely believed that opinions from the African-American community i.e. scholars, historians, educators, clergy, sociologists, psychologists, and human developmental experts were mandatory for a comprehensive, balanced understanding "for an account of this type" thus framed by a larger discourse.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 4.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 6.

⁶⁷ Roland C. McConnell, Morgan State College, Baltimore, MD, Bradley D. Nash, "Critical Review of Manuscript," December 9, 1968, Storer College Collection: HFR-427.

In 1974, McClain produced an honors thesis on Storer College for the Department of History at Linfield College in Oregon. The McClain thesis focused on the “year of origin,” and did not intend to examine later aspects associated with the school beyond its “year of origin”.⁶⁸ Detailed information regarding the mission school antecedent or subsequent mission schools established throughout the Shenandoah Valley are not fully developed as topics. The thesis concludes that the existence of the school was made possible through two corresponding elements: (a) the political aptitude of Oren Burbank Cheney, President of Bates College and founding father of Storer College; and (b) the philanthropic proclivity of John Storer, the financial progenitor of the school.

Nine years elapse before another exploration begins, in 1983, which redirects—in a restricted sense—attention to Negro education.⁶⁹ At this time, Linnea Hamer produced what she refers to as a “script” on “Black Education”: a pictorial profile, based on Storer College exhibits located throughout the Harper’s Ferry National Historical Park.⁷⁰ In her “script,” Hamer describes fifty-one exhibit objects, which includes fundamental historical information.

Just three years later, in 1986, Barbara Rasmussen submitted a master’s thesis to West Virginia University entitled, “Sixty-Four Edited Letters of The Founders of Storer College.”⁷¹ The “Introduction” established early historical contexts that corresponded with denominational correspondences in the earliest days of the school’s founding over nearly a three-year period. Correspondences range from October 17, 1865 to March 28,

⁶⁸ Mary Ellen McClain, "Storer College: Harper's Ferry, West Virginia (1865 - 1897)," History Honors Thesis (Linfield College: McMinnville, Oregon: History Department, 15 April 1974).

⁶⁹ Hamer, "Storer College: The Education of the Black American," Title Page.

⁷⁰ Linnea Hamer, "Storer College: The Education of the Black American," Harper's Ferry, WV, 1983, HFR-00416.

⁷¹ Barbara Rasmussen, "Sixty-Four Edited Letters of The Founders of Storer College," M.A. Thesis (West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV: Department of History, College of Arts and Sciences, 1986). Designed as: *Introduction* 1-39; *Manuscript Chronology* 40-142; *Bibliography* 143-146; *Abstract* 147.

1868, which falls just seven months short of the first three-year period of the school. The major focus of Rasmussen's thesis was with the school's founding and its founding denomination.⁷² The chronology and educational evolution of the school lacks general development after 1900. Later years—1910, 1911, the 1930s, 1940, 1954, and 1960—are briefly mentioned but was restricted in approach. After the turn of the century, there was no treatment of specific college developmental aspects, i.e. faculty, students, curriculum, governance, or the physical plant. She concluded that the Free Will Baptists were resourceful, persistent, and filled with missionary zeal. Nonetheless, Rasmussen produced a significant manuscript chronology of correspondences between and among members of the "Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South," for which this researcher was grateful. It is interesting to note, however, that in the text of her summation, in 1986, Rasmussen referred to the institution as "unremembered Storer College." Further, she claims that, "Storer College is now a little known part of Harper's Ferry National Historical [sic] Park," which blatantly contradicts Toogood's 17-year earlier assertion that "[t]he memory of Storer College in the community...suffers little with the years."⁷³

A year later, Weaver produced a magazine overview of Storer College for *American Visions*. The overview contained generally known facts about the founding and closure of the college, about which no in-depth conclusions were made.⁷⁴

Since Weaver's overview, in 1987, two other federally supported investigations were initiated by the Department of Interior's National Park Service branch in 1991 and 2002. By December, 1991, John Barker and Mary Johnson conducted a "cooperative

⁷² Ibid, 32.

⁷³ Ibid, 36; Toogood, *The Lockwood House: Birthplace of Storer College*, 79.

⁷⁴ S.A. Weaver, "Storer College: The View From Camp Hill," *American Visions*, June 1987, 8,11.

project report” for the federal agency from the University of Maryland entitled, “Cooperative Project Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121”.⁷⁵ The focus of the Barker and Johnson “report” is the Storer College “physical history”.⁷⁶ Barker and Johnson claim that “[t]he primary emphasis of Package 121 during the early days of the project was to build up the computer database. While some progress was made here, this aspect of the project remains largely incomplete”.⁷⁷ The research duo continued to refine their objective by stating that “[t]here has been no organized attempt by the research historians to analyze evidence gathered for or entered into the database in regards to the social history of the College”.⁷⁸ In their opinion, Barker and Johnson still maintained, by 1991, that “[t]he social history component [of Storer College] is complex...[o]nly through an understanding of Black History's major themes and trends can we fully grasp and interpret what happened at Storer College.”⁷⁹

Consequently, in an effort to advance federal investigations based on the Barker and Johnson’s 1991 “report,” in 2002, the National Park Service contracted a team of five “research consultants,” Gloria Gozdzik, Susan Bergeron, James Jewell, Jack McKivigan, and Sandra Palmer, to assemble “A Historic Resource Study” of the college.⁸⁰ The “resource study” begins with the Jamestown Colony “plantation economy” and concludes that “Storer College has remained largely unknown in the scholarship of African American education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries” [although] “the school

⁷⁵ John Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, National Park Service/University of Maryland Cooperative Project (Harper's Ferry National Historic Park Collection: United States Government, December 1991).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

⁸⁰ Gloria Gozdzik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, National Park Service, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park (Morgantown, WV, 2002), i.

played an important role in the lives of those who studied there.”⁸¹ Once again, the five-member research team, 33-years after the Toogood “furnishings study” concurred with Rasmussen’s 1986 “unremembered” finding. The “report” however does begin to illuminate the “role” that Storer College “played” broadening the context against which the founding of Storer College was made possible.⁸² A seven-chapter “resource study,” the Gozdzik research team embarked on an examination of the school’s institutional history for the first time from a periodic scheme. This “study” took into consideration a more extensive bibliography, and included a subject index to which future researchers could refer.⁸³

These preceding works collectively contributed incrementally, much like a historical chain, to an understanding for the establishment of Storer College, its founding, its continued growth, and eventual closure; yet, the school remained an incompletely plumbed subject of study. In fact, although the Gozdzik *et al.* “resource study” emerged after this institutional narrative project began in 1999, in 2004, 139 years after the initial mission school’s founding, the college has no meaningful institutional narrative since, as Barker and Johnson concluded “all aspects [of Storer’s history] are inextricably tied” and Gozdzik *et al.* understood that Storer’s institutional contributions have “remained largely unknown in the scholarship of African American education”.⁸⁴ The global questions relative to this study thus developed: What was Storer College? How did it change over time?

⁸¹ Ibid., 1, 222.

⁸² Ibid., 1.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 1; Gozdzik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 222.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This historical investigation analyzed the genesis, unfolding, contributions, and demise issues in conjunction with the social, economic, and political forces that led to the subsequent founding, development, and eventual closure of Storer College. It filled a notable gap in scholarship, since, as Mongin, in 1960 stated, “No adequate treatment of this educational movement has appeared.”⁸⁵ Over 40 years after the fact, there still was no “treatment” of this “movement.” Clearly, such a study was long overdue.

As early as 1963, the Northeast Regional Director of the National Park Service proposed that if the institution was to be understood in a way that was meaningful, the history of Storer College must be situated “against the broader history of the period” in the larger context.⁸⁶ With a lapse of nearly 50 years since its closure, Storer College begged to shed the last vestiges of segregation. This study developed a core narrative of Storer College since the gap in knowledge regarding its existence spoke directly to its exclusion; exclusion is most particularly identified with the truest sense of any form of segregation. A narrative history was mandatory to connect “all aspects [that are] inextricably tied” in order to unite Storer’s narrative not only with the system of education in West Virginia but also with the larger movement of educational history in America.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ *Research Report: A College in Secessia, The Early Years of Storer College*, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, by Alfred Mongin, Park Historian (Harper's Ferry National Historic Park Collection: United States Government, 15 June 1960), Preface.

⁸⁶ United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, by Regional Director, *History of Storer College*, Memorandum no. H2215 (Philadelphia, PA, 1963), 1-2

⁸⁷ Richard I. McKinney, President, Storer College, *Preliminary Research Interview: Richard I. McKinney*, Audiovisual Transcription (Baltimore, MD, December 21, 1999).
James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 1.

Anderson aptly states, “The history of American education abounds with themes that represent the inextricable ties between citizenship in a democratic society and popular education. 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 the politics of oppression.”⁸⁸ In Anderson’s mind, education and citizenship are “fundamental American conceptions of society and [its] progress.” Institutions such as Storer were not “aberrations or isolated alternatives,” but they were—and yet remain—fundamental examples of the progress of the American republic, the progress of marginalized populations struggling toward educated citizenship, and the progress of the philanthropic populations exerting such efforts on their behalf to stimulate an educated American citizenship.⁸⁹

Although Storer and several similar institutions were eventually subsumed by state tax-supported, public school systems, they were originally conceived as segregated “isolated alternatives” for educating Negroes, as Prillerman and Du Bois advocate.⁹⁰ Prillerman relates that “[t]he first Constitution of West Virginia, adopted in 1863, provided for the establishment of free schools; but it made no reference to the colored youth of the State.”⁹¹ Eventually, the West Virginia Legislature was prompted toward actions that led to educating the state’s colored population. Hence, “the Legislature

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 1; United States Bureau of Education, Contributions to American Educational History [Series], by Alexander R. Whitehill, *History of Education in West Virginia*, Circular of Information no. 30, ed. Herbert B. Adams (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902); Miller, *The History of Education in West Virginia*; Charles H. Ambler, *A History of Education in West Virginia* (Huntington, WV: Standard Printing & Publishing Company, 1951).

⁹¹ Byrd Prillerman, "Development of the Colored School System," in *History of Education in West Virginia*, ed. Thomas C. Miller (1904), 295-98.

passed an act, Feb. 26, 1866, providing for the establishment of colored schools in sub-districts containing thirty colored children between the ages of six and twenty-one years.”⁹² Storer College was the first “isolated alternative” in West Virginia to begin to prepare students as citizens in the “reunified” American republic, and therefore citizenship, through educational development. As Prillerman notes, "From 1866 to 1892, Storer College . . . was the only school in the State at which the colored youth could receive academic and normal training" in preparation for self-improvement and sufficiency and future work life.⁹³ Du Bois fervently espoused that, together, advancing education and “[f]reedom must accelerate this development [of Negroes] which slavery so long retarded.”⁹⁴ Du Bois repeatedly maintained that these “isolated alternatives” were in fact “the very foundation stone of Negro training" in the developing context of American education in the post-Civil War Period.⁹⁵

Since no completed, comprehensive institutional narrative existed on the school, this study served to fill the current gap in knowledge.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this institutional narrative was to generate a better understanding for the genesis, unfolding, contributions, and demise of Storer College in conjunction with the social, economic, and political forces that shaped it over time.⁹⁶ For example, it was

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Prillerman, "Development of the Colored School System," 295.

⁹⁴ W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, "Education and Work," *Journal of Negro Education* 1, no. 1 (April 1932): 62, 60-74.

⁹⁵ Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 1; Du Bois, "Education and Work," 61.

⁹⁶ Stephen Isaac and William B. Michael, *Handbook in Research and Evaluation: For Education and Behavioral Sciences* (San Diego, CA: Educational and Industrial Testing Service, 1995), 48-51.

unknown *how* Storer's founders related to the philanthropic impulse that ignited a national movement and provided educational opportunity for Negroes in America.⁹⁷ Without such an account, the very history of the *Negro College Movement* remained incomplete. This study was a pursuit of Storer College as a subject for historical inquiry to: (a) explore the various internal and external characteristics which both described and forecasted its founding;⁹⁸ (b) exposed its role in the system of education in West Virginia;⁹⁹ and, (c) identified its developmental processes in order to fill a gap in knowledge beyond that of "chronological markers."¹⁰⁰ While "chronological markers" provide basic measurements against which research subjects begin to unfold, Lateiner suggests that they are limited in value because they do not discern the broader episodes behind study subjects.¹⁰¹ The objective of this inquiry was: to explore and include just such broad, underlying episodes associated with the institution of Storer College, to produce a comprehensive institutional narrative that preserved the memory of the

⁹⁷ Carter G. Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 5 (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1928), 382-83.

⁹⁸ Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Philadelphia, PA, 1794); Samuel Creed Cross, *The Negro in the Sunny South* (Martinsburg, WV: S.C. Cross, Publisher, 1899); Shawley M.P., "Later Progress," in *History of Education in West Virginia*, ed. Thomas C. Miller (Charleston, WV: The Tribune Printing Company, 1904), 58-64; Lewis Virgil A., "Early Education in West Virginia," in *History of Education in West Virginia*, ed. Thomas C. Miller (Charleston, WV: The Tribune Printing Company, 1904), 17-54; Richard E. Beringer, *Historical Analysis: Contemporary Approaches to Clio's Craft* (Malabar, FL: Robert K. Krieger Publishing Company, 1986), 2.

⁹⁹ Acts of the West Virginia Legislature, (West Virginia 1863); United States Bureau of Education, *Circular of Information*; McDonald Henry T., "Storer College," in *History of Education in West Virginia*, ed. Thomas C. Miller (Charleston, WV: The Tribune Printing Company, 1904), 292-94; J. McHenry Jones, "Institutions For the Education of Colored Youth: The West Virginia Colored Institute," in *History of Education in West Virginia*, ed. Thomas Miller (Charleston, WV: State Superintendent of Schools, 1904), 285-90; Prillerman, "Development of the Colored School System."; Miller, *The History of Education in West Virginia*; United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, by Thomas Jesse Jones, *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States.*, Vol. II, Bulletin no. 39 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1917); Ambler, *From Early Colonial Times to 1949*; Ancella R. Bickley, *History of the West Virginia State Teachers' Association* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1979); Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*; Sharan B. Merriam and Edwin L. Simpson, *A Guide to Research for Educators and Trainers of Adults* (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 1995), 75, 83.

¹⁰⁰ Donald Lateiner, *The Historical Method of Herodotus* (Canada: Toronto University Press, 1991), 114-25; Leedy, *Practical Research: Planning and Design*, 173-86.

¹⁰¹ Lateiner, *The Historical Method of Herodotus*, 114-25.

institution, contributed to new knowledge, and would continue to benefit from future research activity.¹⁰²

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To shape and direct this study, several questions were formulated. They guided this inquiry to sources for information regarding individuals, societies, agencies, organizations, and events which contributed to the founding of Storer College and subsequently influenced its development over time. The questions were set against the larger historical contexts that corresponded with the post-Civil War South; and, as previously mentioned, they also corresponded with recommendations made by federal administrators and professional historians who advocated just such an approach for this subject.¹⁰³

Hence, the global questions are: What was Storer College? How did it change over time? To elaborate further: Storer College is not an “isolated” event. On the contrary, since it was the first of many opportunities to be advanced on behalf of Negroes in America, it is part of a far larger educational process. The college was shaped by: (a) varied contexts, (b) reactive circumstances, (c) developmental phases, and (d) individuals working in concert to preserve the memory of its institution. The following questions reflect each of these elements.

¹⁰² Louis Gottschalk, *Understanding History, A Primer of Historical Method* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960); Merriam and Simpson 1995: 75.

¹⁰³ United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, by Regional Director, *History of Storer College*, Memorandum no. H2215 (Philadelphia, PA, 1963); Michael Winston, Letter of Critical Review; Roland C. McConnell, "Critical Review of Manuscript;" Brundage, *Going to the Sources: A Guide to Historical Research and Writing*; Louis Gottschalk, *Understanding History, A Primer of Historical Method* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960).

Questions 1.0 and 2.0 provided a foundation of varied contexts and reactive circumstances on which to erect the central focus of this study in order to incorporate the larger “socio-historical context in which [Storer College] evolved.”¹⁰⁴ Question 3.0 directed specific consideration to the graduated development of Storer College and comprised the larger portion of this study. A factual question, 4.0, included oral data from individuals who (literally and figuratively) operated as a conscientious collective to maintain the memory of Storer College’s institution. These questions were designed to provide a backdrop against which a better understanding of Storer College could be situated. Thus, the global questions were: What was Storer College? How did it change over time?

- 1.0 What were the social, economic, and political contexts relative to educational development in the Virginias, out of which the institution of Storer College grew?
- 2.0 In what ways were these circumstances in the post-Civil War period relieved by Northern philanthropy, and what corresponding actions led to the founding of Storer College in West Virginia?
- 3.0 How did Storer College subsequently develop as a West Virginia educational facility between the years of 1865 – 1955, and what developmental phases emerged as a result of its continued development? What factors led to its eventual demise?

¹⁰⁴ Sharan B. Merriam and Edwin L. Simpson, *A Guide to Research for Educators and Trainers of Adults* (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 1995), 75.

4.0 Since 1955, how has the former campus of Storer College transitioned as part of the Harper's Ferry National Monument consolidation; specifically, what efforts have been put forth by the Storer College National Alumni Association to preserve the memory of Storer College?

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Despite the status Storer College held as a groundbreaking educational institution for the State of West Virginia, the full story of its inception, life, and demise remained largely unexplored. In 1999, when this study initiated, no institutional narrative had emerged to chart Storer's larger social, economic, and political contexts, or the philanthropic era associated with its genesis, unfolding, contributions, and subsequent demise issues. No organized exploration had been produced of the college's genesis and coordination with the state educational system, subsequent unfolding and development in context, or the forces that shaped and contributed to its development and demise over time.¹⁰⁵ Given the role of Storer in the history of the *Negro College Movement* and its importance to the development of equal educational opportunities—and therefore social justice for African-Americans—this oversight seems glaring because Storer College remained generally unexplored, and therefore unknown.

With the passage of a legislative act on February 26, 1866, West Virginia became one of the first states in the post-Civil War period to initiate educational opportunities for

¹⁰⁵ Michael Winston, Letter of Critical Review; Roland C. McConnell, "Critical Review of Manuscript;" United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, by Regional Director, *History of Storer College*, Memorandum no. H2215 (Philadelphia, PA, 1963).

its “colored” citizens.¹⁰⁶ Storer College subsequently became the first formal institution of higher education for Negroes in the State of West Virginia and the first institution of its kind to be recognized by the new thirty-fifth state’s legislature, as a State Normal Department.¹⁰⁷ Woodson, in 1921, speaking with precise authority because he had taught in West Virginia for several years, suggested that in order to “proclaim the power of education as the great leverage by which the recently emancipated race could toil up to a position of recognition in this republic,” institutions established during the post-Civil War period organized curricula for an essential “teaching force” that “enabled the Negroes to help themselves” thereafter.¹⁰⁸ During its 90-year history, Storer College graduated hundreds of teachers, and contributed significantly to the nation’s “teaching force” after the war years. In his final analysis, Woodson observed that “[f]or a number of years the State depended largely upon such normal training as could be given at Storer College.”¹⁰⁹ Although their contributions are obviously invaluable, no past exploration has incorporated students’ memories, or factual data provided by students trained at and graduated from Storer College.

¹⁰⁶ West Virginia State Legislature, "An Act Providing for the Establishment of a System of Free Schools;" Acts of the West Virginia Legislature, (West Virginia 1866); Byrd Prillerman, "Development of the Colored School System," in *History of Education in West Virginia*, ed. Thomas C. Miller (Charleston, WV: The Tribune Publishing Company, 1904), 295-98; Biennial Report, State Board of Education, by William W. Sanders, State Supervisor of Negro Schools (Charleston, WV: State Board of Education, June 30, 1922), 14-15; Charles H. Ambler, Francis H. Pierpont Union War Governor of Virginia and Father of West Virginia (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1937); Carter G. Woodson, "Studies in Social Science: Early Negro Education in West Virginia," ed. Carter G. Woodson, special issue of, 3 (Institute, West Virginia: The West Virginia Collegiate Institute, December 1921), 1-55.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 294; Woodson, "Studies in Social Science: Early Negro Education in West Virginia," 40.

¹⁰⁸ Woodson, "Studies in Social Science: Early Negro Education in West Virginia," 8; W. N. Hartshorn, "An Era of Progress and Promise, 1863-1910: The Religious, Moral, and Educational Development of the American Negro Since His Emancipation," reproduced on microfilm by W.E.B. Du Bois Institute for Afro-American Research Collection at Harvard University Boston, MA: The Priscilla Publishing Company, in (1910).

¹⁰⁹ Hartshorn, "An Era of Progress and Promise, 1863-1910: The Religious, Moral, and Educational Development of the American Negro Since His Emancipation," 1910.

In order to produce the sort of study that had long been needed regarding Storer, this exploration generated new knowledge since it includes: a more comprehensive contextual background based on the larger body of African-American literature; factual data incorporated from oral accounts from graduates, a former president, and a trustee; civil litigation analyses; an integration and extension of the physical plant of the school; and, a closer examination of the school's demise issues. This study integrated origin, development, and demise with analysis and interpretation of human activities, as well as underscored prominent forces and important events relative to Storer's history.

METHOD

This section of the chapter introduced the historical research method used in this study during the complex processes of research, compilation of data, and textual production in order to generate an institutional narrative about Storer College.

To illuminate Storer College, the historical method was used to produce an institutional narrative in order to better understand the genesis, unfolding, contributions, and demise of Storer College, as a genuine aspect of America's educational history. The school history detailed a long enduring objective to improve a segment of America's marginalized population. Braudel claims that most traditional histories provide merely "[a] gleam but no illumination; facts but no humanity."¹¹⁰ It was the focus of this study to illuminate the genesis, unfolding, contributions, and demise issues of Storer College in

¹¹⁰ Fernand Braudel, *On History*, *Ecrits sur l'histoire*, 1969, Flammarion, Paris, trans. Sarah Matthews (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1982), 11-12.

conjunction with the social, economic, and political forces that shaped its institution over time through historical methods.

Research Method and Data Collection

The historical method was appropriate for studying the genesis, unfolding, contributions, and demise of Storer College since Merriam and Simpson, in 1995, and, Collingwood one-year earlier, in 1994, suggested that historical method is the preferred lens through which to understand institutional, organizational, and therefore developmental processes.¹¹¹ According to Isaac and Michael, historical researchers need only validate historical method choices by asking three questions: (a) “Is the historical method best suited for this problem?” (b) “Are pertinent data available?” and (c) “Will the findings be educationally significant?”¹¹² The method adopted by this study proceeded from this framework:

(a) For this institutional exploration, the historical method was fitting. In 1865, Storer College evolved from a mission school antecedent. By the 1920s, the college expanded and developed its curriculum to evolve into a degree-granting institution; in 1955, it was closed. This study’s chief aim explored the institution’s historical genesis, unfolding, contributions, and demise.¹¹³ Historical methods were also appropriate to ascertain or identify individuals, forces, and events which impacted the institution’s origin, development, and subsequent demise over nine decades.

¹¹¹ Sharan B. Merriam and Edwin L. Simpson, *A Guide to Research for Educators and Trainers of Adults* (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 1995), 75; R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (NY: Oxford Press, 1994), 65.

¹¹² Stephen Isaac and William B. Michael, *Handbook in Research and Evaluation: For Education and Behavioral Sciences* (San Diego, CA: Educational and Industrial Testing Service, 1995). 49.

¹¹³ Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, *The Modern Researcher* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1992), 213-14.

(b) Data sources—most of which are primary sources—aided in conducting this investigation.¹¹⁴ The Storer College Archives (SCA), located in the Harper’s Ferry National Historic Park (HFNHP) and maintained by the United States Department of the Interior, contained primary personal, institutional, and denominational manuscripts. These manuscripts bridged the administrations of Doctors Nathan Cook Brackett and Henry Temple McDonald, whose combined presidencies of Storer College span almost 80 years. Primary data in this federal collection included, but were not limited to, original deeds and contracts, leaflets and circulars, college catalogues and yearbooks, miscellaneous correspondences, obituaries and eulogies, oral history transcriptions, and graduation and baccalaureate programs.

Other primary sources, consulted and connected with the socio-political context and directing attention to state and regional history, were catalogued in the West Virginia (State) History & Archives in Charleston, West Virginia, as well as in the West Virginia & Regional History Collection of the Wise Library at West Virginia University (WVU). A number of secondary source materials were compiled to augment primary sources and inform the study.

(c) The findings in this investigation were “educationally significant.” For the first time, Storer’s specific developmental phases were brought to a position where they are viewed more clearly. The study explored how Storer evolved, from conception to reality, and then subsequently transformed itself over time to correspond with varying social and educational needs. Indeed, such a meaningful exploration, examined issues relevant to the institution’s genesis, unfolding, contributions, and demise issues set against their broadened socio-historical contexts were suggested by professional

¹¹⁴ See: APPENDIX C: Resources Contributors

historians and requested by federal authorities to the research predecessors associated with this topic.¹¹⁵ Since no previous study integrated genesis, unfolding, contributions, and demise issues associated with the school's origin and development with analysis and interpretation, this historical inquiry was "educationally significant," according to the Isaac and Michael methodological framework¹¹⁶

Research Narratives and Design

Approached as an institutional narrative, the story of Storer College gained greater clarity and intelligibility because it was set against the larger social, economic, and political discourse.¹¹⁷ Narratives "create order [and] construct texts in particular contexts," giving specific attention to various individuals, forces, and events that shaped Storer's evolution.¹¹⁸ The narrative was a way to tell the institutional story of Storer College while acting as a "metaphor for telling about [the] lives" of students, administrators, trustees, and others that were closely associated with the college, and interacted with the college in an organized arrangement, according to Reisman's definition.¹¹⁹ Hence, narratives are either based on the life of an individual, or the life of those individuals through organization. In this case, the narrative of Storer College is both because it is a narrative about human individuals in an organizational arrangement, whereby both have

¹¹⁵ Roland C. McConnell, Morgan State College, Baltimore, MD, Bradley D. Nash, "Critical Review of Manuscript," December 9, 1968, Storer College Collection: HFR-427.

¹¹⁶ Stephen Isaac and William B. Michael, *Handbook in Research and Evaluation: For Education and Behavioral Sciences* (San Diego, CA: Educational and Industrial Testing Service, 1997), 49.

¹¹⁷ Merriam and Simpson, *A Guide to Research for Educators and Trainers of Adults*, 82; Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan Press, 1997), 12.

¹¹⁸ Catherine Kohler Riessman, *Narrative Analysis* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1993), 1; Donald E. Polkinghorne, *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences* (NY: State University of New York Press, 1988), 1.

¹¹⁹ Catherine Kohler Riessman, *Narrative Analysis* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1993), 17.

“[s]pecific past events” that have “beginning, middle, and end[ing]” episodes through “chronological, thematic, or consequential sequencing,” which is also consistent with Riesmann’s definition for: “What is a narrative?”¹²⁰ Brundage cautions overambitious researchers however, stating that “[t]here is no such thing, quite simply, as a ‘definitive’ treatment of any topic.”¹²¹ This design then constructed an institutional narrative of descriptive and developmental data that focused on: the genesis, unfolding, contributions, and demise issues, which were then set into a periodic scheme for analysis.

Data Analysis

This historical study proceeded on different levels: chronology, historical facts, emergent themes, and surrounding issues, and then moved toward a transition from the larger raw data collection to the smaller pattern identification, an evolution that initiated the analytical process. The data were compiled from records, documents, and archival materials involving activities based on human action, interaction, and reaction.¹²² It is these data that “[were] arranged into some order and given some interpretation;” thus, collections in this study functioned as preliminary means for stimulating the analytical process whose primary objective was to search for evidence and truth.¹²³ Since its themes and previous studies elevated and supported prior knowledge about the subject (convergence), at the same time, it simultaneously created space for original syntheses of data on the subject (divergence) resulting in an interpretative, institutional narrative.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Riesman, *Qualitative Research Methods Series*, 30, 17-18.

¹²¹ Brundage, *Going to the Sources: A Guide to Historical Research and Writing*, 14.

¹²² R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 9.

¹²³ Sharan B. Merriam and Edwin L. Simpson, *A Guide to Research for Educators and Trainers of Adults* (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 1995), 82.

¹²⁴ Carlo Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, 1986 by Giulio Einaudi, Editore, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 160-61; Also refer to the

Due to the nature of the study subject—an institution’s past—the data analysis demanded a rigorous examination of literature sources. Indeed, the primary operative for any historical method is literary analysis.¹²⁵ Thus, this investigation analyzed and uncovered “a number of valuable insights” from which a structured narrative was assembled to cast new light on Storer’s change over time.¹²⁶ Insight, according to its most common definition, is the “instance of apprehending the true nature of a thing especially through intuitive understanding.”¹²⁷ Insofar as they demonstrated reliability, relevance, and coherence, such insights were considered to augment this research endeavor.¹²⁸ In turn, insights provoked additional fact-finding and triggered historical chain-reactions. Historical chaining began with one fact leading to another, which then caused the researcher to react to this impulse by monitoring for validity, and tracking each historical link for reliability along both the chronological and historical chain. This pervasive, analytical process involved: multi-level evaluation, analyses, and syntheses of

following: Kate J. Anthony, “Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College.” Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House, 1891; S.A. Weaver, “Storer College: The View From Camp Hill,” *American Visions*, June 1933; Mongin, “A College in Secessia,” 1960: 8,11; Toogood, *The Lockwood House: Birthplace of Storer College*, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, (Harper’s Ferry National Historic Park: United States Government, 3 January 1969), Furnishings Study: Historical Data Section, REP-HAFE-11; Mary Ellen McClain, “Storer College: Harper’s Ferry, West Virginia (1865 - 1867),” History Honors Thesis (Linfield College: McMinnville, Oregon: History Department, 15 April 1974); Bradley D. Nash, “Crusade of Brotherhood: The Part of Storer College in the Education of the Negro, 1865-1955,” Unpublished Report, 1980; Linnea Hamer, “Storer College: The Education of the Black American” Storer College Collection, Harper’s Ferry National Historic Park, 1983; Barbara Rasmussen, “Sixty-Four Edited Letters of The Founders of Storer College,” M.A. Thesis (West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV: Department of History, College of Arts and Sciences, 1986); .

¹²⁵ Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, *The Modern Researcher* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1992), 117; Richard E. Beringer, *Historical Analysis: Contemporary Approaches to Clio’s Craft* (Malabar, FL: Robert K. Krieger Publishing Company, 1986), 17.

¹²⁶ Anthony Brundage, *Going to the Sources: A Guide to Historical Research and Writing* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1997), 8-9.

¹²⁷ *Webster’s Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1994), 735. See: Brundage, *Going to the Sources*, 84. Brundage categorizes insights with “hunches” and “inspirations” that are associated with the historian’s creative processes in route to evaluate, analyze, and reconstruct past events, episodes, and narratives.

¹²⁸ Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, *The Modern Researcher* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 5th Ed., 1992), 14-35.

data for association.¹²⁹ As associations matured, developed, and took shape, they coordinated other complex processes.¹³⁰ Consequently, the cumulative evidence from data collections simultaneously engaged: processive, evaluative, and interpretive domains.¹³¹

The process of analysis probed the accuracy of statements between and among different sources on same subjects. Since “the writing of history requires a pattern,” facts, dates, and issues were compared to ascertain meaningful patterns.¹³² To detect snarled “knots in facts,” as well as eliminate premature conclusions or assumptions, the researcher accepted the likelihood of source discrepancy. When discrepancy emerged through conflicting realities the researcher was then alerted to track the historical chain and therefore its analytical processes “beyond the smooth surface of texts,” to rightfully question and “disentangle the different threads which form textual fabric” in order to weave together the Storer College narrative.¹³³ Based upon the goals of this study, a logical organizational rationale involved consideration of topical inquiries and developmental phases. The inquiries and phases then recommended to the researcher’s analytical processes a logical approach not only for supporting subordinate questions but also for more correctly answering the global questions: What was Storer College? How did it change over time?¹³⁴

¹²⁹ Barzun and Graff, *The Modern Researcher*, 69.

¹³⁰ Donald Lateiner, *The Historical Method of Herodotus* (Canada: Toronto University Press, 1991).

¹³¹ Sharan B. Merriam and Edwin L. Simpson, *A Guide to Research for Educators and Trainers of Adults* (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 1995), 75; Anthony Brundage, *Going to the Sources: A guide to Historical Research and Writing* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson Inc, 1997), 2.

¹³² Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, *The Modern Researcher* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1992), 117. See: Beringer, *Historical Analysis*, 19.

¹³³ Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, 161. See: Brundage *Going to the Sources*, 14.

¹³⁴ Richard E. Beringer, *Historical Analysis: Contemporary Approaches to Clio's Craft* (Malabar, FL: Robert K. Krieger Publishing Company, 1986), 5.

The study consequently explored Storer College in order to render from the tangled, incomplete, and heretofore insufficient amassing of data, a comprehensible and certainly more comprehensive narrative.¹³⁵ The framework established by the central inquiry guided this study toward analysis and prompted an interpretation based on patterns, connections, and relationships that emerged as primary themes. Such historical interrogatives are valuable in that the new arrangement they established provided this study with “the answer[s] to question[s]” that the researcher “decided to ask” in advance; the “answers” of which filled existing gaps in knowledge.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Anthony Brundage, *Going to the Sources: A Guide to Historical Research and Writing* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1997), 8.

¹³⁶ R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 9.

ORGANIZATION

Chapter One introduces the study's subject and includes components necessary for understanding its proposed development. Chapter Two explores the early social, economic, and political context as it unfolded and shaped educational development in the Virginias. Chapter Three directs attention to the philanthropic responses from the north that led to a number of corresponding actions in the south, and those ultimately leading to the institution of mission schools. An examination of the military actions that coordinated and legitimized missionary efforts and the establishment of the Harper's Ferry Mission School (1865) antecedent are the subjects of Chapter Four. Chapter Five is designated for a closer examination of the institution's "founders and fathers," and the religious canon behind Storer's founding. The Secondary Division (1867) of the institution is the focus of Chapter Six; during these years, the institution increased physically and departmentally when it expanded the physical plant and created Academic and Normal Departments. Chapter Seven considers Secondary Expansion (1884), specifically the development of Industrial, Biblical, and Music Departments. Collegiate Divisions (1921) are the focus of Chapter Eight, as the institution developed two- and four-year programs. Chapter Nine explores efforts to preserve both the institution and its institutional memory after (1955) through a litigation process meant to deter the sale and acquisition of the college campus through legal injunction. The final chapter, Chapter 10, contains a summary of findings based on this study's research questions.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Sharan B. Merriam and Edwin L. Simpson, *A Guide to Research for Educators and Trainers of Adults* (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 1995); Richard E. Beringer, *Historical Analysis: Contemporary Approaches to Clio's Craft* (Malabar, FL: Robert K. Krieger Publishing Company, 1986); Stephen Isaac and William B. Michael, *Handbook in Research and Evaluation: For Education and Behavioral Sciences* (San Diego, CA: Educational and Industrial Testing Service, 1997); Anthony Brundage, *Going to the Sources: A Guide to Historical Research and Writing* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan

CHAPTER 2

EARLY CONTEXTS: THE VIRGINIAS BEFORE FREE WILL, AND ORGANIZED PHILANTHROPY

By the end of the Civil War, the need for a reorganized system of education that included Negroes became overwhelmingly evident. In the South resided four million freed slaves, war refugees, and public indigents, and among them illiteracy rates were astounding. The Free Will Baptists and several such philanthropic organizations and individuals were most particularly conscious of escalating illiteracy rates among Negroes, which “proved a bitter fruit of bondage” due to hegemonic predispositions by slavery’s end, as Higgenbotham confirms.¹³⁸ Although laws and law enforcement are the most immediately visible means of ensuring one group’s power over another, the exclusionary context that corresponds with an enforced withholding of education, particularly literacy compounded over time, also qualifies as a method of subjugation and oppression.¹³⁹

Davidson, Inc., 1997); Kelly Miller, "The Past, Present and Future of the Negro College," *Journal of Negro Education* 2, no. 3 (July 1933): 411-22.

¹³⁸ Evelyn Brooks Higgenbotham, *Righteous Discontent* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 19; J. H. Rainey, "Speech On Education," in *Negro Orators and Their Orations*, ed. Carter G. Woodson (NY: Russell & Russell, 1925), 380-87; James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 4-32; Henry Bullock, *A History of Negro Education in the South: From 1619 to the Present* (NY: Praeger Publishers, 1970), 15-35; Willie Lee Rose, "The Aftermath of Reconstruction at Port Royal," in *The Age of Civil War and Reconstruction, 1830-1900*, ed. Charles Crowe, Dorsey Series in American History (Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1975), 86-88, 374.

¹³⁹ Frances E. W. Harper, "Learning to Read," in *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women*, ed. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar (NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 1872), 832-34; Harper’s poem definitively states, “Our masters always tried to hide / Book learning from our eyes; / Knowledge didn’t agree with slavery---/’Twould make us all too wise..; Sarah Moore Grimke and Angelina Emily Grimke, *The Public Years of Sarah and Angelina Grimke: Selected Writings, 1835-1839*, 1835, ed. Larry Ceplair (NY: Columbia University Press, 1989), 156-61; Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave* (Boston, MA: Anti-Slavery Office, No. 25 Cornhill, 1845), 35-52; W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, "The Niagara Movement," in *The Oxford W.E.B. Du Bois Reader*, ed. Eric J. Sundquist (NY: Oxford University Press, 1906), 373-76; W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (A.C. McClurg & Company, 1903; reprint, NY: Penguin Books, 1996), 3-35; Also see: Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. Donaldo Macedo (Continuum, 2000). Freire elaborates on the hegemonic contexts associated with educational processes.

When the Free Will Baptists [FWB] recognized that the use and lack of literacy education was a method of subjugation, in 1843 when they incorporated an Anti-Slavery Society, they and other philanthropists began to formulate plans for improving the social welfare of southern Negroes by educating slaves once the war ended. The denomination fervently believed that the demise of both foreign and domestic institutionalized slavery was to become an outcome of the war since Woodson claims that the Baptists “had considerable communicants among the Negroes prior to the Civil War, [and] took the lead in this movement” to offer education to former slaves in the south. The FWB simultaneously opened two primary missions: (a) Beaufort, North Carolina, and (b) Harper’s Ferry, [West] Virginia when the war came to an end.¹⁴⁰

The first major educational venue instituted by the FWB was in Beaufort, North Carolina, in 1865, and it was unfortunately abandoned one year later, in 1866, due to President Johnson’s lack of postwar political and legal commitment, which only served to reinstated oppressive southern traditions.¹⁴¹ In the Southern and former Border States, such oppressive traditions had been further entrenched by law because in Virginia, in 1819, illiteracy was legalized: it was simply illegal to educate slaves although Virginia’s

¹⁴⁰ Carter G. Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 5 (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1928), 384.

¹⁴¹ Silas Curtis, NP, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N.C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, West Virginia Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322; Silas Curtis, Morning Star Office; Dover, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, April 29, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322; Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N.C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, "Storer College Archives," January 19, 1866, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322; Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N.C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, January 9, 1866, West Virginia Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322; Louise Wood Brackett, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, Storer College Archives, Vertical File: Correspondence, Notes & Reports, Etc.: Brackett, Newcomer, McDonald Collection, Volume I, 1892, File: Typescript Copy of Brackett's Public Address at Curtis Memorial Church, Storer College: A Chapter of History, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Library.

white populations had been subjected to such hegemonic predispositions earlier in the state's history.¹⁴²

Virginia's exclusionary educational practices had been implemented during its Colonial and National Periods in order to stultify statewide political equity because the economy along its Western Division did not grow to depend on slave labor as did its Eastern Division. By the Colonial Period, according to William Arthur Maddox, the "Old Dominion" developed a system to "fortify" its two predominant classes: (a) the "aristocracy" that evolved from the English "bourgeois class [that] passed quickly into a landed class" and "fortified itself by intermarriage as did the aristocracy of the Old World;" and, (b) the "dependent poor" who were "[t]he indolent and less competent sank into a slavery of poverty and social inefficiency and became, in fact, a nucleus of the traditional 'poor white' of Old Virginia."¹⁴³ Maddox connects Virginia's colonial development with that of its National Period, by claiming that after the economic rise of Virginia largely due to its "products" and "new and fertile field to English commercialism" that "the African negro slave offered a new class for exploitation" with Virginia's rapidly advancing social, economic, and political prominence the colony achieved through its tobacco crops. Such geographical, social, economic, and political divisiveness later contributed to Virginia's consummate dilemma: its widening and ever insurmountable duality.

With these conflicting realities set adrift so early in the state's development even among its white populations, the FWB were forced to come to terms with the early social,

¹⁴² William Goodell, "Slavery and Antislavery, 1852," in *Antebellum American Culture*, ed. David Brion Davis (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1979), 415.

¹⁴³ William Arthur Maddox, *The Free School Idea in Virginia Before the Civil War: A Phase of Political and Social Evolution* (NY: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1918), 4-5, 1-41.

economic, and political milieu in Virginia when they first arrived in company with the American Missionary Association in 1861. In later years, in 1865, when the Shenandoah Mission center was established in Harper's Ferry by the FWB, the mission teachers who were traversing between and among mission schools throughout the region were most assuredly confronted with Virginia's post-war duality within the new state boundaries of West[ern] Virginia after 1863. When the Baptists were first introduced to Virginia, in 1861, the state was not only divided north by south but also east by west. With this point in mind, the chapter now considers the early legal, social, political, and educational contexts that had long been in operation in Virginia before the Free Will Baptists made their first appearance in Virginia, in 1861, at Fortress Monroe.¹⁴⁴

Virginia's Legal Prerogative on Education

Just over 40 years before the first Free Will Baptist arrived in Virginia, in 1861, the State of Virginia had enacted several laws, as was common throughout the south, to prevent the education of slaves. In 1819, for example, two laws were created in Virginia to deter the association of slaves and benevolent whites for the purpose of teaching slaves to read.¹⁴⁵ The first law made localized assemblage of Negro slaves for the purpose of instruction unlawful. Benevolent whites who were successfully prosecuted for teaching slaves to read were imprisoned or fined—or sometimes both. In such cases, Negroes were publicly lashed. By 1838, Virginia made out-of-state educational pursuits by Free

¹⁴⁴ Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, February 1, 1866, West Virginia Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322; Brackett, "Storer College: A Chapter of History,"; Ullin Whitney Leavell, *Philanthropy in Negro Education* (George Peabody College for Teachers: Nashville, TN, 1930; reprint, Westport, CN: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 30; Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 382-.

¹⁴⁵ John Hope Franklin Jr. and Alfred A. Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1988), 174, 176, 239.

Negroes a civil offense. Free Negroes were banished and therefore forfeited Virginia residency, if they left the state to become educated citizens.¹⁴⁶ Given this background, one can easily understand why and how the development of education for freed slaves in the Virginias was a particularly thorny issue. In truth, the history of *all* education in Virginia is quite tangled.

Educational Development in the Virginias: East By West

Historically, if perhaps stereotypically, Virginia has always possessed two distinct natures or identities. The first nature—that of the east and the seacoast—is associated with the concepts of colonialism, tobacco, plantation aristocracy, leisured hunting, high culture, and the remnants of European civilization. Virginia’s second nature, quite the opposite, is that of the mountainous, western frontier, forever linked with agrarianism, animal husbandry, mountain traditions amid arduous terrain, independence, hunting for necessity, and more folkloric customs. This duality (however stereotypical) in a single state was long the substance of internal conflicts—even over an issue as important as education.¹⁴⁷ Historians note that “[t]his subject had been a source of agitation and contention between the eastern and western parts of Virginia for over a half-century before the[ir] separation” declared by ordinance in 1861, and ultimately declared by law in 1863.¹⁴⁸ The aggravated legal and political repartee between the territories’ representatives was such that, as Rice and Brown claim, “[w]hen West Virginia separated

¹⁴⁶ Forrest Talbott, "Some Legislative and Legal Aspects of the Negro Question in West Virginia During the Civil War and Reconstruction, Part II," *West Virginia History Journal* 24, no. 1 (1962): 110, 110-33.

¹⁴⁷ Otis K. Rice and Stephen W. Brown, *West Virginia: A History* (KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 91.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 110; John Letcher Administration, "By the Governor of Virginia: A Proclamation," Public Announcement: Ordinance of Secession, *Richmond Enquirer* (Richmond, VA), May 10, 1861. <http://www.wvculture.org/history/statehood/ordinanceofsecession.html>; Charles H. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia from 1776 to 1861* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1910).

from Virginia in 1863, the Old Dominion had no statewide system of free schools. Illiteracy prevailed throughout the state and was appalling in mountainous sections,” where there emerged differing agendas regarding the direction of social policies, the allocation of economic resources, and more equitable representation in the Virginia General Assembly. Accordingly, these differences escalated tensions over issues of education as well as other substantial concerns.¹⁴⁹

At this point in time, Virginia was comprised of four districts: Trans-Allegheny (later, Western), Valley, Blue Ridge (later, Piedmont), and Tidewater. Undeniably, there emerged from the four Virginia districts two distinct divisions, based largely upon the state’s geography: the Trans-Allegheny and Valley districts made up the western division, with the Blue Ridge and Tidewater districts comprising the eastern division. The geographical remoteness between the divisions spurred social, economic and political indifference. The western division experienced “separat[ion] from the mass of the constituent body by peculiar policy and geographical position,” a fact that interrupted ideal “representative government” such that “oligarchy commence[d].”¹⁵⁰ This disjunction “from the mass of the constituent body” led to divisive actions followed ultimately by pro-active organizations politically and otherwise.¹⁵¹ It was in between this historically, divisive atmosphere, in Virginia, that the Free Will Baptists mission teachers by order of their Home Mission Society (FWB-HMS) coordinated through the American Missionary Association (AMA) eventually migrated to Harper’s Ferry to put into effect their own educational plan in order to help “bridge” this great divide not only

¹⁴⁹ Otis K. Rice and Stephen W. Brown, *West Virginia: A History* (KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 68.

¹⁵⁰ West Virginia History & Archives, "Committee to Prepare and Report on the Inequality of Representation in the General Assembly of Virginia," 290.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 290.

between Virginia's two natures in the Shenandoah Valley but also between the national "house."¹⁵²

As a result of Virginia's two natures, even as early as 1841 Virginia was for all intents and purposes the epitome of Lincoln's "house divided against itself."¹⁵³ Legislative documents from the period suggest that the issues of education and discriminatory political practices were perhaps the greatest factors contributing to Western Virginia's future detachment from its Eastern self.¹⁵⁴ In 1841, a delegation of citizens met in Kanawha County, Virginia, during the summer months to prepare "an exposition of grievances" to "respectfully submit" to the Virginia General Assembly.¹⁵⁵ A chairperson was chosen, Judge Lewis Summers, who subsequently designated eight other members to serve with him on a committee charged to explore the citizens concerns. The *Committee to Consider the Inequities of the Representation in the General Assembly of Virginia* was organized by Kanawha's citizens in order "to prepare and report" grievances of Virginia's "memorialists" to the next assembly.¹⁵⁶

Based on a definitive expository grievance, the Trans-Alleghany and Valley districts unanimously adopted the Kanawha resolution, which is referred to as their "Memorial" to the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia dating from August 9, 1841. The first part of their exposition incorporated a qualitative argument based on the firm belief that "the people are the fountain of power, [and] so also are they

¹⁵² Abraham Lincoln, "Lincoln Speech at Springfield, June 16," in *The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858*, ed. Paul M. Angle (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1858), 2.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ West Virginia History & State Archives. Committee to Prepare and Report on the Inequality of Representation in the General Assembly of Virginia. *A Memorial to the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Adopted at Full Meeting of the Citizens of Kanawha, Great Public Meeting, Reproduced in West Virginia History Journal* 283, at 284-85 (1841)

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 290.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 283-84.

the primary objects of government.”¹⁵⁷ Five resolution proposals were offered by the delegation to the Virginia General Assembly: (a) “elective franchise” was to be “uniform” with “similar qualifications” throughout the state; (b) “equality of suffrage” regardless of “disparity of their [individual] fortunes” between and among “qualified voter[s];” (c) “representation” was to become “uniform” statewide, not merely regional or localized; (d) “individual suffrage” equity without regard to “disparity of individual [or] aggregate fortunes”; and, (e) “pecuniary contributions to the public service” based on “ability of individuals to contribute.”¹⁵⁸ Judge Summers, culminating the delegation’s qualitative argument, states, “The[se grievances] exhibit many views which ought not to escape the consideration of the general assembly, and none which presents a deeper interest than the deplorable want of primary education” to ensure the “rights of citizenship” throughout the entire state.¹⁵⁹ The inclusion of this statement in the “Memorial” is a testament of the delegation’s ability to focus squarely on the fact that as citizens of the state, the residents of the western division deserved equal representation in its government. In order to convince the Virginia General Assembly of the validity of their arguments, they marshaled what would appear to be quite compelling evidence.

To further substantiate their argument, the delegation contended that “just apportionment of the political power which the people of the trans-Alleghany district ought to exercise, can alone be rendered apparent by statistical facts.”¹⁶⁰ The Kanawha delegation then proceeded to integrate into their argument 14 quantitative tables from which they launched a comparative analysis between the 1830 and 1840 United States

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 286.

¹⁵⁸ L. Summers, Alexander Quarrier, et al., "Document: The Inequality of Representation in the General Assembly of Virginia: Memorial to the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Virginia," *West Virginia History Journal* 25, no. 4 (July 1964): 283-98.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 287, 295.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 287.

Population Censuses. In 1841, as the comparison shows, representation between the two divisions proved quite unequal: together, the Trans-Alleghany and Valley districts (Western Division) had 56 delegates in the house and 13 in the senate, compared to the 78 house representatives and 19 senators serving on behalf of the Blue Ridge and Tidewater districts (Eastern Division).

The “memorialists” closed their quantitative argument by proposing two different yet equitable formulas for resolution: *reapportional* or *constitutional*. Under these two formulas, the Virginia General Assembly could calculate an equitable number of representatives either by using the state’s “rule of reapportionment” or by adhering to federal constitutional statutes. It is interesting to note that either application—whether state or federal—would have resulted in roughly the same figures. According to the state’s “rule of reapportionment,” both divisions should have had 67 house delegates and 16 senators, while federal constitutional statutes calculated that each division should have consisted of 75 delegates and 18 senators. Political practices such as disproportionate representation not only insulted the western division’s intelligence but also made their demands over the issue of education all the more imperative for future generations.¹⁶¹ As the “memorialists” stated, in 1841, their requests for change were significant, but “[t]he[se] exhibit many view[s] which ought not to escape the consideration of the general assembly, and none which presents a deeper interest than the deplorable want of primary education” for the citizens of both the Valley and Trans-Alleghany Districts.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 283-98.

¹⁶² Ibid., 287.

Development of Education in Western Virginia

The two districts beyond the mountains on the Trans-Allegheny western front and along the 130-mile expanse of the Shenandoah Valley, as well as the Kanawha and Potomac Valleys, had but few schools established in “a land of blockhouses, forts, and stockades” where there emerged a “rugged farming society” that contrasted mightily with that of the eastern seacoast, traditionally a “Southern civilization, slave-owning, tobacco-growing, cultured, elitist, leisured” culture.¹⁶³ Early educational development in Western Virginia was inhibited by the region’s mountainous terrain, primarily that of the Allegheny Plateau, which kept the state’s interior population sparse.¹⁶⁴ The ruggedness of the mountains proved a detriment to all but the most determined of frontier families. The unsettled, western wilderness territory—surveyed by both George Washington and Thomas Jefferson at different times—was commonly called *Western Virginia*, with the Allegheny Mountains functioning as the topographical boundary separating Eastern from Western Virginia.¹⁶⁵ In his description of the Allegheny Mountains, Alexis de Tocqueville explained that “the goal of Providence was to raise between the basin of the Mississippi and the coast of the Atlantic Ocean one of those natural barriers that, opposing itself to permanent relations of men among themselves, forms as it were the necessary limits of different peoples,” so that river valleys for a considerable period

¹⁶³ Virgil A. Lewis, "Early Education in West Virginia," 17; Paul Johnson, *A History of the American People*, 77; William Arthur Maddox, *The Free School Idea in Virginia Before the Civil War: A Phase of Political and Social Evolution* (NY: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1918), 177-181. Maddox claims various factors for this disparity: “a paralyzing sectionalism in politics, a strong slave controversy within the state, and the premature educational legislation of 1818” coupled with its “[m]ountains [we]re natural national boundary lines; people thus cut off from one another are never like-minded. This geographical factor contributed to a division of interest and habits of life and thought; Virginia was never a political unity except in name. The western counties beyond the mountains naturally developed a nonslave-holding middle class of increasing power and increasing insistence to be heard on the great questions of internal improvements” among which was education.

¹⁶⁴ Otis K. Rice and Stephen W. Brown, *West Virginia: A History*, 90.

¹⁶⁵ Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 20-21, 355-56, 364.

provided the only natural contour for passage into the interior region in contrast against mountainous summits.¹⁶⁶ These natural routes were eventually replaced by “horse paths,” “wagon roads,” “substantial turnpikes,” and “graduated highways,” with measured development in mind with the passage of time.¹⁶⁷

As time passed, however, and the frontier became more settled, the need for a formalized educational system grew more apparent. The earliest structures, known as common or pioneer schools, adapted to the landscape, as had the “old field schools,” which developed as the “most important system of schools that ever had an existence on the Virginia frontier—now West Virginia.”¹⁶⁸ In keeping with the demands of the frontier life and landscape, early schools along the western front were small (generally one room), rustic, and built with hand-hewn logs to final dimensions of 16’ x 18’.¹⁶⁹ As glass was not readily available, windows were cut into the timbers and subsequently covered with paper that had been strengthened and made opaque by the application of rendered animal fat.¹⁷⁰ Heavy timbers, called puncheons, lined floor interiors and roof exteriors of solid log structures.¹⁷¹ For these log structures, an interior stone fireplace with an exterior chimney that took up the entire width of one end of the structure, served as the primary heat source.¹⁷² Students of varying ages and of varying class ranks were gathered into the single room, perhaps placed in forms, and taught in turn “to spell and

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 355.

¹⁶⁷ Kercheval, *A History of the Valley of Virginia*, 292; Also see: Wilbur S. Shepperson, "Thomas Rawlings and David Hoffman: Promoters of Western Virginia Immigration," *West Virginia History Journal* 15, no. 4 (July 1954): 311-19.

¹⁶⁸ Virgil A. Lewis, "Early Education in West Virginia," 24-25.

¹⁶⁹ Charles H. Ambler, *A History of Education in West Virginia* (Huntington, WV: Standard Printing & Publishing Company, 1951), 8.

¹⁷⁰ Ambler, *From Early Colonial Times to 1949*, 8.

¹⁷¹ United States Bureau of Education, Contributions to American Educational History [Series], by Alexander R. Whitehill, *History of Education in West Virginia*, Circular of Information no. 30, ed. Herbert B. Adams (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 13-14

¹⁷² Virgil A. Lewis, "Early Education in West Virginia," 35-37; Ambler, *From Early Colonial Times to 1949*, 8.

read and write and cipher,” often using the Bible for literacy practice much as the Free Will Baptists would do when they later arrived at the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers during the philanthropic era.¹⁷³ Once older students gained in proficiency, they were sometimes entrusted to assist in the teaching of younger pupils, which was another common practice implemented by the FWB when they instituted mission schools later, in 1865, in the Old Valley District.

Despite the fact that the earliest schools in the Western Division could in no way compare to eastern counterparts in terms of opulence and support, they still served as an indication that even in the wilderness, even along the frontier, Virginians realized that in order to fully participate in the operation of state government that educational pursuits would equip them for the political and social struggles that lay ahead. The road to such education, however, rested a good deal with the Virginia General Assembly. What did it think about educating citizens? Into what populations was it willing, or not willing to extend the invitation to education—whites, free coloreds, or freedmen? Education was viewed, by the Western Virginians as the means by which to put all Virginians on equal footing, of developing an equitable and unified system of representation through its government effected by *all* the people in order to lead the state toward social change and political equity, therefore contributing to the economic welfare of its citizens as a whole.

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In their own ways, the trilateral instability—socially, economically, and politically—over education between the two diverse divisions of Virginia, and the

¹⁷³ Virgil A. Lewis, "Early Education in West Virginia," 38; William Arthur Maddox, *The Free School Idea in Virginia Before the Civil War: A Phase of Political and Social Evolution* (NY: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1918),.

¹⁷⁴ William Arthur Maddox, *The Free School Idea in Virginia Before the Civil War: A Phase of Political and Social Evolution* (NY: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1918).

divisive state schism that resulted from its secession during the Civil War, led to the Western Division's statehood. These early pre-war contexts contributed substantially to the contentious conditions under which mission teachers taught their students, and the corresponding, divisive circumstances from which Storer College later emerged during the philanthropic era that engendered it.

CHAPTER 3

PHILANTHROPISTS AND FOUNDERS, 1860 – 1865

Immediately after the American Civil War, philanthropic representatives and northern denominations alike were poised to invest in the reconstruction of southern states.

Rooted in various colonial, emancipationist, and abolitionist movements since the early decades of the nineteenth-century, northern denominations were instrumental in relieving the south's devastation. Between 1865 – 1910, charitable movements continued to develop various relief plans, which entailed the transfer of resources and relocating personnel into Border-States, and therefore former Confederate regions. The humanitarian impetus created an “atmosphere [that] was electric as never before” giving rise to a “high tide” of “philanthropy” that, through organized relief efforts, elevated freedmen, war refugees, and public indigents to acceptable living standards.¹⁷⁵

The philanthropic atmosphere created during this era proved critical to southern rehabilitation. Various agents supplied funds, resources, and representatives to improve social welfare, alleviate economic depression, and reroute decades of political divisiveness. The war prompted numerous organizations, both secular and sectarian, to invest in efforts designed to restore the unity of Southern states and impede further factionalism. Ironically, the organizations themselves often experienced factionalist strain—hardly a surprise when strict and gradual emancipationists combined efforts with immediate and interval colonizationists that at times proved to be a point of distraction

¹⁷⁵ Lemuel Call Barnes, *Pioneers of Light: The First Century of The American Baptist Publication Society, 1824-1924* (Philadelphia, PA: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1924), 10; Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863 - 1877* (NY: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1990), 16-19, 28-81; Richard N. Current, "A Great Capacity for Moral Growth?" in *The Age of Civil War and Reconstruction, 1830-1900*, ed. Charles Crowe, Dorsey Series in American History (Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1975), 269-72; Barton H. Wise, *The Life of Henry A Wise of Virginia, 1806-1876* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899), 155-60; Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865 - 1877* (NY: Vintage Books, 1965), 34-5.

and even greater contention. McPherson claims, “[a]t times it seemed as if there were almost as many kinds of abolitionists as there were individuals in the movement”.¹⁷⁶

Ultimately, however, a number of strong groups emerged as leaders in the philanthropic movement.

The American Freedmen’s Union Commission & The American Missionary Association

Ultimately, the two most prominent philanthropic organizations established for the freedmen’s humanitarian relief were: the American Freedmen’s Union Commission (AFUC) and the American Missionary Association (AMA).¹⁷⁷ Under the regulatory aegis of the AFUC and AMA, several formerly disjointed, subordinate, small groups were united as a single artery through which, to redress national war wounds and begin a process of treating its divisive scars, supportive energies surged into the south.

As a whole, freedmen’s relief agencies were largely under the direction of “native, Protestant, propertied middle class [people] in the North,” who from the earliest decades of the nineteenth-century regarded slavery and its residual effects as a disease process that—if unexcised—would devour the sustaining principles of American society and erode it democratic creed.¹⁷⁸ The AFUC was not, however, interested in accessing southern populations of freedmen in order to provide religious groups with new contexts

¹⁷⁶ James M. McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 4; McPherson, *From Reconstruction to the NAACP*, 3-10.

¹⁷⁷ American Freedmen's Union Commission, "The Results of Emancipation in the United States of America. By a Committee of the American Freedmen's Union Commission," <<http://memory.loc.gov/>> [Path: [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/rbaapc:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(rbaapc01700div2\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/rbaapc:@field(DOCID+@lit(rbaapc01700div2)))];, 1865; John Hope Franklin Jr. and Alfred A. Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1988), 239-64; Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873* (Atlanta, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 16, 35; Joe M. Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 57-67, 73-76, 83, 110.

¹⁷⁸ Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873*, 35.

for expansion and indoctrination.¹⁷⁹ Instead, when it was created in 1865, the organization was interested in providing freedmen with universal education, social uplift, and an environment in which a general aptitude for self-reliance could flourish.¹⁸⁰ Although the AFUC was itself short-lived, ending in 1869, it did create a division of labor by organizing resources among agencies, associations, and societies preparing to direct humanitarian aid to southern freedmen.¹⁸¹ Non-sectarian in nature, the commission worked intimately with Quakers, Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians to coordinate activities. In connection with the AFUC, but working through their own denominational freedmen's societies or committees, the religious denominations proceeded apace to improve the social status of freedmen. By 1866, in an effort to improve the status of freedmen and expand its total operation, the AFUC had "expended more than \$400,000 and supported 760 teachers in the South".¹⁸²

During 1866–1867, the AFUC "took an important step when it joined forces with the American Union Commission" (AUC), which was instituted to alleviate the post-war circumstances of indigent Southern, pro-Unionist "white refugees" ostracized by an intransigent, Confederate socio-political machinery.¹⁸³ This machinery remained entrenched long after the war's end largely due to Johnsonian policies that impugned the authority of the Freedmen's Bureau in the south and thus undermined its effectiveness

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 101-02.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 88-90.

¹⁸¹ E. Allen Richardson, "Architects of a Benevolent Empire: The Relationship Between the American Missionary Association and the Freedmen's Bureau in Virginia, 1865-1872," in *The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction*, ed. Paul A. Cimbala and Randall M. Miller (NY: Fordham University Press, 1999), 123; Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863 - 1877*, 66. Mr. Hancock is a 1928 graduate of Storer College. Mr. Hancock was a member of Storer's first four-year collegiate graduating class.

¹⁸² McPherson, *From Reconstruction to the NAACP*, 144.

¹⁸³ Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal For Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 374.

and ability to operate.¹⁸⁴ After the commissions' "joined forces," their representatives arrived shortly after Union officers captured the Sea Islands at Port Royal. Commission representatives sent army agents to search for and collect abandoned clothing, food, and shelter materials for the "crowd of ignorant, half-clad, half-famished negroes," as well as the indigent whites in the region.¹⁸⁵ Learning that there was a "large amount of cotton" nearby, army agents were dispatched to locate and confiscate it for the commission's use.¹⁸⁶ The motto that both organizations operated under was, "No distinction of race or color," which was the most distinctive characteristic of their union.¹⁸⁷ In 1869, when its executive leadership determined that AFUC had fulfilled its objectives, the commission reviewed its degree of involvement and consequently terminated its domestic fields of operation.¹⁸⁸

The second organization vital to freedmen's humanitarian relief was the American Missionary Association (AMA). The association was officially organized in 1846, as a result of the "Second Great Awakening" and George Whitefield's "enlightening" influence, a time during which social philosophies became articulated through revivalist,

¹⁸⁴ Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal For Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 374; Blanche K. Bruce, "Senate Speech," in *Great Issues in American History: From Reconstruction to the Present Day, 1864 - 1969*, ed. Richard Hofstadter (NY: Vintage Books, 1876), 270-72; Michael W. Fitzgerald, "Emancipation and Military Pacification: The Freedmen's Bureau and Social Control in Alabama," in *The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction*, ed. Paul A. Cimbala and Randall M. Miller (NY: Fordham University Press, 1999), 46-66; Caryn Cossé Bell, "'Une Chimère': The Freedmen's Bureau in Creole New Orleans," in *The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction*, ed. Paul A. Cimbala and Randall M. Miller (NY: Fordham University Press, 1999), 140-60.

¹⁸⁵ American Freedmen's Union Commission, "The Results of Emancipation in the United States of America. By a Committee of the American Freedmen's Union Commission," 13.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 13-16; Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal For Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment*, 374-75.

¹⁸⁸ American Freedmen's Union Commission, "The Results of Emancipation in the United States of America. By a Committee of the American Freedmen's Union Commission."; Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873*, 107-08.

evangelical, and expansionist movements.¹⁸⁹ From its inception, the AMA decidedly improved social circumstances of and living conditions for post-war victims: to eliminate duplicated efforts and strengthen resources, it formed collaborative relationships and specific chains of command within the organization. Ultimately, it fostered a more effective national operation due to its strict, internal organizational structures.¹⁹⁰

The AMA offered “religious, moral, social, and political uplift” to both “foreign and domestic” indigents and was the principal organization to focus early on abolition and, later, on education of blacks.¹⁹¹ The organization not only boasted a historically outspoken leadership—Garrison, Tappan, Whipple, Finney, Jocelyn, Levitt and Beecher—but also possessed a substantial public and charitable support base from which to operate. Leavell maintains that there were four denominations that channeled crucial resources to the AMA, demonstrating an early unified coalition: the “Congregationalists, the Free Will Baptists, the Wesleyan Methodists, and the Reformed Dutch,” all of which were socially, economically, philosophically, and politically committed to the task of national reconstruction through humanitarian relief efforts.¹⁹² Richardson contends that the AMA’s formation inaugurates a “unique[ly]” American umbrella coalition since “in no other instance was power so completely integrated between church and state in a complex, symbiotic pattern” effected through reciprocity and collaboration with many

¹⁸⁹ Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America: An Historical Account of the Development of American Religious Life*, 1965, 3 ed. (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), 131-58; E. Allen Richardson, "Architects of a Benevolent Empire: The Relationship Between the American Missionary Association and the Freedmen's Bureau in Virginia, 1865-1872," 119.

¹⁹⁰ Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863 - 1877*, 223; E. Allen Richardson, "Architects of a Benevolent Empire: The Relationship Between the American Missionary Association and the Freedmen's Bureau in Virginia, 1865-1872," 119.

¹⁹¹ Henry Swint, *The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1941), 11.

¹⁹² Ullin Whitney Leavell, *Philanthropy in Negro Education* (George Peabody College for Teachers: Nashville, TN, 1930; reprint, Westport, CN: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 33.

voices merging to espouse a same message with a sole purpose.¹⁹³ As a result, as early as the opening decades of the nineteenth century, the AMA's leadership emerged with a singular voice through which its seventy-plus lecturers proposed uncompromised abolition. This—singular voice—drew power from the fact that the AMA consolidated within its membership four distinct organizations dedicated to the Cause: the Amistad Committee, the Union Missionary Society, the Committee for the West Indian Missions, and the Western Evangelical Missionary Society for Work Among the American Indians.

The Amistad Committee (AC), which was organized in New York, derived its name from the Spanish slave ship, *L'Amistad*. In 1839, while moored off the coast of Cuba awaiting transfer from Havana Harbor to Neuvitas [or Principe], the ship's cargo of fifty-four Mendi African slaves were "told by the ship's cook that they were to be killed and eaten on reaching Principe," whereupon they "murdered the passengers and the crew with the exception of two Spaniards spared to steer the vessel".¹⁹⁴ The mutineers thought they were sailing back to Africa, but instead, after sixty days on the open seas, they were sighted at Culloden Point on the eastern tip of New York's Long Island. The schooner was finally apprehended by the United States Navy and was forced to dock at New London, Connecticut. Incidents relative to the mutiny thereafter became the focus of a legal debate in the United States Circuit Court in New Haven, where the presiding jurist was Andrew T. Judson. After years of litigation in the lower court system, the case was ultimately appealed to the United States Supreme Court. In 1841, John Quincy Adams

¹⁹³ E. Allen Richardson, "Architects of a Benevolent Empire: The Relationship Between the American Missionary Association and the Freedmen's Bureau in Virginia, 1865-1872," 119.

¹⁹⁴ Carter G. Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 5 (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1928), 346; James H. Fairchild, *Oberlin : The Colony and The College, 1833-1883* (Oberlin, OH: E. J. Goodrich, 1883), 137.

and Roger S. Baldwin successfully defended the alleged mutineers.¹⁹⁵ Consequently, the slaves were freed to return to West Africa.

Publicity associated with the mutiny case heightened public awareness, which invigorated an already existent missionary fervor. Working collaboratively, the AC and Hartford's Union Missionary Society (UMS) raised sufficient public funds with which to hire a vessel and crew to return the exonerated mutineers to Africa. Following such a lengthy ordeal, fifteen of the Africans did not survive; the remaining thirty-nine were returned to Sierra Leone. Philosophically and literally, what was a maiden voyage between the AC and the UMS led to a collaborative missionary depot at Kaw Mendi, West Africa. The depot proved an important development: its institution demonstrated the extent to which abolitionist solidarity was possible between and among philanthropic organizations established in New England.¹⁹⁶

To further illustrate this potential, joining forces with the AC and the UMS were the Committee for the West Indian Missions (CWIM) and the Western Evangelical Missionary Society for Work Among the American Indians (WEMS/WAAI). Since "antislavery sentiment throughout the country was intensely moved" by the attention given to the Mendi mutineer case, both of these organizations naturally found their goals socially, philosophically, and morally compatible with those of the AC and the UMS. .

¹⁹⁵ Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 346-47; "The Saga of African American History," in *Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture: African American Desk Reference*, ed. Philip Koslow (NY: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1999), 48; Colin A. Palmer, *Passageways, 1619-1863*, vol. I, *An Interpretive History of Black America* (Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1998), 268-69; James H. Fairchild, *Oberlin : The Colony and The College, 1833-1883*, 137.

¹⁹⁶ E.Q. Blanchard, "Quarter Century in the American Missionary Association," *Journal of Negro Education* 6 (April 1937): 152-56, 152-56; Richardson, *The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890*, 263.

In fact, the CWIM and the WEMS/WAAI were historically bound to the earliest abolition, emancipation, and humanitarian relief efforts.¹⁹⁷

In 1837, the Committee for the West Indian Missions (CWIM) had been organized to support emancipated persons emerging from island nations in the West Indies, specifically Jamaica.¹⁹⁸ While convalescing in Havana, Cuba, Reverend David S. Ingraham “conceived the idea of establishing a self-supporting mission among the colored people of Jamaica, recently emancipated”.¹⁹⁹ When Ingraham returned to Oberlin College for “[ordination] as a missionary,” he recruited his wife and several fellow students to assist his efforts in Jamaica.²⁰⁰ Fairchild states that “[t]he field upon which this hearty and exhausting labor was expended, though in some aspects inviting, was on the whole a hard one, exhibiting in a strange combination the superstitions of African heathenism, and the vices engendered by West Indian slavery”.²⁰¹ Regardless of such hardships and obstacles, the Committee for the West Indian Missions had begun.

Six years after the formation of the CWIM, in 1843, and as an outgrowth of a student volunteer program at Oberlin, the Western Reserve Association organized the Western Evangelical Missionary Society for Work Among the American Indians (WEMS/WAAI). As members of this organization, the institute’s students worked mainly to provide humanitarian aid to Native Americans in the Minnesota region.²⁰²

Three years later, in 1846, at a convention in Albany, New York of the “Friends of Bible Missions,” the formal structure and future of the AMA—initially composed of the

¹⁹⁷ James H. Fairchild, *Oberlin : The Colony and The College, 1833-1883*, 133-53.

¹⁹⁸ Richardson, *The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890*, 263.

¹⁹⁹ James H. Fairchild, *Oberlin : The Colony and The College, 1833-1883*, 135.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 134.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 137.

²⁰² Leavell, *Philanthropy in Negro Education*.

AC and UMS—was determined.²⁰³ One year after that, in 1847, the AMA merged with the CWIM and the WEMS/WAAI in an effort to strengthen support for abolition, emancipation, and humanitarian relief. Richardson suggests the AMA coalition grew out of a continuing “protest against the silence of other missionary agencies regarding slavery”.²⁰⁴ Together, this newly-formed coalition addressed the needs of various oppressed peoples: the AC and the UMS worked with enslaved, displaced Africans; the CWIM focused its energies on the West Indies; and the WEMS/WAAI served Native American populations on the western plains.

These four philanthropic organizations collectively form the cornerstones of the AMA. As a result of the coalition, mutual governing policies and directives were developed by Jocelyn, Levitt, and Tappan to include democracy, fraternity, abolition, humanitarianism, and justice for all. In nineteenth-century America, so characterized by its divisiveness, the AMA thus presents a unique example of organizational coalescence among agencies actively engaged in improving conditions for minority groups.²⁰⁵ In fact, the opportunities the AMA offered for concerted effort attracted additional membership, such as the FWB-HMS, which ultimately joined forces with the AMA to relieve, aid, and educate Southern freedmen left behind in the wake of civil strife.²⁰⁶

The FWB-HMS, which modeled its management after that of the AMA, was organized on July 31, 1834 in Dover, New Hampshire to support the various fields of

²⁰³ James H. Fairchild, *Oberlin: The Colony and The College, 1833-1883*, 144.

²⁰⁴ Richardson, *The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890*, vii.

²⁰⁵ O. Armstrong, and Marjorie Armstrong, *The Indomitable Baptists: A Narrative of Their Role in Shaping American History* (New York: Doubleday Publishers, 1967).

²⁰⁶ Leavell, *Philanthropy in Negro Education*; James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988); E. Allen Richardson, "Architects of a Benevolent Empire: The Relationship Between the American Missionary Association and the Freedmen's Bureau in Virginia, 1865-1872."

labor associated with denominational outreach, including ministers, agents, and missionaries. Its primary function was to invest and broker mission funds for the multifaceted undertakings by the FWB. In the first decade of its existence, the society established meeting-houses, churches, and schools, and collected contributions of \$5,525.78; by its fifth decade, its financial resources increased exponentially to enable its allocation of \$85,137.60 in funds. By September 1888, the FWB-HMS was responsible for having accumulated: \$294, 564.42.²⁰⁷

These groups were not alone, however, in their drive to assist the less fortunate of the period. In the spirit of abolitionism and humanitarianism, other sectarian groups also established independent societies and associations. Among the earliest northern groups to express a willingness to invest in Southern reunification, the Quakers in 1862 joined forces with United Presbyterians to make such efforts possible. By 1863, The Baptist Freedmen's Association was working almost exclusively in North Carolina and Virginia, while the Old School Presbytery and the United Brethren formed an association in 1864. The following year, the Congregational and Protestant Episcopal Churches began to work among freedmen. Finally, in 1866, a Freedmen's Aid Society was established in Ohio by the Methodist Episcopal Church.²⁰⁸ Such groups could not manage this task alone; they were ultimately supported at the federal level under the protective aegis of the War Department, and classified as a "bureau" to direct all activities and actions relative to the nation's "freed men."

²⁰⁷ Gideon A. Burgess and John T. Ward, "Home Mission Society," in *Freewill Baptist Cyclopaedia* (Chicago, IL: The Woman's Temperance Publication Association, 1889), 272-76.

²⁰⁸ Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*; Henry Bullock, *A History of Negro Education in the South: From 1619 to the Present* (NY: Praeger Publishers, 1970); Leavell, *Philanthropy in Negro Education*; Franklin Jr. and Alfred A. Moss, *A History of Negro Americans*; Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*.

Freedmen's Bureau

Alongside the various sectarian groups that provided humanitarian aid, a government agency was also organized to assist relief efforts, but in a different capacity. On March 3, 1865—barely a month before the April surrender at Appomattox—the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (also termed, the Freeman's Bureau, or FB) was granted Congressional powers to function as the governments liaison among organized societies offering aid and relief to freed slaves. During the post-war period 1865 – 1870, the FB—under the leadership of decorated war veteran General Oliver Otis Howard—worked to instill in the nation as a whole a sense of urgency for offering humanitarian aid, quelling persistent sectionalism, and educating freedmen. Although it was all but defunct by 1870, in its five-year existence, the bureau, empowered by Congress through the Secretary of War, reinstated civil order, cultivated mutual trust, and enforced public policies in townships where Confederate hostilities intimidated the public domain. The FB eventually assumed the role of contract broker, as it negotiated contracts for: labor, education, and agriculture in an effort to exercise the governmental powers with which it had been endowed.²⁰⁹

The increasing role of the Freedmen's Bureau contributed to an increasing attrition rate among benevolent societies, associations, and organizations that arrived in the south in the war's aftermath. Ten years after the establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau, in 1875, few societies, organizations, and associations remained in the south to execute this ongoing work. However, four benevolent societies did remain constant,

²⁰⁹ Leavell, *Philanthropy in Negro Education*; E. Allen Richardson, "Architects of a Benevolent Empire: The Relationship Between the American Missionary Association and the Freedmen's Bureau in Virginia, 1865-1872."; Randall M. Miller, "The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction: An Overview," in *The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction*, ed. Paul A. and Randall M. Miller Cimbala (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999), xiii - xxxii.

doubling rather than reducing their efforts to improve education: the American Missionary Association (Congregationalist); the Freedmen's Aid Society (Methodist Episcopal); the American Baptist Home Mission Society (Baptist); and the Committee on Missions to Freedmen (Presbyterian).²¹⁰ Their persistence proved vital. Holmes suggests "it is likely that if there had been no Northern philanthropy there would probably have been no Negro college in the South until a transformation had taken place in the attitude of the white South on this subject, which, without the examples furnished by the Northern religious bodies, would have required a much longer period of time than was actually the case".²¹¹ The four organizations that remained not only set an example, but also abetted an experimental system of education, which in preceding decades would have incited violent insurrection and aggravated a watershed of litigious activity.

The Emergence of a Movement: A Southern Experiment

During the post-war period, a system of formalized education was instituted in the south by northerners accepting a shared responsibility for helping to educate the nation's four million indigent freedmen. As they descended into the south, such northerners were truly surprised by the intensity of lingering Confederate sympathies most heavily recognized in Border-States. In order to help reduce such sympathies and return unity to the region, a system was concurrently developed to initiate educational instruction, instill moral virtue, and create opportunities for social civility and political advancement among freedmen.

²¹⁰ Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*; McPherson, *From Reconstruction to the NAACP*; Franklin Jr. and Alfred A. Moss, *A History of Negro Americans*; Hans L. Trefousse, "Andrew Johnson and the Freedmen's Bureau," in *The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction*, ed. Paul A. Cimbala and Randall M. Miller (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999), 29 - 45; Miller, "The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction: An Overview."

²¹¹ D.O.W. Holmes, *The Evolution of the Negro College* (1934; reprint, NY: AMS Press, 1970), 70.

Under the direction of civil, martial, and denominational representatives, this system was conceived as a “southern experiment” that flourished primarily between 1865 – 1910.²¹²

Within this larger framework, over the course of a forty-year period (1865 – 1905), twenty-nine educational institutions were established by two specific Northern Baptist societies: (a) the American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS) and (b) the Woman’s American Baptist Home Mission Society (WABHMS). The initial design for the ABHMS was conceived by John Peck and Jonathan Going, who for three months acted as missionaries to mid-western states and portions of Appalachia, where they assessed frontier needs for churches, preachers, and teachers “to make possible the expansion of the Baptist cause” on the domestic western front when the denomination first began to proselytize for denominational pro-genesis.²¹³ Culminating their three-month excursion in Shelbyville, Kentucky, the two men in 1832 proposed to the Baptist Triennial Convention their concept for a “home mission” society. The Baptists modeled their home missionary operations based on Peck and Going’s design. The missionary society was then officially organized as the ABHMS, and chartered the same year of proposal in 1832.²¹⁴

In 1877, two separate women’s societies were formed within the Baptist denomination to support the home missionary enterprise. In order to effectively execute the work of the denomination, the Women’s Baptist Home Mission Societies maintained

²¹² Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 382-408; Kelly Miller, "The Past, Present and Future of the Negro College," *Journal of Negro Education* 2, no. 3 (July 1933): 411-22, 411-22; Bullock, *A History of Negro Education in the South: From 1619 to the Present*, 74-88; Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 4-185; Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873*, 14-166.

²¹³ O. Armstrong, and Marjorie Armstrong, *The Indomitable Baptists: A Narrative of Their Role in Shaping American History* (New York: Doubleday Publishers, 1967), 146.

²¹⁴ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 272-76; James H. Fairchild, *Oberlin : The Colony and The College, 1833-1883*, 9-31.

distinct geographical divisions, with one branch located in the east and the other on the western front beyond the Appalachian Mountains. However, in 1909, the two societies merged to form a single entity, the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (WABHMS), which critiqued, sponsored, and supported its own missionaries and teachers. Prior to this merger, each branch of the mission society had offered social uplift, humanitarian relief, and helped to establish educational institutions throughout their respective regions. Thus unified, the organization would, in 1955, join forces with the ABHMS to share responsibilities and resources.²¹⁵

Collectively, to educate the ignorant and provide relief to the all-but-forgotten freed race, the societies inaugurated "common schools, industrial institutes, academies, preparatory schools, colleges, seminaries and universities".²¹⁶ Together, the WABHMS and the ABHMS helped redirect post-war energies in a manner consistent with moral and intellectual development, southern reconstruction, and the ideology of democratic union.²¹⁷

Denominational Collaboration: Three Crucial Societies

The Free Will Baptists were held in high regard by known abolitionists: Garrison and Whipple. In 1868, William Lloyd Garrison claimed the Free Will Baptists "'from the beginning, refused to receive slave-holders into communion,'" and among denominational church bodies.²¹⁸ To the enduring "question" of slavery, Garrison noted the Baptists were "prompt[ed] to espouse the doctrine of immediate emancipation

²¹⁵ Armstrong, *The Indomitable Baptists: A Narrative of Their Role in Shaping American History*, 240-57; Robert G. Torbet, *A History of the Baptists* (Philadelphia, PA: The Judson Press, 1993), 366, 413-15.

²¹⁶ Beverly Clark Carlson, "Pursuit of the Promise: An Overview," *American Baptist Quarterly* 12, no. 1 (March 1993): 3, 2-9.

²¹⁷ Carlson, "Pursuit of the Promise: An Overview," 1-3.

²¹⁸ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 21.

[when] compared to other churches around them” that publicly endorsed gradual-
emancipation, voluntary-emancipation, or re-colonization approaches to transport slaves
back to their native continents and islands of origin.²¹⁹ When Garrison’s American Anti-
Slavery Society was organized in 1833, the sectarians were philosophically,
theologically, and socially allied with Garrison against the issue of institutionalized
slavery.²²⁰ In the example the Free Will Baptists provided, when compared to other like-
minded sectarians, the Baptists were “as light in the midst of darkness,” Garrison noted.
“If all other Christian denominations had come up to their level,” he further asserted, “the
chains of the slaves might have been broken by moral power” alone.²²¹ Garrison was not
the only abolitionist to recognized the FWB.

The Free Will Baptists were also held in high regard by George Whipple, an
ardent abolitionist under whose leadership the AMA made its greatest strides.²²²
Whipple worked directly with the Baptists to arrange commissions and transportation
routes for mission personnel, configure logistics, grant recruitment opportunities, and
provide financial subsidies and political intelligence to reinforce the Cause.²²³ It is not
surprising, then, that Whipple and the AMA under his direction subsequently entered into
contract with the Free Will Baptists, for the latter group had long demonstrated the sort of

²¹⁹ Ibid., 19.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 21; Oliver Johnson, *William Lloyd Garrison & His Times* (1865; reprint, Mnemosyne Publishing Company, 1998), 81.

²²² Richardson, *The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890*, 92.

²²³ Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, November 10, 1865, Storer College Archives: Vertical File: Binder 1851-1865, Letters Received; Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, October 20, 1865, West Virginia Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322; Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N.C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, Feb 8, 1866, Storer College Archives: Vertical File: Binder 1866; Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N.C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, Feb 26, 1866, Storer College Archives: Vertical File: Binder 1866; Silas Curtis, Morning Star Office; Dover, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, April 29, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

moral resolution, intellectual resilience, and social dedication required to place them at the forefront with early exemplary abolitionist organizations.

With their elevated sense of moral resolution, the Free Will Baptists devised an educational plan guided by Whipple's input and intelligence, to extend their efforts directly into the south. The result was the Shenandoah Mission, in Harper's Ferry, a collaborative effort among three crucial denominational societies: (a) the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society, (b) the Anti-Slavery Society, and (c) the Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society. After emancipation, however, the Anti-Slavery Society channeled its resources then to the Home Mission Society.

Home Mission Society (1834)

On July 31, 1834, the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society (FWB-HMS) was organized in Dover, New Hampshire when "ten men became life members by paying \$15 each, and four women became honorary members by paying \$10 each."²²⁴ Because the FWB early recognized women as viable contributors in and through their organized societies women were integrated into the decision-making processes.²²⁵ Although the society began with only \$190.00 in its treasury, by September 1, 1888, it had generated \$294,564.42 in revenue to finance its home mission investments.²²⁶ By 1884, when Storer College expanded its curriculum to incorporate an Industrial Department, the Home Mission Society was generating revenue to correspond with the school's growth demands although the society's charter years were not without social pressures.²²⁷

²²⁴ Burgess and Ward, 272.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid.

Social pressures affected the denomination's publication house: "The Morning Star Publishing House." The operation of the denomination's principle organ, "The Morning Star," was suspended for a period because "[it] early took an outspoken position against slavery, and on this account the New Hampshire Legislature refused to grant to it an act of incorporation".²²⁸ The state perhaps viewed the publishing house charter as a veiled route through which the society could proceed with disseminating abolitionist "doctrine" on a grander scale.²²⁹ Regardless of such setbacks, the denomination took "a bold and unflinching stance" against slavery and actively sought to use every available resource to this end.²³⁰

In 1838, four years after its formal organization, the FWB-HMS was finally granted a charter by New Hampshire's legislators. The denomination's subsequent history demonstrates that the sectarians were politically astute: they knew how to effectively operate within the political scheme that lay outside their denominational realm. When this knowledge came into play in later years, it certainly helped to promote Storer's founding and subsequent development by the FWB-HMS. However, to force slavery to an end and later promote the general welfare of freed men, it was the FWB Anti-Slavery Society that cemented the future power and influence of Storer's founding society in the Shenandoah Valley.

Anti-Slavery Society (1843)

In 1843, the Free Will Baptist Anti-Slavery Society was organized in New Hampshire. To this end, the Free Will Baptists were "consistent" and "earnest" in their adamant

²²⁸ Ibid., 436.

²²⁹ Ibid., 272.

²³⁰ Ibid., 21, 272.

abolitionist position.²³¹ According to Davidson, Benjamin Randal, the denominational founder, “had experienced an attitude of heart” based on his “universal” scope of mankind.²³² Penned by the denomination’s patriarch, Benjamin Randal, the uniqueness associated with Randal’s scope included: self-government, independence, democracy, and the *free will* to exercise all. These strongly resonated with various aspects of the Free Will Baptist enterprise.²³³ The following year, in 1844, a denominational schism resulted when Baptist slaveholders were openly confronted during a large convention of the Baptists; as a result, the Baptist denomination proper was divided thereafter into Northern and Southern conventions until 1911. At a time when the chief argument for the continuation of slavery most inflamed and consumed the American republic, the Free Will Baptists had taken “a bold and unflinching stance on the side of freedom”.²³⁴ Their efforts, in this regard, embraced both men and women alike, as Baptist women began to organize within their own ranks.

Woman’s Missionary Society (1847)

With a strong conviction to adhere to church authority and acknowledge the “universal call to mankind” and therefore all humanity, the Free Will Baptist women in 1847 formed their own organization to support and finance both foreign and domestic missions. At the

²³¹ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 21; Emeline Burlingame-Cheney, *The Story of the Life and Work of Oren B. Cheney, Founder and First President of Bates College* (Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House, 1907), 157-67; Kate J. Anthony, Storer College Archives, Box 16, FF7, 1891, Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House.

²³² William F. Davidson, "An Early History of Free Will Baptists" (Ph. D. Diss., School of Theology, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 1974), 35.

²³³ Isaac Dalton Stewart, *The History of the Freewill Baptists for Half a Century* (Dover, NH: Freewill Bpaitis Printing Establishment, 1862), 5-55; Isaac Dalton Stewart, *The Freewill Baptist Quarterly*, January no. XVI (1868), 41-68; Phylis Medeiros, *The Seeds and the Soil* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Inc., 1998), 14.

²³⁴ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 594.

triennial Free Will Baptist General Conference, held in Sutton, Vermont, the denomination's women organized what was initially called the Free Baptist Female Mission Society, but would in 1865 become the Free Baptist Female Systematic Beneficence Society.²³⁵

After twenty years of activity, "change[s] of circumstances," reduced attendance at meetings, and decreased funding finally put an end to the society's "good and effective service".²³⁶ Although divested of its responsibility, the society was never fully dissolved; in fact, its members remained in contact with the hope of revitalizing it to benefit that portion of their membership involved in mission work. In 1873, the society reactivated "to take advanced ground, select and support their own missionaries." At a meeting at Sandwich, New Hampshire, on June 11, 1873 a constitution was formed and ten years later, on January 26, 1883, the society was chartered by the New Hampshire Legislature, which resulted in 250 auxiliaries with over 6,000 members to direct foreign and domestic operations.²³⁷ Although the women's society directed its attention to both foreign and domestic work alike, the society's official history, written by M. H. H. Hills, states that throughout its duration the society "carefully remembered" Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, and it routinely contributed to Storer's development, and sponsored and paid salaries of several teachers.²³⁸

Without the collaboration of these three denominational societies, the institution of mission schools and consequently the development of Storer College might not have been possible, particularly when consideration is given to the inordinate social, economic,

²³⁵ Ibid., 192.

²³⁶ Hills, "Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society," 45.

²³⁷ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 713-14.

²³⁸ Hills, "Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society," 45.

and political circumstances that challenged nineteenth-century Americans. Leavell believes this collaborative unity was an absolute necessity at the time because “[t]his work was greatly extended in the later years of the war as co-operation and efficiency were developed” among societies working to connect and maximize resources to uplift the freedmens’ debilitated state.²³⁹ Leavell’s conclusions suggest that the philanthropic era associated with the aftermath of the Civil War period significantly contributed to the development of “[t]he public systems of education,” thereafter advanced as educational “institutions” in America on behalf of its “colored” populations.²⁴⁰

However, the three corresponding societies were to be complemented by other forces relative to the opening theater’s of the early war effort. The FWB however, in earnest, could not have established schools in the Shenandoah Valley, in 1865, without the legal eloquence and military sagacity of General Benjamin Franklin Butler four-years earlier in 1861.

²³⁹ Leavell, *Philanthropy in Negro Education*, 31.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 58.

CHAPTER 4

THE FOUNDING

BUTLER'S "APPLICATION," AND THE HARPER'S FERRY MISSION SCHOOL, 1865

Since no educational institution can be understood thoroughly without a comprehensive consideration of its foundations and antecedents, this chapter will focus on the 1861 legal precedent, attributable to General Benjamin Franklin Butler at Fortress Monroe, Virginia. Butler's response at the fort provided the FWB with the necessary legal means to proceed into the Shenandoah Valley four-years later, in 1865, the same year they simultaneously instituted the mission in Beaufort, North Carolina.

The failure of the mission in North Carolina, by 1866, was due to Johnsonian policies that returned properties to former Confederates in exchange for a "pledge" of loyalty to the Union. North Carolina was more than willing to comply with the president's policies given its recent past history: the state was anxiously opposed to external forces developing as potential obstructions to state's autonomy.²⁴¹ With the North Carolina mission's failure, the Free Will Baptists directed all their energies toward West Virginia, a Border State, where they believed they could be more successful because of the state's geographical gateway, approximation to the northern expanse and the nation's capitol: West Virginia's past history to acquire statehood in its own right, in 1863, in order to thwart the Old Dominion's political inequity, and end the historical

²⁴¹ Nathan Cook Brackett, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, Storer College Collection, Vertical File: Binder, 1861-1865, ND, Journal Entry, Library & Curatorial Services; John Adler ed <www.impeach-andrewjohnson.com>, "The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson: William Pitt Fessenden," in Century Cyclopedia, HarpWeek LLC, <<http://www.impeach-andrewjohnson.com/11BiographiesKeyIndividuals/WilliamPFessenden.htm>>, 1998; Andrew Johnson, "Andrew Johnson, Veto of the First Reconstruction Act: March 2, 1867," in *Great Issues in American History: From Reconstruction to the Present Day, 1864 - 1969*, ed. Richard Hofstadter (NY: Vintage Books, 1866), 29-35.

contention between Eastern and Western Virginia helped the Baptists decided on Harper's Ferry as their mission center in the Shenandoah Valley. Harper's Ferry offered a particular historical significance since it was the birthplace of the John Brown legacy that drew into question the nation's conscience on the issue of institutionalized slavery, and its future interpretation of: "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness."²⁴² Consequently, the Baptist believed that Harper's Ferry was the most "healthy location" to establish their Shenandoah Mission.²⁴³

The Harper's Ferry Mission School, the opening of which in 1865 lays the groundwork for the eventual creation of Storer College, was the Baptist's next best opportunity following the Beaufort mission to offer freedmen education, after Butler had applied the word "contraband" to slaves, free slaves, and war refugees four years earlier. Making reference to General Butler's incident at Fortress Monroe, 31-years after the fact, Louise Wood Brackett obviously still inspired by Butler's action, in 1892, suggested: "General Butler had settled all the perplexing questions in regard to them [freedmen] by the happy application of the word 'contraband,'" for thereafter the circumstances of freedmen in West[ern] Virginia were improved when the Baptist proceeded with their post-war plans.²⁴⁴

This chapter begins then with the 1861 dispute at Fortress Monroe that led to the [Western] Virginia precursor when a school for former slaves was established in former President Tyler's home, the FWB search for a primary mission base, the establishment of

²⁴² "Action of Second Continental Congress, July 4, 1776: The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America," Library of Congress, <<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/>>, 2004.

²⁴³ Brackett, "Storer College: A Chapter of History,"; Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, May 6, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

²⁴⁴ Brackett, "Storer College: A Chapter of History,"; Benjamin F. Butler, *Butler's Book* (Boston, MA: John B. Batchelder, 1892), 256-64.

the Shenandoah Mission and surrounding context, and Brackett's commission to institute the mission school network that led to the subsequent founding of Storer College.²⁴⁵

Background: Butler's Property Dispute

Temporarily released from work at the Hampton plantation by their owner, General Charles K. Mallory, on May 23, 1861, three slaves—Shepard Mallory, Frank Baker, and James Townsend—were sent to reinforce a construction project for a Confederate battery.²⁴⁶ However, they quickly bypassed the construction site, crossed the Chesapeake Bay from Sewall's Point near Hampton, and headed for the peninsula's stronghold located at the confluence of the York and James Rivers: Fortress Monroe. Reaching Fortress Monroe without provocation, the slaves approached Butler's picket guards, which he had posted on May 22 when he officially assumed command. In exchange for a full account of their actions to Benjamin "Peg-Leg" F. Butler, Commander of the Department of Virginia, the slaves were given provisional refuge for the night.²⁴⁷

The following morning, on May 24, Butler heard appeals from all three slaves, who "represented that they were about to be sent South [to Florida], and hence sought protection" with Union forces.²⁴⁸ After listening to the slaves' pro-Unionist pleas, Butler's staff officer notified him that an unfurled truce flag was hoisted just outside the

²⁴⁵ *The Lockwood House: Birthplace of Storer College*, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, by Anna Coxe Toogood, Park Historian (Harper's Ferry National Historic Park: United States Government, 3 January 1969), Furnishings Study: Historical Data Section, REP-HAFE-11, 28.

Mary Brackett Newcomer, "Anniversary Speech: Contributions of My Family," Typescript (Harper's Ferry, WV: Harper's Ferry National Historical Park; Library & Curatorial Services, c1937).

²⁴⁶ Workers of the Writer's Program of the WPA in the State of Virginia, *The Negro in Virginia* (NC: Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1994), 210.

²⁴⁷ Botume, *First Days Amongst the Contrabands*, 9-10; Quarles, *The Negro in the Civil War*, 58-59.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 10; Workers of the Writer's Program of the WPA in the State of Virginia, *The Negro in Virginia*, 210.

fort by Confederate Major John B. Cary. Cary begged audience with the commanding general on behalf of Colonel Mallory.

Acting as legal proxy for Colonel Charles K. Mallory, Cary insisted that Butler return Mallory's "property." Butler promptly refused, claiming that he was "under no constitutional obligations" to acknowledge Mallory's request citing four basic reasons for his position: (a) the preceding week, on May 17, Virginia seceded from the Union, (b) declared state sovereignty, (c) abrogated the United States Constitution, and (d) formed a coalition with other Confederate States. To Butler, such actions were verifiable evidence of enemy collusion. The general went on to assert that Virginia's actions subsequently placed the Old Dominion in direct violation of the United States government and that, therefore, she was a "foreign body" in due process of federal occupation under direct orders from the Union's Commander-in-Chief: the United States President.²⁴⁹

Collectively, the actions of the fugitive threesome and General Butler's response to Cary prompted a slave exodus that grew exponentially into "the opening theater of battle operations" in 1861.²⁵⁰ Slaves and refugees "began to arrive in [the Union] camp in large numbers" seeking sustenance and protection.²⁵¹ Due to this slave exodus and need, the AMA arrived shortly thereafter in answer to Butler's call for help although Butler continued to be deferred by his supervisors in Washington for a period when he repeatedly dispatched messengers to the War Department requesting an official response

²⁴⁹ John Letcher, "Ordinance of Secession," in West Virginia Archives and History, State of West Virginia, <www.wvculture.org/history/statehood/ordinanceofsecession.html>, 17 April 1861; Butler, "Butler's Exchange with Cary: Reconstructed by Journalist James Parton (Quoted)," 59-60; McPherson, *The Negroes Civil War*, 28-29.

²⁵⁰ Quarles, *The Negro in the Civil War*, 79.

²⁵¹ Carr, "Operations of 1861 About Fort Monroe," 146.

to his circumstances at the fort .²⁵² When the AMA arrived to help Butler among their number were: Free Will Baptists.²⁵³ However, the mass exodus raised substantive questions for which Butler was ill-prepared, and worsened his circumstances. His reluctance to comply with the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, which gave legal sanction to “slaveowners to enter other states to capture and reclaim their property.”²⁵⁴ By default, the act was interpreted by the Confederates to mean that they had the right to storm Fortress Monroe in order to “capture and reclaim their property” under any circumstances.²⁵⁵ Butler’s ability to speak knowledgably about American wartime laws also dictated that “all rights of property of whatever kind, will be held inviolate, subject only to the laws of the United States,” and therefore Virginia having seceded from the United States was in direct opposition to the laws of the land, as Butler knew and understood them.²⁵⁶ With this knowledge in mind, Butler queried Simon Cameron on the military-level, in the War Department; and, he also solicited responses from political

²⁵² Richardson, *The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890*, 3; Benjamin F. Butler, *Butler's Book* (Boston, MA: John B. Batchelder, 1892), 243-255.

²⁵³ Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, ND, 1865, Storer College Archives: Vertical File: Binder, 1851-1865, Letters Received. In his letter to Brackett, Silas Curtis indicates that “[a]ll the teachers we sent this winter to your district we shall send from Eastern Va-Hampton or the Wise farm. We now have nine teachers there, four in the Butler school-one in Hampton, two on the Langhorn farm and two on the Wise farm. When you want any teachers we shall send you some of these. They would like however to go in pairs [of] two together-Mrs. Smith & Miss Sibley-they are ? teachers. No 1-they are in the Butler School & if one should go away both would wish to go as they wish to be together, so of Mrs. Mains & Miss Russell who went from Gardner, Me-they are in the Butler School.” Curtis indicates that the FWB were definitely working around, and in the vicinity of Hampton the year before in 1864. Richardson and Woodson place the FWB in the war’s opening context, in 1861. Also, an underlying assumption here is that the teachers must have believed that their safety was to work in pairs when the FWB first made their entrance into Virginia, and later West Virginia. See: Reilly and Jones who suggest that some of these earliest mission teachers may have been paired specifically because they were, in fact, blood siblings. The early psychological effects associated with post-war trauma were perhaps alleviated by this strategy: for physical protection and psychological stability.

²⁵⁴ Public Broadcasting System (PBS), "The Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Act," <<http://www.pbs.org>> [Path: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4p2951.html>], 2003.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*; Palmer, *An Interpretive History of Black America*, 276.

²⁵⁶ Caryn Cossé Bell, ""Une Chimère": The Freedmen's Bureau in Creole New Orleans," in *The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction*, ed. Paul A. Cimbal and Randall M. Miller (NY: Fordham University Press, 1999), 143; Mark Snell, MSNELL@shepherd.edu, Telephone conversation re: Lincoln, Lee, and Butler (Civil War Institute; Shepherd College; Shepherdstown, WV, 9 April 2004).

officials. Butler's "call for assistance" for a period fell on the deaf ears of his Washington superiors.²⁵⁷ Butler's requests for support—militarily, politically, and truly socially—further incited the slave influx.²⁵⁸

Butler's ability to forge an alliance among military, political, and civil authorities was not incidental to the Fortress Monroe situation, but was a manifestation of his particular skills.²⁵⁹ During civilian life, Butler had been a prominent, affluent Massachusetts criminal lawyer and politician, which not only invigorated his reputation among the religious representatives working in close proximity but also stimulated his "notoriety throughout the war" among his commands.²⁶⁰ In 1862, when Butler left Virginia for reassignment in Louisiana, the city of New Orleans knew him as Butler, the "Beast" or "Brute;" Quarles refers to him as the "lawyer in epaulettes;" and McPherson designates him one of three 1872 "Republican bosses" connected with both "Butlerism" and Grant's administrative prowess.²⁶¹ Before General Butler left Louisiana however, in 1862, he mustered two regiments of freedmen, known as Butler's *Corps d'Afrique* with

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 292; Benjamin F. Butler, *Butler's Book* (Boston, MA: John B. Batchelder, 1892), 243-255. Ullin Whitney Leavell, *Philanthropy in Negro Education* (George Peabody College for Teachers: Nashville, TN, 1930; reprint, Westport, CN: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 29; Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (NY: D. Appleton & Company, 1918; reprint, Louisiana State University Press, 1966), 489-514; Quarles, *The Negro in the Civil War*, 64; Workers of the Writer's Program of the WPA in the State of Virginia, *The Negro in Virginia*, 210-11; Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 13-35.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 292; Ullin Whitney Leavell, *Philanthropy in Negro Education* (George Peabody College for Teachers: Nashville, TN, 1930; reprint, Westport, CN: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 29; Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (NY: D. Appleton & Company, 1918; reprint, Louisiana State University Press, 1966), 489-514; Quarles, *The Negro in the Civil War*, 64; Workers of the Writer's Program of the WPA in the State of Virginia, *The Negro in Virginia*, 210-11; Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 13-35.

²⁵⁹ Quarles, *The Negro in the Civil War*, 59.

²⁶⁰ Robert C. ed. Kennedy <www.impeach-andrewjohnson.com/

11BiographiesKeyIndividuals/BenjaminButler.>, "The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson: Benjamin F.

Butler (1818 - 1893)," HarpWeek LLC, <<http://www.impeach-andrewjohnson.com/>

11BiographiesKeyIndividuals/BenjaminButler.htm>, 1998.

²⁶¹ Quarles, *The Negro in the Civil War*, 59; James M. McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 24, 29; Chester G. Hearn, *When The Devil Came Down to Dixie: Ben Butler in New Orleans* (New Orleans, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 214-16, 219-20, 230.

freedmen acting on their own behalf even as commanding officers.²⁶² The Free Will Baptists were likely paying attention to Butler's subsequent actions in New Orleans since Butler was responsible for making application of "contraband" and helping the AMA [and therefore the Free Will Baptists among them] establish the "Butler School" in Hampton, Virginia due to his legal and political acumen.²⁶³ Clearly, the incident at Fortress Monroe had far more wide-reaching effects: it instilled in southern slaves the possibility that emancipation was forthcoming, and they eventually equated emancipation with citizenship.²⁶⁴

In New York, the American Missionary Association's (AMA) representatives believed that citizenship for freed slaves was sure to become an outcome of the war not unlike the Free Will Baptists. The AMA had read daily about the situation and expressed heightened concerns for Butler's continuing dilemma when he was in Virginia because of the ever-swelling slave exodus corresponding with the government's lethargic legislative action.²⁶⁵ "[F]ear[ing] that the fugitives might be remanded to slavery," Lewis Tappan had immediately dispatched Reverend Lewis C. Lockwood to the Virginia peninsula, the Baptists were there with Lockwood participating in the establishment of schools to educate freedmen.²⁶⁶

²⁶² Franklin Jr. and Alfred A. Moss, *A History of Negro Americans*, 196; Hearn, *When The Devil Came Down to Dixie: Ben Butler in New Orleans*, 205-12.

²⁶³ Silas Curtis, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

²⁶⁴ Archibald Grimke, "The Shame of America, or The Negro's Case Against the Republic," in *Negro Orators and Their Orators*, ed. Carter G. Woodson (NY: Russell & Russell, c1915), 671-89.

William Pickens, "The Kind of Democracy the Negro Race Expects," in *Negro Orators and Their Orators*, ed. Carter G. Woodson (NY: Russell & Russell, c1900), 654-58; Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 239-40; Carter G. Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (Associated Publishers, 1933; reprint, Chicago, IL: African American Images, 2000), 88-89; Richard I. McKinney, *Mordecai: The Man and His Message* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1997), 247-52.

²⁶⁵ Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal For Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 40.

²⁶⁶ Silas Curtis, Free Will Baptist Correspondence; Leavell, *Philanthropy in Negro Education*, 33.

[Western] Virginia's Precursor

A precursor of the Harper's Ferry Mission School, on September 15, 1861, Lockwood instituted a mission school in Virginia. Along with the help and support from the Baptists, Lockwood also received unrelenting aid from Mary S. Peake. Prior to 1861, Peake, an Alexandria-educated mulatto, had been covertly teaching slave children to read. When the call arose, she capably assisted Lockwood's efforts to organize a school in one room of former President Tyler's home. Peake taught with Lockwood until she reached a weakened, bedridden-state from tuberculosis—and even then she met with scholars who visited her sickroom every day until her death in February 1862.²⁶⁷ Despite her malady, Peake was responsible not only for operating the first officially-endorsed mission school but also for establishing the basic educational standards—a combination of teaching, training, singing, and religious schooling—by which mission teachers thereafter taught scholars.²⁶⁸

Hence, Butler's "property" dispute provided the door through which the AMA stepped into Virginia to establish a mission school, which consequently influenced the missionary concentration throughout the region. Just one year later, in 1862, when it was thought safe, the AMA arrived *en masse* to relieve the plight of slaves, the Free Will

²⁶⁷ Arnold, "Education Among the Freedmen," 45; Quarles, *The Negro in the Civil War*, 121-22; Franklin Jr. and Alfred A. Moss, *A History of Negro Americans*, 184; Richardson, "Architects of a Benevolent Empire: The Relationship Between the American Missionary Association and the Freedmen's Bureau in Virginia, 1865-1872," 131.

²⁶⁸ Richardson, *The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890*, 4-5; Quarles, *The Negro in the Civil War*, 122; Henry Bullock, *A History of Negro Education in the South: From 1619 to the Present* (NY: Praeger Publishers, 1970), 26; Workers of the Writer's Program of the WPA in the State of Virginia, *The Negro in Virginia*, 290, 292; Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 383; Franklin Jr. and Alfred A. Moss, *A History of Negro Americans*, 184.

Baptists—“several [of whom] were sent to Hampton”—were among their number.²⁶⁹ At this point, the Free Will Baptists truly realized that slave uplift was imminent.

The Search for a Mission Base

Hard upon Butler’s response, which made possible the institution of mission schools and stations, the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society readily began “fitting for freedom and Christian citizenship those for whom they had never forgotten to pray when they were in bondage.”²⁷⁰ Before the war’s end, the Home Mission Society selected Reverend Silas Curtis, one of its original founders, to develop a freedmen’s relief plan and direct its implementation. Curtis was a natural choice: well-known, respected, and blessed with a reputation above reproach. He was also a meticulous Free Will Baptist officer, who had held varied and various positions within the denominational infrastructure. He was, therefore, well-versed in what it would take to implement a plan on the grand scale visualized by the society. After the Fortress Monroe incident, the organization dispatched agents—Curtis among them—on fact-finding missions to Hampton, Virginia and Beaufort, South Carolina.²⁷¹ A hardy nineteenth-century churchman, Curtis “spent several weeks in South Carolina and Virginia as superintendent among the freedmen” representing the mission’s executive board.²⁷²

During his fact-finding mission, Curtis visited schools, mission stations, teachers and preachers in order to provide other members of the Home Mission Society’s

²⁶⁹ Brackett, "Storer College: A Chapter of History."; Richardson, *The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890*, 71.

²⁷⁰ Brackett, "Storer College: A Chapter of History."

²⁷¹ Brackett, "Storer College: A Chapter of History."; Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N.C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, "Storer College Archives," January 19, 1866, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

²⁷² Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 146.

executive board with information necessary to make future decisions. When the Free Will Baptist enterprise in Beaufort failed, Curtis wrote Brackett—then located in Harper’s Ferry—to advise: “I trust you will carefully, cautiously, & thoroughly look over the ground before you make a full decision about establishing a mission.”²⁷³ That the Freedmen’s Bureau was directed to return properties to former Confederates made the deeper southern states much too unstable. Although the mission in Beaufort was lost, Curtis remained optimistic, for he believed that “[this was] a grand opening for us [the society]—and I will do all in my power to have [the Shenandoah Valley] occupied by our teachers & missionaries”.²⁷⁴ Curtis admitted his plan to Brackett: “I am anxious we should occupy all that district [in the Shenandoah Valley] those five towns—Harpers Ferry, Martinsburg, Shepherdstown, Charlestown & Berryville—those are historic places”.²⁷⁵

In 1865, the final arrangement between the Free Will Baptists [FWB] and the American Missionary Association was committed to paper when “the articles of agreement between us [FWB] & the Am Miss Asson” entrusted the Shenandoah Valley to the Free Will Baptist denomination for further missionary development.²⁷⁶

At this point in time, Curtis, then corresponding secretary and treasurer for the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society, immediately began to recruit teachers from Maine and Vermont for employment in the Shenandoah Valley. He was responsible not only for orienting new teachers to the society’s expectations, but also for coordinating

²⁷³ Silas Curtis, NP, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N.C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, West Virginia Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

²⁷⁴ Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, November 7, 1865, Storer College Archives: Vertical File: Binder 1861-1865, Letters Received.

²⁷⁵ Silas Curtis, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

²⁷⁶ Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to Nathan Cook Brackett, "Storer College Archives," October 17, 1865, West Virginia Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322; Leavell, *Philanthropy in Negro Education*, 27-30.

transportation and lodging for them on their journey south. Curtis wrote Brackett, stating that, if necessary, the Home Mission Society was prepared to transfer “two or four of [its] teachers now at Fortress Monroe” to the Shenandoah Mission until new northern teachers could arrive in order to begin immediately its work in the valley.²⁷⁷ The urgency evident in Curtis’s letter indicates the depth of his desire to begin the mission of educating Southern freedmen.

The Shenandoah Mission

In 1865, through denominational collaboration, the Free Will Baptists “conduct[ed] educational work among the freedmen at various points” throughout the Shenandoah Valley and “quickly occupied this field” to assist with several relief efforts to help care for the four million destitute, starving, and sickly freed slaves whose increasing numbers in the south created an “emergency” situation for government officials contributing significantly to the “national crisis.”²⁷⁸ The slaves were not only suffering physically, but intellectually: at war’s end, it is estimated that 90 – 95% of the freedmen were completely illiterate.²⁷⁹ How were freedmen to survive in a society whose forebearers were the strongest proponents of education and even stronger examples of its value?

The Free Will Baptists were uniquely qualified to undertake such massive educational efforts. Years earlier, in 1862, the denomination dispatched several agents to

²⁷⁷ Silas Curtis, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

²⁷⁸ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 594; Leavell, *Philanthropy in Negro Education*, 27; Abraham Lincoln, "The Ottawa Debate: Lincoln's Reply, August 21," in *The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858*, ed. Paul M. Angle (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1858), 114-30.

²⁷⁹ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 594; Brackett, "Storer College: A Chapter of History,"; Richardson, *The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890*, 71, 96; Evelyn Brooks Higgenbotham, *Righteous Discontent* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 19.

assist relief programs in Virginia and North Carolina during the war. After the war, they continued working to coordinate activities with the Boston Educational Commission, American Missionary Association, National Freedmen's Relief Association, United States Christian Commission, and its partner, the Sanitary Commission, as well as the Freedmen's Bureau.²⁸⁰ Much activity was centered on Harper's Ferry, since it was a natural gathering place for slaves: from the confluence there, freedmen could travel quickly in any cardinal direction through its natural gateway on water, by rail, or down the canal although freedmen were for the most part immigrating northward.²⁸¹ Since Harper's Ferry proved a natural safe haven toward which freedmen logically turned, it also seemed a good site upon which to build a school for freedmen given in past insurrectionist history, a place to commence the work of freeing former slaves from their continued intellectual bondage.

One of the men whose work would prove crucial to the success of Harper's Ferry was Nathan Cook Brackett. Among the Free Will Baptist's most ardent reformists, Brackett during 1864 – 1865 served as an army chaplain and delegate to the United States Christian Commission branch attached to Major General Philip H. Sheridan. As an army chaplain, Brackett had been uniquely positioned to assist in abolitionist efforts. As Du Bois explains, army chaplains working in the south developed as “superintendents of

²⁸⁰ *United States Christian Commission: Fourth Annual Report*, Storer College Archives, Vertical File Binder: U.S. Christian Commission (1866), by J. R. Miller, General Field Agent (1 January 1866), 1-20, 1-20; Richardson, *The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890*, 71; American Missionary Association, "Woman's Work for Woman," *The American Missionary* 32, no. 1 (January 1878), <<http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/moa/moa-cgi?notisid=ABK5794-0032&byte=202>>; American Missionary Association, "The Progressive South," *The American Missionary* 54, no. 1 (January 1900), <<http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/moa/moa-cgi?notisid=ABK5794-0032&byte=202>>; Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptists Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, November 28, 1865, West Virginia Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322; Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, February 1, 1866, West Virginia Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

²⁸¹ Joseph Jr. Barry, *The Annals of Harper's Ferry: From the Establishment of the National Armory in 1794, To the Present Time, 1869* (Hagerstown, MD: Dechert & Company Printers, 1869), 5.

contrabands,” assisting military personnel with “scattering fugitives [who] became a steady steam, which flowed faster than the army’s marched.”²⁸² After completing “a year’s service in the army, principally in the Shenandoah Valley,” Brackett visited other Free Will agents then working in South Carolina.²⁸³ Louise Wood Brackett claims that such a sojourn provided her husband with “a chance to compare this locality with others” over which the denomination deliberated, in order to determine the best location for its southern base of operations after the war officially ended.²⁸⁴

When Brackett returned to Lewiston, Maine in fall 1865, in time for the Free Will Baptist General Conference, the Home Mission Society (HMS) was in fact convened with the General Conference in order to make a final decision regarding the mission’s location. At this time, the Board of Directors “persuaded [Brackett] to change his plans” and embark instead on a mission in the Shenandoah Valley, which the HMS had “finally decided upon . . . as their field of operation”.²⁸⁵

The Mission Site: Harper’s Ferry

By 1865, Harper’s Ferry, located in Jefferson County, West Virginia, had benefited from a rich, vigorous history. Before the onset of the Civil War, the township’s population was not diverse; in fact, the population was then 90% white despite the county’s earliest Native American inhabitants and the number of farms in the largely agricultural community—463, according to the 1860 census—likely requiring slave labor.²⁸⁶ The

²⁸² Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 1.

²⁸³ Brackett, "Storer College: A Chapter of History."

²⁸⁴ Ibid., John L. Heatwole, *The Burning: Sheridan's Devastation of the Shenandoah Valley* (Charlottesville, VA: Rockbridge Publishing, 1998), 10.

²⁸⁵ Brackett, "Storer College: A Chapter of History,".

²⁸⁶ Barry, *The Annals of Harper's Ferry: From the Establishment of the National Armory in 1794, To the Present Time, 1869*, 5; Samuel Kercheval, *A History of the Valley of Virginia*, Revised and Extended by the

county had enjoyed a sustained period of prosperity. In 1865, the county's combined real estate and personal property was assessed at \$12,236,982.00; by 1870, the number of farms in the country had increased to 519, with an assessed value for real and personal estates nearing eight million.²⁸⁷ In combination with the end of the war, the county's increased agricultural growth—which also increased the demand for farm workers—helped spur a marked demographic shift.

When the Civil War ended, the population in Harper's Ferry was forcibly diversified for three reasons: (a) according to Barry, the town's inhabitants were equally represented in both the Confederate and Union armies during the war, but "few" native inhabitants returned; (b) after the war, the "[m]any colored people . . . [who] came at various times with the army from Southern Virginia" seeking relief by 1869 comprised 25% of the town's population; and, (c) Palmer, Franklin and Moss claim the population changed as a result of former slaves moving just beyond Confederate borders, its Border-States, to be closer to Washington where slavery had been abolished, on April 1862, before the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation; and, they also thought their freedom.²⁸⁸ Consequently, when the Free Will Baptists then arrived to institute their network of mission schools, in 1865, the town's population was racially diversified and had increased significantly.

Author and New Notes Added by the Editor, ed. E. E. Keister (Strasburg, VA: 1833; reprint, Harrisonburg, VA: C.J. Carrier Company, 2001), 41-59.

²⁸⁷ United States Historical Census Browser <<http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>>, "1860 County Level Census (State of Virginia)," <<http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>> [Path: <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/cgi-local/censusbin/census/cen.pl>], 1860; United States Historical Census Browser <<http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>>, "1870 County Level Census (State of West Virginia)," <<http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>> [Path: <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/cgi-local/censusbin/census/cen.pl>], 1870.

²⁸⁸ Palmer, *An Interpretive History of Black America*, 292-93; Franklin Jr. and Alfred A. Moss, *A History of Negro Americans*, 188.

A diversified population predicted racially-mixed offspring. When the mission teachers arrived in Harper's Ferry by train just before Thanksgiving, in 1865, one of the mission teachers made several observations. The teachers began to clean the "dirty and dilapidated" Lockwood House since "[they] found it in a bad condition, just as the soldiers had left it".²⁸⁹ Because of their activities, in short order, the mission teachers were surrounded by and "noticed with surprise that white children were present," and [Anne Dudley] asked, "why they came" and gathered around so since Dudley and the other teachers were directed to organize classrooms and churches for freedmen and *their* children.²⁹⁰ The reply was: "They are all niggers... Little Maggie Mason ha[s] a fair, white face, with straight, soft, brown hair; and merry Little Lee ha[s] blue eyes and flaxen hair, yet they had been slaves!," exclaimed Dudley to the denomination's conference in 1867.²⁹¹

The Lockwood House did not offer much in the way of creature comforts at first. After the war, the large Victorian house had been abandoned. It was severely showing its war-torn disfigurement when the teachers arrived especially after then having been subjected to November's cold, winter declaration with the ferry town's even colder temperatures because of the rivers' confluence. Two of the mission teachers, Anne Dudley and Sarah Jane Foster, take particular note of the "opening in the roof where a shell had unceremoniously entered" the rooftop exposing the structure's interior to exterior elements.²⁹² Inside the house there were "[s]ome large tables" that the soldiers had used during the war; the tables likely served many purposes in this early

²⁸⁹ "Home Mission Society," Anne S. Dudley: Address Before the Home Mission Society, *Morning Star* (Dover, New Hampshire), 23 October 1867, XLII, Anniversaries: 131.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid.

environment.²⁹³ Since Brackett had been attached to Sheridan's roaming outfit as a Christian Commission delegate, Brackett was used to this type of makeshift bedlam, and Dudley remarked that "[Brackett] did not mind sleeping on the tent-ground, but the ladies were quite troubled about a resting—place, and finally decided, for very good reasons, to sleep on a table" instead.²⁹⁴ The house was not the only fearsome sight.

One month later, Foster, who was by this time assigned to the Martinsburg Mission School, even remarked about the status of the surrounding grounds outside the Lockwood House. In December 1865, several of the mission teachers converged at the Shenandoah Mission in Harper's Ferry for the Christmas holidays. Foster noticed that the graveyard,

“[f]or a place it was more sadly dilapidated than any that I ever saw. The gates were off, the walls in many places broken down, and hogs and cows roamed through it unmolested. It is not unused, for there were several new graves, but Nature alone seems to care for the mounds that dot its surface. Over some of them she has tangled a rich profusion of the finest myrtle, but the evidence of human neglect and war's vandalism were saddening”.²⁹⁵

During the holiday week, it is likely that the teachers took advantage of being together to determine their next course of action for students.

As the teachers finally began to interact with students making necessary preparations, setting down class rules, and an orderly atmosphere for instruction, Anne Dudley was finally prompted to ask one of her more “intelligent” students, “if he ever

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Sarah Jane Foster, "Letters from West Virginia, 1865-1866," in *Sarah Jane Foster, Teacher of the Freedmen: A Diary and Letters*, FWB mission teacher diary, ed. Wayne E. Reilly (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 38.

thought of being free before the war”.²⁹⁶ Dudley had to have been dazed by the student’s reply when he said, “O yes, Miss Anne! I have cried myself to sleep many times thinking about being free, and I was glad I was born to die, for that was my only hope!”²⁹⁷

Another student taking the surname of the county’s most prestigious family, George Washington, was asked by Miss Dudley “if he ever heard of any other man who had that name”.²⁹⁸ The student very quickly replied, “O yes! the Father of tis country”.²⁹⁹ Then, Dudley proceeded to take the questioning a step further “ask[ing] him if he ever heard of any other President”.³⁰⁰ Another quick reply spurted from young Washington’s mind, as he said, “ Linkum, who freed the slaves”.³⁰¹ The classroom conversation was apparently “enough to kindle the fire [in another student’s mind], and without any regard to school rules, the next darkey said, ‘I’ve hearn tell of Andy Johnson, and I reckon he wouldn’t let us stay free if he could help it!’”.³⁰² And, yet another student determined that “Andy Johnson... He’s nuff sight worse than Jeff. Davis?”.³⁰³ Such students began to visit the Free Will Baptist’s mission schools at first, and then began to attend on a regular basis as teachers proved their genuine concern for them easing speculation among the freedmen who still questioned their motives as members of the greater white society.

The Harper’s Ferry Mission School was well attended when, in 1865, Dudley remarks that the “Sabbath school” had then “150 scholars, and there [we]re no sleepy

²⁹⁶ "Home Mission Society."

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Ibid.

eyes or dull ears among them”.³⁰⁴ In Anderson’s opinion, a “Sabbath school” was “operated mainly in [the] evenings and weekends, [and] provided basic literacy instruction” in order for the teachers to try and stay ahead of the crowding populations introduced to the opiate of education for the first time.³⁰⁵ The teachers had to offer “two or three hour long” sessions because “there [we]re many to learn and few to teach” during the earliest days of the mission schools’ formation.³⁰⁶ Since so many were crowding into the mission school, the teachers made routine requests from friends and family, churchmen and children back home. Dudley mentions that the mission teachers “were supplied with S.S. [Sunday School] papers and books by New England children, mostly [from] where [she was] acquainted at home. [The teachers we]re also indebted to the[ir] Boston friends, for generous contributions from the American Tract Society”.³⁰⁷

Students were not only excited about learning to read for the first time but also they were enthusiastic singers. Dudley made another early observation that “when they [her students] sing to close [the school exercises and recitations], there is real music, very unlike the formal, dull Doxology I hear in many of our Sunday schools [t]here at the north”.³⁰⁸

Although the denomination had also considered locating its mission center along the Upper Shenandoah Valley near Lexington, Staunton, or Winchester, Virginia, Harper’s Ferry ultimately proved the better choice according to the HMS’s assessment.³⁰⁹

To combat enduring vestiges of slavery, the Home Mission Society placed Brackett in

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ Brackett, "Storer College: A Chapter of History,"; Oren B. Cheney, Providence, RI, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, April 25, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

charge of operations in the Shenandoah Valley. Brackett's activities in the Shenandoah Valley during the war years had put him in the unique position of being able to assess the needs of freedmen while making astute observations about the culture and accepted conventions of people living in the South. Harper's Ferry thus became the administrative seat for valley operations, while its representatives began to pursue their work among freedmen.

Early Days at Harper's Ferry: Revitalization and Response

Brackett received his commission by letter from Curtis on October 20, 1865. A newlywed of one month, Brackett temporarily abandoned his wife, the former Louise N. Wood, whom he had wed on October 16th, to accept the FWB-HMS commission.³¹⁰ With Brackett on the spot, the Harper's Ferry Mission School was formally established in 1865 in "the government building" that formerly housed armory personnel, known as the Lockwood House. Kate J. Anthony, the "daughter of Deacon Lewis Williams Anthony who was a founding trustee of Storer College [and] an Executive Member of the Home Mission Board," accompanied her father during one of his official visits and reported that "this one building served as dwelling-house, school and church" for anyone connected with the Free Will Baptist body until the Freedmen's Bureau, acting in accordance with government policy, conveyed other buildings to the Baptists for development as a college campus.³¹¹

³¹⁰ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 67.

³¹¹ Kate J. Anthony, Storer College Archives, Box 16, FF7, 1891, Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House; Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 19.

Although the school's physical location had been established, and a building identified for its use, it lacked one crucial component: teachers. The school did not come to full fruition until from the station platform of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, shortly before the Thanksgiving holiday in 1865, Brackett greeted the school's first cohort of four teachers.³¹² The newly-recruited teachers were young New England women, many of whom were "dedicated" and had "relinquish[ed] the material comforts of home and the companionship of family and friends to accept the challenge" of working in post-war territories where public prejudice was prevalent.³¹³ In this cohort were three women from Maine: Annie S. Dudley, of Lewiston; Sarah Jane Foster, of Gray; and Sabrina L. Gibbs, of Wells. They were joined by Anna A. Wright, of Montpelier, Vermont. Along with these four teachers, Brackett took up residence in the Shenandoah Valley, a place the governing board knew to retain covert pockets of resistance.³¹⁴ Since the denomination's political intelligence suggested that the mission's foundation was not yet on solid ground, particularly among locals, Brackett occasionally received encouraging instructions from Curtis telling him to "keep on in your work of preparation."³¹⁵

When Brackett's teachers first arrived in the south, the general population was reluctant to accept the purpose for which they had come. The Free Will Baptist mission teachers were taunted and "met with mounting prejudices and dangers on account of their aid to the freedmen".³¹⁶ By November, only a few days after their arrival, one of their

³¹² Foster, "Letters from West Virginia, 1865-1866," 31.

³¹³ Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873*, 39; M. Waterbury, *Seven Years Among the Freedmen* (Chicago, IL: T. B. Arnold, 1891), 10-12.

³¹⁴ Silas Curtis, "Storer College Archives.," "Storer College," *Morning Star* (Dover, NH), August 26, 1867.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ *The Lockwood House: Birthplace of Storer College*, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, by Anna Coxe Toogood, Park Historian (Harper's Ferry National Historic Park: United States Government, 3 January 1969), 5, Furnishings Study: Historical Data Section, REP-HAFE-11; Louise Wood Brackett, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, Storer College Archives, Vertical File:

number, Sarah Jane Foster, made note of an announcement that appeared in the local newspaper, *The Martinsburg New Era*:

“We are much pleased to learn that a large school is soon to be opened for the benefit of the negroes in our midst. We believe the teachers are to be ladies from Massachusetts. These ladies will, of course, receive a cordial welcome by the elite of our place, and be at once admitted in to our heartfelt sympathies. We have not yet heard where they are to board, but suppose they will bring their board with them”³¹⁷.

Although the statement in the *Era* is obviously laced with contempt, its straightforward approach must be accepted for what it conveys. Local townsfolk were instinctively anxious because there had never been a school established for the “benefit of the negroes,” and—in the very recent past—laws had even existed prohibiting their education.³¹⁸ The radical concept of educating “negroes,” a by-product of war, Thaddeus Stevens claimed, “may startle feeble minds and shake weak nerves.”³¹⁹ Another by-product of war was social vigilance from both ends of the spectrum. While benevolent societies progressively implemented plans for social betterment, the general public just as easily became worried about newly-devised social programs which they were asked to support, but for which they were ill-prepared.³²⁰

Despite early problems, from the mission center at Harper’s Ferry, Brackett spread the mission’s message out into the neighboring towns of Charlestown,

Correspondence, Notes & Reports, Etc.: Brackett, Newcomer, McDonald Collection, Volume I, 1892, File: Typescript Copy of Brackett’s Public Address at Curtis Memorial Church, Storer College: A Chapter of History, Harper’s Ferry National Historic Park, Library.

³¹⁷ *Martinsburg New Era* 30 November 1865: 2, microfische, *Berkeley County & Regional Collection*; *Martinsburg-Berkeley County Public Library*.

³¹⁸ *Martinsburg New Era*.

³¹⁹ Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865 - 1877* (NY: Vintage Books, 1965), 103.

³²⁰ Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865 - 1877*, 102-05; Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873*, 165-66.

Martinsburg, and Shepherdstown, as per Curtis's original vision, and "within the year the various schools [he established] had enrolled about 2,500 pupils" collectively.³²¹

³²¹ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 594; Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, October 20, 1865, West Virginia Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322. Burgess and Ward report that other schools were ultimately established for: Winchester, Berryville (1868); Leetown, Staunton (1869); Amelia Court House, Smithfield, (1870); Kearneysville (1872); Pleasant Valley (1880); Hagerstown, Lovettsville (1883); Baltimore (1887). Elizabeth Furnace and Luray (1873); Zion (1878); Craigville, First and Second Halifax, Needmore, and Bunker Hill (1880); Scottsburg (1887); Richmond and West Point (1877).

Mission Governance: Curtis' Direction, Brackett's Supervision

Brackett was responsible for administering the activities associated with each school. In 1866, he submitted a mission report to Curtis that included an itemized financial outlay for each of the four mission schools currently in operation:³²²

Shenandoah Mission Expenditures for the month of February 1866		
Location	Expenses	Total
<u>Harper's Ferry</u>		
commissaries [food]	57.00	
kitchen service	4.00	
blackboard and seats	6.25	
fuel and lights	24.00	91.25
<u>Charlestown</u>		
	54.00	
board	10.20	
seats, benches	2.00	
fuel and lights	17.00	
rent	2.00	
traveling to and from assistance	2.25	87.45
<u>Martinsburg</u>		
	29.00	
board	11.66	
rent	4.00	
fuel	.70	45.36
traveling to and from		
<u>Shepherdstown</u>		
	32.00	
board	5.00	37.00
fuel		
freight and express	17.20	17.20
stationery and postage	1.20	1.20
Total	279.46	279.46
Due on last month's account	34.42	34.42
		313.88
	Total	
	Receipts	295.88
	Balance Due	18.00

³²² Storer College Archives, Vertical File: Notebook Binder, 1866; February, 1866, Shenandoah Mission: For the Month of February, 1866, Harper's Ferry, WV.

Brackett, a zealous administrator, was often commended for his tireless energy and effective management of the mission, but he could at times be a bit determined in his efforts—so much so that his friends worried about his health. In a letter dated November 9, 1865, for example, Alexander Morrell cautions Brackett not to become overzealous on behalf of the society in the valley. Morrell, whose own ceaseless activity had ended in a lingering upper respiratory ailment, strongly advises, “I hope you will not carry your load of responsibility to disadvantage, as I did, & get sick. O how great a blessing is comfortable health”.³²³

The network instituted by Brackett in the valley was labeled a “success” by society administrators responsible for monitoring his management of the mission.³²⁴ Curtis, one of the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society’s founders and then its Corresponding Secretary, wrote to Brackett stating, “I am much pleased with the success you meet with at Harpers Ferry in obtaining rooms, etc. I think Providence seems to be opening the way for us to occupy that important field”.³²⁵ With such encouragement from Curtis, a stringent task-master, Brackett’s administration took on renewed vigor.

Although Brackett was a tireless administrator, Curtis must be given his share of credit for the mission’s success, since it was he who gave explicit instructions and expected compliance by all appointed or commissioned representatives of the society. Indeed, Curtis proved himself a strict governor. From the beginning, he had given Brackett a set of instructions for precisely how to conduct the business of the Shenandoah Mission. For example, Curtis informed the administrator of “[his] wish [that Brackett]

³²³ A. H. Morrell, Litchfield, CN, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, November 9, 1865, Storer College Archives: Vertical File: Binder 1851-1865, Letters Received.

³²⁴ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 594.

³²⁵ Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, November 10, 1865, Storer College Archives: Vertical File: Binder 1851-1865, Letters Received.

would in every letter to [him] acknowledge the receipt of [his letter's] by giving the date, & month, [so Curtis would] know that [Brackett received his] letters.”³²⁶ In this way, Curtis could guarantee receipt and track all the society's correspondence. Curtis's concern extends to all facets of the mission's operations. In the same letter, he expressed his perturbation “that not one of the four sisters I have sent to you [Brackett], have written a line to me,” and “I know not what this strange neglect means.”³²⁷ Mr. Hunt, a representative of the American Missionary Association in New York, failed to inform Curtis that the teachers arrived safely at the AMA's headquarters. In order to maintain up-to-date records for the society, Curtis needed to know if the commissioned teachers arrived safely, and if Hunt received the \$40.00 draft from the Home Mission Society in timely fashion to cover their travel expenses. Ever mindful of the hostile territory, Curtis was greatly vexed until he was notified of the young teachers' safe arrival.

In 1865, Brackett received two sets of orders. The administrator was to proceed with the work of the Shenandoah Mission: teacher management directives and the superintendent's administrative procedures. Brackett was directed by Curtis to institute six primary instructions for managing teachers. He directed teachers to (a) submit an itemized report to Curtis for expenses and school expenditures; (b) identify monthly salary portion to revert to the Freedmen mission; (c) “keep a correct account of the number of different scholars under their instructions” from the beginning of term until the school's “clos[ure] for summer vacation”; (d) complete monthly reports in a specified format “on the first day of every month”; (e) “preserve in a diary or memorandum book any incident, anecdote, or circumstance” for publication in “The Morning Star”; and (f)

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Ibid.

notify the treasurer of any salary advancement, or designate any monthly salary portion sent elsewhere in a monetary “draft” issued by the treasurer.³²⁸ Brackett was also responsible for making certain that mission teachers understood “terms” of employment and received a copy of the society’s circular detailing “terms” of contract.³²⁹

Curtis further detailed how Brackett, as Superintendent of Schools, was to complete his mission reports so as to provide a precise accounting for the central office. In 1865, for example, Curtis advanced Brackett \$200 for the Shenandoah Mission’s operations, an amount from which he was instructed to apply \$50 toward salaries and the remainder toward operation costs. Curtis wanted “to know how much [Brackett had] paid out & what for” so that the account would be adjusted and current by December 1, 1865. Thereafter, Brackett routinely submitted an itemized account of mission expenditures “incurred for the mission under [his] charge.”³³⁰

In addition, Curtis also wanted to be made aware of the contributions of “the colored people for the support of the mission and schools” throughout the area.³³¹ In lieu of money, locals often exchanged “provisions,” helping to decrease operational costs for the mission center.³³² A model report covering such circumstances was then included by Curtis in his letter to Brackett dated December 1, 1865. In this missive, Curtis states emphatically, “Your monthly report to me should look like this.”³³³ Categories toward which Curtis directed Brackett’s attention included boarding and living expenses for teachers and administrative staff, miscellaneous accounts, mission receipts from locals, and balance due. Curtis believed this system was arranged so that “all the financial

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Ibid.

matters may be kept straight” as the society began its time-intensive effort.³³⁴ In addition, Curtis recommended that Brackett write him on a weekly basis in order to keep him “fully posted in relations to the state and progress of the work in [Brackett’s] district.”³³⁵ Moreover, the same letter concluded by emphasizing that Brackett was to “keep all necessary statistics,” so that a full report could be given at the September 1866 Quarterly Meeting, which would mark the one-year anniversary of mission efforts in the valley.³³⁶ In order to keep the “people informed & interested in the mission,” Brackett was also strongly urged to periodically write articles for “The Morning Star.”³³⁷ It takes little imagination to conceive of how heavily Brackett was inundated with paperwork.

Although such examples indicate that Curtis’s oversight was stringent, he had no intention of undermining Brackett’s confidence or authority, for as he told his administrator, it is “[y]ou [who] will have the oversight and charge of all the teachers we commission for the district where you are, —you will have charge of the financial affairs, and pay the Board bills of the teachers, & send the account to me every month.”³³⁸ Curtis realized Brackett’s potential for administration and, despite his seeming iron hand, let his administrator work to ensure the mission’s success. Although the mission was under the guidance of Brackett, who was himself under the direction of the FWB-HMS, its ultimate success relied on the capabilities of two other groups as well: members of the Freedmen’s Bureau and the young teachers who comprised its front-line “troops.”

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Ibid.

Aiding the Cause in Harper's Ferry: Contributions of the Freedmen's Bureau

According to Stealey, "[t]he Freedmen's Bureau played a significant role in the transition of governance from the Commonwealth of Virginia to the new West Virginia government. In educational affairs, the Bureau agents initiated a rudimentary Negro public school system when the Arthur I. Boreman administration was crucial for blacks in areas of Confederate sympathy and where hostility or indifference toward negro education prevailed."³³⁹ These efforts by the bureau indeed complemented the enduring relationship the Free Will Baptist administrators first cultivated with federal agents early in the war endeavor.

From the bureau's inception, in 1865, Oliver Otis Howard, its chief administrator, had believed education to be the primary factor for elevating freedmen to a position of self-sufficiency and therefore social betterment.³⁴⁰ A report submitted to the bureau for the month of June 1866 by R. Chandler, Acting Assistant Commissioner, identifies the kinds of categorical information Howard believed to be crucial to the bureau's educational component. Chandler's bureau form included categorical rows and numerical columns of information on freedmen schools, each of which cooperated with the bureau's agent through monthly communications. Since Brackett was the administrative superintendent, he was responsible for enforcing cooperation and ensuring that necessary information was collected from teachers for bureau agents.

³³⁹ John E. Stealey, III, "Reports of Freedmen's Bureau Operation in West Virginia: Agents in the Eastern Panhandle," *West Virginia History Journal* 42, no. Fall/Winter (1980): 98, 94-129.

³⁴⁰ United States War Department, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Report to the Secretary of War, by Oliver Otis Howard, *Commissioner Report* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1869); Walter Dyson, *Howard University, The Capstone of Negro Education* (Washington, D.C.: Graduate School of Howard University, 1941), 33-49; Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863 - 1877* (NY: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1990), 65.

In 1866, Chandler's report indicated that he was receiving information from seven schools scattered throughout the Shenandoah Valley, three in Virginia and four in West Virginia (although the report itself makes no distinction between states).³⁴¹ The Virginia schools were located in Massanutten, Front Royal, and Winchester. The Massanutten school was organized by the American Missionary Association. In June 1866, its head teacher, G.H. Hammond, was responsible for 35 students, although his official enrollment listed 45. Farther down the valley, the Front Royal and Winchester schools averaged 40 and 115 students, respectively. The Front Royal school, under the leadership of Lincoln Given, had been organized by the Free Will Baptists, while the Winchester school, under R.J. Young was instituted by the Presbyterian Church of Pittsburg [sic]. In the Lower Shenandoah Valley, the Free Will Baptists alone organized schools in Harper's Ferry, Charlestown [sic], Shepherdstown, and Martinsburg.

Thus, in June 1866, the Free Will Baptists were responsible for managing five of seven schools then in operation in the Lower Shenandoah Valley and for educating 234 students, or over 60% of the freedmen enrolled. During the first post-war year, as its agents actively worked to collaborate with northern philanthropic representatives, the bureau "reported [throughout the south] the establishment of 4,239 schools with 9,307 teachers and 247,333 students."³⁴² Mission teachers working during the 1866 school term were Smith and Libby (Charlestown), Wright (Shepherdstown), Libby and Foster (Harper's Ferry), and Dudley (Martinsburg). To accommodate the high demand for teachers, one of their number—Libby—traveled between the Charlestown and Harper's

³⁴¹ United States War Department, *Field Report* in John E. Stealey, III, "Reports of Freedmen's Bureau Operation in West Virginia: Agents in the Eastern Panhandle," *West Virginia History Journal* 42, no. Fall/Winter (1980), 94-129.

³⁴² Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 386.

Ferry schools since it was convenient to take the Shenandoah River road, which directly led from one township to the other.

The Mission Teachers at Harper's Ferry: A Description

What were the young women like who made a commitment to the mission schools?

First, New England mission teachers commissioned to southern states to work with freedmen were dependable, moral, and adaptable. To locate young teachers with these characteristics was crucial since the journey south was strenuous, difficult, and time-consuming, often involving an arduous three-day journey. Silas Curtis and George Whipple, Corresponding Secretary for the AMA, coordinated travel arrangements for teachers. New York was the halfway marker for most of Curtis' teachers, many of whom were recruited from various northeastern townships. To such end, Curtis and Whipple collaborated with sympathetic commanders, ship's captains, train conductors, carriage drivers, administrative personnel, ticketing agents, and other like-minded individuals to create a transportation network routing teachers into the south. These individuals—more than not—willingly aided missionary societies.³⁴³

Also, the first teachers had to be strong and determined. In order to reach their mission assignments, teachers prepared for an often-arduous journey that could involve four or five different connections from different locations. The first leg of the journey south entailed leaving home, many for the first time. Influenced by the Victorian Period in which they lived, however, such women were immured to self-sacrifice—or perhaps they viewed the experience as a chance to escape Victorian constraints? In either case,

³⁴³ Silas Curtis, *Free Will Baptist Correspondence*; Waterbury, *Seven Years Among the Freedmen*, 10; Also see: M. Waterbury, *Seven Years Among the Freedmen* (Chicago, IL: T. B. Arnold, 1891); Elizabeth H. Botume, *First Days Amongst the Contrabands* (Boston, MA: Lee & Shepard Publishers, 1893).

by committing to work with Southern freedmen in situations that were at times hostile, the teachers recruited by the Home Mission Society exhibited a powerful sense of self-sacrifice in order to achieve social betterment. The work they were about to encounter was “physically and emotionally demanding.”³⁴⁴

The teachers agreed to rendezvous with other teachers at a central location. There were two possible rendezvous points: Concord, New Hampshire (Curtis’s location), or Lewiston, Maine. It is probable that most teachers met at Concord since Curtis, as the Home Mission Society’s official Corresponding Secretary, was responsible for contacting and directing them. Curtis had teachers sign a “circular,” which detailed the society’s expectations and terms of agreement for employment. Since Curtis took his duties and responsibilities seriously, the teachers most likely congregated at his office in Concord.

The second site for rendezvous was Lewiston, Maine, the home of Bates College, formerly the Maine State Seminary, which was chartered March 16, 1855 as “the chief educational institution of the Free Baptists in New England.”³⁴⁵ Several mission teachers were in fact trained in the seminary’s programs.³⁴⁶ From Lewiston, the teachers then traveled southeast to Portland, a thirty-five mile trip, in order to reach the coastal city’s harbor. They sailed from Portland down the Atlantic coastline to New York’s harbor and from there into the Chesapeake Bay, finally arriving at Baltimore, Maryland. From Baltimore teachers took a “car” on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad System to reach their field commissions. The Shenandoah Mission teachers, as per

³⁴⁴ Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873*, 39.

³⁴⁵ Emeline Burlingame-Cheney, *The Story of the Life and Work of Oren B. Cheney, Founder and First President of Bates College* (Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House, 1907); Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical."; Alfred W. Anthony, *Bates College and Its Background: A Review of Origins and Causes* (Philadelphia, PA: The Judson Press, 1936).

³⁴⁶ "Storer College," 10/23; Burlingame-Cheney, *The Story of the Life and Work of Oren B. Cheney, Founder and First President of Bates College*.

Curtis' instructions, took the mountainous, western spur of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, heading for Harper's Ferry, where they first met Brackett, who would become their direct supervisor.³⁴⁷

Additionally, the mission teachers had to be willing to extend their level of self-sacrifice to their own remuneration. In 1864, the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society paid teachers \$10.00 per month. This was consistent with the earlier salary standard set by the American Missionary Association. The society, in 1865, however conferred with other societies on the matter of "fix[ed] uniform salar[ies]" for mission teachers.³⁴⁸ In Curtis's terms, "we agreed to allow all \$15.00 per month & pay traveling expenses and board; & then give all who are able and willing to make any reduction, the privilege & what ever they say they will give monthly for the mission will be deducted monthly and credited to them in the receipts of the '*Star*'[stet]".³⁴⁹ Several teachers reverted \$2.00 – \$3.00 dollars per month to further demonstrate a degree of financial commitment to the mission effort with which they were connected, and for which they were duly recognized in "The Morning Star."³⁵⁰

Last, but most assuredly not least, the Shenandoah Mission's teachers were well-educated. According to Woodson, after the end of the war, philanthropic societies like the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society "sent the best blood of the North as missionary teachers" to educate freed slaves.³⁵¹ Caliver concurs with Woodson, maintaining that the earliest mission teachers were "some of the best teachers of the Nation . . . ministers and missionaries; almost all of them . . . graduates of the best

³⁴⁷ Foster, "Letters from West Virginia, 1865-1866," 31; Silas Curtis, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

³⁴⁸ Silas Curtis, Free Will Baptists Correspondence.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 383.

colleges of New England.”³⁵² Mission teachers thus were devoted to educating freedmen in much the same manner, and with the same methods by which they themselves had been educated in New England. In fact, it can be argued that they “transplanted” the design of northern institutions to the south. Dudley graduated, in 1864, from the Maine State Seminary the same year Brackett graduated Dartmouth. Foster was “a teacher by training,” having worked in various educational settings in Maine before arriving in Harper’s Ferry.³⁵³ Wright and Gibbs, according to denominational correspondence, were experienced teachers willing to accept a new challenge in the south.³⁵⁴ Woodson suggests that the Baptist and Methodists teachers, operating before the onset of the Civil War, “cared not so much about proselyting [sic] as they did about education” and “took the lead in this movement” to educate freed slaves in concord with the goals for national reconstruction.³⁵⁵

Southern Rules and Preconceptions: Two Teachers’ Experiences

Among the first teachers to arrive at Harper’s Ferry, in 1865, were Anne S. Dudley and Sara Jane Foster. From Dudley’s reports and Foster’s diary entries, between 1865 and 1867, we get a multi-dimensional perspective on what life was like for the early mission teachers who came to teach freedmen in the Lower Shenandoah Valley.

During Dudley’s first seventeen months in West Virginia, Dudley was frequently moved from one school to another. She was in Harper’s Ferry for one month, and then

³⁵² United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, by Ambrose Caliver, *National Survey of the Education of Teachers*, Vol. IV, Bulletin no. 10 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933), 2

³⁵³ Jacqueline Jones, "Foreward," in *Sarah Jane Foster: Teacher of the Freedmen, A Diary and Letters*, ed. Wayne E. Reilly (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1990), ix.

³⁵⁴ Silas Curtis, Free Will Baptists Correspondence.

³⁵⁵ Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 383.

she was dispatched by Brackett to go to Charles Town in the same county. During her stay in Charles Town, Dudley established the Charles Town Mission School. She taught freedmen in Charles Town for four months, but was then later moved to Martinsburg, where she stayed an entire year. During the year in Martinsburg, Dudley taught 115 students in night school and 515 in day and night schools combined. Her enrollment for Sabbath schools was 320. She visited over 700 colored families, distributed 50 Bibles, and issued 61 other types of books, so that students—adults and children alike—could practice reading skills. Collectively, Dudley’s students received from her 11,972 pages of various religious tracts—on subjects ranging from conversion to temperance—and Sunday School papers with Biblical accounts of prominent figures. With such vigorous activity, Dudley became familiar not only with her students, but also with the social reactions to her devoted, incessant actions.³⁵⁶

In 1867, reporting to the Home Mission Society, Dudley shared her observations about the social behaviors in the border counties in which she worked. She stated, “I have no hope that the great mass of the present generation of southern people will ever be friends to the freedmen or northern people. I believe they would put a yoke on every neck, and a lash on every back that would not bow down to the god of slavery, or annihilate us as quick to-day as when they first fired on Fort Sumter!”³⁵⁷ When Dudley was first sent by Brackett to Charles Town just before the end of 1865, or after the new year’s winter in 1866, to institute a mission school for that township, Dudley went under military escort due to ingrained southern traditions.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁶ "Home Mission Society," Anne S. Dudley: Address Before the Home Mission Society, *Morning Star* (Dover, New Hampshire), 23 October 1867, XLII, Anniversaries: 131.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

To verify that these traditions were still ongoing, Dudley reported to the FWB-HMS, “I could get no permanent boarding place for nearly two months, (for it would have been a lifelong disgrace for a Virginian to board Yankee teachers, and the rubicon once passed, there could be no return to friends and society, no more than over the walls of caste in India, as public sentiment was then) so I was there alone, boarding myself and teaching day and night, until I had 150 scholars of all ages and complexions” to teach the rudiments of reading to all “from white to black, and of all ages, from four to fifty-five years.”³⁵⁹ After Dudley recognized the level of preconception about, and degree of stigma attached to “complexions,” the Maine-trained teacher also reported that “[t]he blackest child in the school is one of the best scholars I ever saw. They [the scholars] certainly make wonderful progress under the circumstances” here in the south, Dudley reported. Dudley, however, found that her long hours of teaching were to be much appreciated by the freedmen residing there in the valley.

Despite social proscription, the hardships, and long hours, Dudley’s relationship with the freedmen and therefore their community must have been quite rewarding and inspiring. When the freedmen first learned to pray in a well thought-out manner, their first prayers were filled with requests to the Almighty God for protection of their teachers. Dudley reported to “The Morning Star” that “[a]ll the colored people manifested the greatest kindness towards us. I shall never forget the oft repeated prayer: ‘O Lord, bless de teacher dat come a far distance to teach us. Front and fight her battles, and bring her safe home to Glory, if you please, Massa Jesus!’”³⁶⁰ Dudley was not the only mission teacher to record her students’ prayers.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

Foster recorded in her diary that, first, the former slaves “[t]hey all seem to know us as if by intuition and welcome us very warmly, but always with due respect” because of the way in which the students prayed for them.³⁶¹ Foster, then later, noted the degree of genuineness and heartfelt concern offered through her students’ prayers. Foster while at a meeting in Harper’s Ferry recalled that “[t]he prayer of one woman was unequaled for its simple child-like confidence, appropriateness, and a certain touching poetic beauty that words would fail to reproduce.”³⁶² Foster was so touched by one of the adult student’s prayers that soon after her arrival on November 27, 1865, she wrote in her diary the following:

“She would say,—‘Dear Father didn’t you promise?’ or ‘didn’t you say, so and so?’ with the most perfect freedom of address and each petition ended in a sort of chanted rhythmical ‘Jesus if it be thy will.’

One petition I will try to quote. It was this,—‘Dear Father we had good reasons to know that you’s been quartered here at Harper’s Ferry, an, now we wants you to come again, Jesus if it be thy will, an, please don’t ride, way off roun, but jist come right here an take a gentle ride roun, amongst us, Jesus if it be they will.’”³⁶³

Hearing this prayer just after her arrival, Foster shared with her diary, “But words would fail to convey to another the impression that it [the prayer] made upon my mind.”³⁶⁴

These prayers offered by the teachers’ students likely served to reinvigorate their acts of conscience through a renewed sense of purpose and mission, as they tirelessly traversed to and fro from school to school teaching, singing, and preaching the Gospel, which may address why *it is* that the teachers also recorded conversion experiences of students.

³⁶¹ Foster, "Letters from West Virginia, 1865-1866," 33.

³⁶² Ibid. 33-34.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

Shortly after Dudley was transferred to Martinsburg, she established a Free Will Baptist church on Raleigh Street. It was on *this* side—not the *other* side—of the railroad tracks. Dudley’s first convert there was a woman by the name of Jennie. Anne Dudley grew very fond of Jennie. After Jennie’s absence for a period, Dudley said, “I missed her [Jennie] for a long time.” When Dudley finally had the time to go searching for Jennie, she “found her and her child at last, in a miserable hovel, sick and helpless.”³⁶⁵ Jennie told Dudley that “when she could work no longer she was thrown into the street, and lay nearly all day in the burning hot sun, when this colored family found her and took her in.”³⁶⁶ Dudley sadly reported to the FWB-HMS that “[t]he next time [she] saw Jennie she was in her coffin, wrapped in that sweet sleep, 'from which none ever wake to weep,' and I doubt not [that] her happy spirit is in heaven.”³⁶⁷

Another adult student for lack of temperance was often witnessed to by Anne Dudley who warned him of the wicked ends and evils of alcohol. One day the man appeared at her school room door and proclaimed:

“O Miss Anne! I have come to tell you I have found Jesus! You told me true, --I was very wicked. I wanted to come and ask you to pray for me, but I was afraid. I went over the hills among the rocks and prayed many times—at last it was all light—now I am so happy. O Miss Anne I don't want any more whiskey—I don't think of it!”

I could only listen in tears. I wish you could hear him singing his favorite tune, "I hear de heaben bells ringin'."³⁶⁸

Dudley told the FWB-HMS that “[she] could only listen in tears” when the man described his conviction of sin and subsequent conversion.³⁶⁹ Thereafter, she said the

³⁶⁵ "Home Mission Society," Anne S. Dudley: Address Before the Home Mission Society, *Morning Star* (Dover, New Hampshire), 23 October 1867, XLII, Anniversaries: 131.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

man was decidedly in tune with the Spirit, claiming that “I wish you [here in Dover, New Hampshire] could hear him singing his favorite tune, ‘I hear de heaben bells ringin.’”³⁷⁰

After this, Dudley added that “[n]o white minister in the city [of Martinsburg] has ever come into our meetings, and only an occasional visit from a colored one has cheered us on our way, but the good shepherd over all has led us through green pastures and by still waters; shut the mouths of lions; made the sword powerless, and brought us on our way singing victory.”³⁷¹ But, Dudley was ultimately confronted with a particularly troublesome incident that vanished from public record.

Dudley had been in Martinsburg, in Berkeley County, for slightly “more than a year” after leaving Charles Town, in Jefferson County, when Dudley and the teachers at the Martinsburg Mission School, sometime between 1866 and 1867, began to be frequently visited by the cadets on furlough from the Virginia Military Institute in Lexington.³⁷² Of this period, in 1867, Dudley recalled:

“The chivalrous students of the Military Institute of Lexington have caused our teachers much trouble. One night a party of them went and demanded one of the scholars, saying, they were going to shoot him. When the teachers could not persuade them to go away, and the rowdies were getting desperate, Miss Harper, one of the teachers, stepped forward and told them if they shot Ben they would shoot her first, and with wonderful courage drove them away, and had them arrested and taken to court. The matter was hushed up, and Gen. Lee sent a note of apology to the teachers.”³⁷³

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Ibid.

Not unlike the cadets from Lexington, there were other incidents meant to impede the teacher's work and discourage them from proceeding with their mission to educate freedmen. "Some rascals broke down our door about nine" tonight, Foster wrote.³⁷⁴ Foster's boarding chaperone, Mr. Hoke, "advised [her] to stay away from [the] school" building after she was seen walking in public down Queen Street with Mr. Hopewell," a colored supporter of the school. Foster admitted that "[she] walked through the street all the way with Mr. Hopewell, just to show that [she] did not mean to be driven off by the roughs."³⁷⁵ On Thursday, January 25, 1866, Foster recorded that "Our meeting was disturbed and some of the Colored people fired a pistol after the intruders, and gave chase and caught two. They have the names of two more. Capt. McKenzie was sent for and took them to jail" although these kinds of intrusions were a chronic problem for several years.

At the beginning of her assignment in Martinsburg, however, Foster's naïvete caused her to make quite a different observation about the town—at least initially. When she arrived there, she observed "[t]his place is intensely Union. A rebel is worse off here than farther North... The town here has suffered much, as have all places in the vicinity. I can but own that our army practiced more vandalism than was necessary or excusable."

³⁷⁶ Foster eventually changed her opinion. On December 16, 1865, almost three weeks after her initially positive observation, Foster wrote in her diary that "[t]he 'New Era,' an opposition paper here, week before last contained a slight fling at us and our work... I sometimes hear myself pointed out as a 'nigger teacher,' and people, especially children, stare in on passing the school-room, but we are as yet entirely undisturbed, and likely to

³⁷⁴ Foster, "Letters from West Virginia, 1865-1866," 49.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 50.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.

remain so”.³⁷⁷ Another by-product of war was “social proscription,” which was specifically directed toward white teachers from the north working in the south with black students. Dudley noted the “sting of contempt and scorn as we feel it poured on us who go at the bidding of our Divine Master to teach the poor and needy” is particularly felt.³⁷⁸ Foster did not fully comprehend the broad spectrum of proscription.³⁷⁹

Truly naïve about “the strict conduct toward the colored people” commonly understood among people reared in the south, Foster caused a great stir when she failed to observe “appropriate conduct.”³⁸⁰ The accepted physical proximity between the races—specifically in the case of white females in the company of black males—was an unspoken social more in the south that both races understood without question.³⁸¹ When Foster accompanied by Mr. Hopewell, one of her adult students, was walking down Queen Street in Martinsburg, the Hoke family with whom Foster was boarding became “really alarmed” and feared that a mob action would result.³⁸² Captain J. H. McKenzie, an Assistant Superintendent of the Freedmen’s Bureau assigned to Martinsburg, retrieved his pistol when he sensed existing and escalating energies had been compounded by Foster’s naïvete. With his pistol at his side, McKenzie escorted Foster from the school-room under guard. The young teacher’s subsequent response is genuine, but it was one that the nineteenth-century southern society was unprepared to accept. “I shall treat all well who treat me well, both black and white,” Foster declared.³⁸³ In effect, Foster was practicing what she had learned during her own Sunday School training in Gray, Maine, a

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 36; Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873*, 183.

³⁷⁸ "Home Mission Society," Anne S. Dudley: Address Before the Home Mission Society, *Morning Star* (Dover, New Hampshire), 23 October 1867, XLII, Anniversaries: 131.

³⁷⁹ Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873*, 183.

³⁸⁰ Foster, "Letters from West Virginia, 1865-1866," 150.

³⁸¹ Stamp, *The Peculiar Institution*, 353.

³⁸² Foster, "Letters from West Virginia, 1865-1866," 50.

³⁸³ Ibid., 49.

principle that articulated her own heart-felt rendition of the “Golden Rule.”³⁸⁴

Nonetheless, her “indiscretion” proved disconcerting to a society already nervous about the changes occurring within its traditional society.

From Foster we also gain some insight into the mission teachers’ relationships with the families who hosted them. When Brackett received teachers at the Shenandoah Mission, it was his duty to locate sympathetic families with whom they could board once outlying mission schools became operational. Sympathetic families, on whom benevolent societies relied, were often prominent families with high ethical demands for themselves and the societies in which they lived. They believed that the nation’s postwar reconstruction—and therefore social betterment for freedmen—depended on shared responsibilities to rectify the iniquitous actions of the past. Brackett, a resourceful person, was able to locate several such families. In 1865, when Foster and Wright were organizing the mission school in Martinsburg, the former wrote about her benevolent sponsors. As noted in her diary, Foster holds her host family in high regard:

“We are boarding with a most excellent Union family named Hoke. I give the name because their devoted loyalty throughout our great struggle for right, is worthy of a more enduring record than I can give. I never weary of hearing them tell of the varied scenes of the past four years. It seems strange to realize that I am where war was so long a dread and actual presence, and I am sure that those who were all the while faithful, merit immortality, if earthly fame can bestow it.”³⁸⁵

Foster boarded with the Hokes’ at 201 Martin Street in Martinsburg, which was convenient since the Hoke residence put Foster well within safe walking distance of her school. Foster’s respect and admiration for the Hoke family seems quite genuine.

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., 33.

The teachers, Dudley and Foster included, came to care not just for the educational needs of the children they tended but also for their physical well-being. With the coldest part of the 1865 winter yet ahead, Dudley and the other teachers expressed a growing concern for students' welfare, pleas that prompted Curtis to promise additional warm clothing. While distributing such articles of clothing to their students, the teachers made regular home visitations.³⁸⁶

Sometimes, though, as on particularly cold days, the school provided a shelter. On January 7, 1866, for example, Foster realized that it was "a terribly cold day" and "it was too cold to send the children home."³⁸⁷ Water was freezing in her school room, while the streets and walkways were icy. Comparing her home state of Maine to West Virginia, Foster claims, "I have felt this cold snap as bad as I ever felt the cold in New England"³⁸⁸ On another occasion, Foster claimed that "[s]everal of the little ones were so cold on those cold mornings that I had to take their hands in mine to warm them before they could bear to approach the fire."³⁸⁹ Often mission teachers designated a fire-tender to fuel, stock, kindle and start fires in school room's early in the morning before students arrived. The "cold snap" during the month of January must have stimulated Foster to locate an effective fire-tender. "I have at last made out to get my fire into good hands, and now have a warm room mornings," Foster wrote with enthusiasm, on January 9th, in her diary.³⁹⁰

Despite the weather, students flocked to the school. With admiration in her tone, Foster noted that "[s]ome of them come long distances...I wonder that they come at all in

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 41-47.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 41.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 41-44.

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 44.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 42.

this cold weather.”³⁹¹ A few of Foster’s students traveled the distance because they were voracious students; their willingness to succeed and capacity for learning seemingly could not be sated. One such student was the ironically-named John Brown, whose performance was stellar. In her diary, Foster indicates that “Mr. Brackett had been urging [John Brown] to go to Lewiston, Maine to school” in order to continue his education in branches higher than could be offered at the time in West Virginia.³⁹² Although young Brown is one of the few students named directly, there is evidence that many more of them showed the resilience and fortitude demanded of scholars coming from this first generation of freedmen.

Dudley’s Exceptional Student

Two years after Dudley had been teaching in the Shenandoah Valley, she traveled to New England for the Baptist Convention, during that time, Dudley found that several of the churchmen and women retained various and varied preconceptions and misconceptions about her work. Dudley was likely pleased with some of her more exceptional students enrolled in her mission schools. Some not only demonstrated intelligence, but they—perhaps more importantly—demonstrated that they were attuned to the political climate surrounding them. In 1867, in order to demonstrate to the Home Mission Society the intelligence exhibited by her students in the south, Dudley submitted the following poem as evidence of their abilities, in which Lincoln and Johnson figure:

“Eight years ago, when I was ruled,
Did I ever think I would sit in School?
But President Lincoln—God bless his name—

³⁹¹ Ibid., 44-45.

³⁹² Ibid., 41.

Through him, my labor is not in vain.
He did his best, and left the rest,
For Johnson to guide the poor oppressed,
Now I am free, and shall always be,
As long as the north and south can agree,
And then before I'll be a slave,
I'll be carried to my grave!"³⁹³

Although Dudley's student was black, his age unfortunately remains unknown. The essential conception conveyed by the work, however, is that the student possessed the ability to comprehend the creative format through which the poet expressed affective sentiment and verified a true sense of political consciousness.

With such measurable success, the Free Will Baptists proceeded with their original plan to found a college through the financial support and political sagacity of several denominational men, one Maine philanthropist, key politicians, and all who were moved to this act of conscience in order to share the responsibility for reconstructing the national Union, and educating the nation's freedmen.

³⁹³ "Home Mission Society," Anne S. Dudley: Address Before the Home Mission Society, *Morning Star* (Dover, New Hampshire), 23 October 1867, XLII, Anniversaries: 131.

CHAPTER 5

THE FOUNDING OF STORER COLLEGE

The school that eventually became Storer College would not have been possible without the tireless efforts and forward thinking of a small but dedicated group of Free Will Baptist men. True, John Storer's initial pledge of seed money for the institution proved crucial, and Senator William Pitt Fessenden and Representative James A. Garfield lent their support from Washington, but men like Oren Cheney, Silas Curtis, Alexander Hatch Morrell, and Nathan Cook Brackett ultimately became responsible for shouldering the effort that brought the school to fruition—of creating the governing commissions, raising matching funds, and hiring appropriate staff. Although in the history of Storer, the names of these four men stand out, their work was supported by—indeed, would have been impossible without—the individual yet collective efforts of fellow crusaders: Ebenezer Knowlton, George Tiffany Day, Jonathan Brewster, and Isaac Dalton Stewart, among many others.

The larger portion of this chapter is devoted to these men—emancipationists, college presidents, congressmen, politicians, denominational officers, soldiers, legislators, editors, federal emissaries, judges, ministers, and principled men—that together comprised the “*Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South.*” The chapter is also devoted to a brief discussion of the religious foundations upon which this “commission” established its faith in the American creed and therefore the American

people, so that when combined together, these collective forces inspired the genesis of Storer College.³⁹⁴

The Process Begins: *The Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South*

In addition to acquiring use of the property at Harper's Ferry, Cheney and his fellow workers had to get down to the business of actually planning their school. Also in 1867, they began this part of the process by forming what they called a "body politic."³⁹⁵ This unit was created not merely to oversee the organization of the school, but also it was to direct Storer's beneficence by both establishing a permanent school for freedmen and instituting a home mission center in support of the school. By locating their mission center close to the school, the commissioners believed the denomination could better direct Storer's endowment, regulate the school, supervise teachers, and retrieve important information that would help shape the school's overall development. On June 6, 1867 in Northwood, New Hampshire, four months after Cheney's initial meeting with John Storer in Sanford, the society organized what it called: *The Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South*.

The "commission" was organized by, and composed of men that believed: by investing in the social betterment and consequently the education of former slaves, they were indeed improving the quality of living for all American citizens. The scope of this belief—the common betterment of all—is directly attributable to the denomination's founding father, Benjamin Randal, whose sense of "universal" application made the

³⁹⁴ West Virginia Legislature, West Virginia State Archives, Sixth Session: Chapter 117, 106 - 107, 3 March, 1868, File: Storer College, An Act to Incorporate the Storer College, Charleston, WV, Wheeling, WV: John Frew, Public Printer.

³⁹⁵ Commission For the Promotion of Education in the South, "[Free Will Baptist] Circular"; West Virginia Legislature, "Act of Corporation Designated as "The President and Trustees of Storer College",".

founding not only of the denomination but also of Storer College possible.³⁹⁶ The “commission[’s]” activities as a “body politic” must be understood from the denomination’s theological framework from which the “commission” worked to institute a southern college. The chapter proceeds first then with the “commission’s” act of conscience that was both a direct demonstration of its faith, and *why it was*, and *how it was* that these corresponding actions led to the school’s founding.

An Act of Conscience

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in particular, as the Free Will Baptists began to evolve and grow, they were then known, and later publicly commended by Garrison and Whipple, for their willingness to challenge prevailing attitudes in order to help others. This they did in the absence of predisposition because they believed they were responsible for sharing in the reconstruction of the south. As such, they were not only improving the lives of the people who had lived there, but they were also improving a more encompassing aspect; they were improving the places in which those people had lived. It is with this mindset that the Free Will Baptists surged into the south to improve social conditions, and educate former slaves, freedmen, war refugees, and public indigents “without distinction of race or color.”³⁹⁷

³⁹⁶ Commission For the Promotion of Education in the South, "[Free Will Baptist] Circular,"; Storer College Collection, Bulletin, 1948-1950, Storer College Bulletin, 1948-1950, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV; West Virginia Legislature, West Virginia State Archives, Sixth Session: Chapter 117, 106 - 107, 3 March, 1868, File: Storer College, An Act to Incorporate the Storer College, Charleston, WV, Wheeling, WV: John Frew, Public Printer; John Buzzell, *The Life of Elder Benjamin Randal* (Limerick, ME: Hobbs, Woodman & Company, 1827), 90-95.

³⁹⁷ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1869, Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Normal Department, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Libby & Co., Printers--Enquirer Office: Dover, NH; Commission For the Promotion of Education in the South, "[Free Will Baptist] Circular"; 1. Acts of the Legislature of West Virginia, , Page 106th Leg., Sixth Session, Commencing January 21st, 1868th Sess. § 117.1 (West Virginia 1868);

The two-word phrase “without distinction” was an important aspect of Free Will Baptist ideo-theology. “[W]ithout distinction,” a simple phrase, appeared throughout the denomination’s correspondences, but it then routinely appeared in college catalogues while the school was in operation. The inclusion of this phrase indicated that the Baptists were prepared to make no exceptions against, or to make no preconceptions about, any student seeking an education. Therefore, the ideology behind enslavement, or segregation solely based on extraneous criteria, was simply not acceptable. It was this same phrase that, in 1867, gave rise to a “fierce debate” among members of the West Virginia Legislature when the “*Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South*” made application for a school charter in Wheeling, WV. Baptists beliefs regarding “choice” and, most particularly, “free will” were integral characteristics of their faith. To their way of thinking, individuals then, made conscious *choices* based on their *free will* to do so. “Free will” and “choice” evolve as the primary religious antecedents from which the Baptists work to institute schools in the south by the war’s end.

Choice, and Free Will

Choice and therefore the exercise of *free will*, as theological canon, had been established by Randal, in 1780. These were the essential, theological distinctions that set the Free Will Baptist denomination apart from the period’s prevalent Calvinistic ideo-theology. John Calvin understood the *doctrine of predestination*, as it was affected through the sovereignty of God, and the supreme authority of the scriptures.³⁹⁸ Benjamin Randal

³⁹⁸ John Buzzell, *The Life of Elder Benjamin Randal* (Limerick, ME: Hobbs, Woodman & Company, 1827), 1-21, 90-92. Benjamin Randal’s “conversion” experience that brought to his mind the major theological framework—“universal love, a universal atonement, a universal call to mankind”—for the founding of the Free Will Baptist is discussed by Buzzell in “Chapter 1” under the subheading “His

differed greatly with John Calvin's theological position modeling his beliefs after Jan Arminus, the Dutch Reformer; Randal emphatically differed with Calvin's proposition for: *predestination*.³⁹⁹ The implication behind John Calvin's *doctrine of predestination* includes, a thought to action cycle that strongly suggests that God is predisposed to exclusion. Exclusionary salvation then, is a foregone conclusion, if God's foreknowledge influences salvation. Salvation thus becomes a calculation instead of based on God's grace and forgiveness of sin. Most implicitly, however, *predestination* sets in motion the thought that the random selection of saints is an intrinsic value closely associated with the very *being* from whom salvation is given, God Almighty. A godly predisposition, according to Calvin's proposition, fixes salvation for some while not for others. Subsequently, according to Benjamin Randal point of view, the *doctrine of predestination* then drew into question the whole spectrum of Christianity. To Randal's point: Why then the artificial cycle of: penitence, confession, atonement, redemption, and salvation, if individual fates have been predetermined?

Randal, a product of the eighteenth-century's "Great Awakening," consequently viewed strict Calvinism, "as being unduly harsh as well as being an affront to common sense in that [it] tended to undermine all morality...". During the century, Calvinism from Randal's perspective, dismissed the human element altogether, as it related to God's grace, man's redemption, and opportunity for salvation. "[Calvinist theology] was

experience of grace," 1-21. On pages 90-92, Buzzell discusses Randal's position: "Yet good men of different persuasions, have different views of the meaning of scriptures, and are naturally apt to put such constructions on them, as will best prove their favorite systems, and promote their favorite objects. The partisans of all denominations [proclaim]...that the scriptures are in unison with their doctrines [and go so far as to convince the general public] by any mode of allegation without any regard to their connections, put them in such order, as to make them appear to prove some darling doctrine, which they may affect to hold, under any pretext whatever, they will even dare to affirm, that all the bible goes to prove their system."

³⁹⁹ J. de Hoop Scheffer, *History of the Free Churchmen: Called The Brownists, Pilgrim Fathers, and Baptists in the Dutch Republic, 1581-1701* (NY: Ithaca: Andrus & Church, 1921).

denounced as inhuman, unreasonable, and indefensible...the doctrine of predestination was condemned as destructive of all moral effort” to improve either self, or society.⁴⁰⁰ Randal’s theological impasse with John Calvin was readily understood when Buzzell recounted Randal’s simplified religious perspective after Randal’s Whitefieldian “conversion” experience.

Buzzell’s account of Randal’s conversion experience was informative, and clarified all the compulsory questions for *why it was* the FWB were to eventually sacrifice all within their means to improve the lives of emancipated slaves and freedmen through a plan of education. They saw themselves, as improving the public welfare of the larger society in which they, and others were living by the war’s end. As Hudson explained it, the Free Will Baptists “emphasized the human role in redemption.”⁴⁰¹ It was quite simple then for Randal, and simply put by him, so that his beliefs were clear and definitive in order to be transmitted through the denomination’s subsequent generations of believers. Buzzell wrote, as Randal dictated: “I [Benjamin Randal] saw in him [Christ] a universal love, a universal atonement, a universal call to mankind, and was confident that none would ever perish, but those who refused to obey it.” With this simple faith guided by *choice*, the Free Will Baptists proceeded with their plan to educate former slaves guided by their “universal” perspective.

Those who adhered to the denomination’s religious canon were thus acutely aware most assuredly by the war’s end that the *choices* they made as individuals had consequences for the many. Their “universal” perspective, their belief in that they were

⁴⁰⁰ Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America: An Historical Account of the Development of American Religious Life*, 1965, 3 ed. (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), 79.

⁴⁰¹ Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America: An Historical Account of the Development of American Religious Life*, 1965, 3 ed. (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), 32

making the correct decision to institute a school in the south for the personal and public betterment, was indeed a principle foundation of their faith; without it, neither the schools nor their denominational staff could have survived. Their survival and success in the post-Civil War Shenandoah Valley hinged on their faith in God, each other, and their fellow man. In such an atmosphere was reared Oren Burbank Cheney, whose father, Moses, “held an unpopular position of conductor on the Underground Railroad and helped flying fugitives on their way to liberty.”⁴⁰² It is with young Cheney that the continuing narrative of Storer College, and its founding “body politic” must by necessity begin.

Emancipationist from Birth: Oren Cheney

Oren Burbank Cheney was born December 10, 1816 into a stolidly abolitionist family, a fact that predisposed him to decry slavery from an early age. His social milieu was based on the period’s fervent activism. In fact, Cheney’s memories and diary includes entries and reminiscences about frequent visits to the family home from long-standing abolitionists and ex-slaves alike: Frederick Douglass, Harriet Livermore, and Nathaniel Peabody Rogers, among others. Their visits often corresponded with stops on the lecture circuit as they traveled to speak at anti-slavery meetings.⁴⁰³

Cheney’s involvement with the abolitionist cause did not abate as he grew older; on the contrary, it grew more determined. When Fort Sumter was fired upon, Cheney was moved to write in his diary: “The freemen of the north are ready. Slavery must die. I

⁴⁰² Emeline Burlingame-Cheney, *The Story of the Life and Work of Oren B. Cheney, Founder and First President of Bates College* (Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House, 1907), 4.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, 5-18.

am ready to die for freedom”.⁴⁰⁴ His activities over the next several months in fact demonstrated his resolve. Cheney’s wife, Emeline Burlingame-Cheney, wrote that her husband grew increasingly concerned about the national situation and its consequences. After the Fort Sumter battle cry, on April 12, 1861, she noted, “Mr. Cheney could not keep away from ‘the front’”.⁴⁰⁵ In 1861, he began a routine of traveling to Washington, D.C. and surrounding vicinities during the summer months to work with the United States Christian Commission. Cheney wrote in his diary that he “[v]isited Camp Jackson...[where t]housands of soldiers came into Washington” on a regular basis.⁴⁰⁶

Quite clearly, Cheney was overcome by what he saw daily. “His country's cause, especially that of the freedom of the slaves, lay so close to his heart,” Mrs. Cheney wrote, “that his newspaper articles [in “The Morning Star”] and diary [we]re full of the passing events” of the day.⁴⁰⁷ A devout Free Will Baptist, Cheney believed that the abolitionist fervor of his denomination could not help but influence those in charge of the war. “He felt so fully assured that the freedom of the slaves was to be the ultimate result of the war,” Mrs. Cheney notes, “that he grew impatient at what seemed to him President Lincoln's tardiness in proclaiming their emancipation, and went to confer with the editor of The Morning Star [the organ of the Free Will Baptists], as to the desirability of sending to the President a Free Baptist memorial, officially signed, asking for immediate emancipation.”⁴⁰⁸

Ultimately, it was in his religion that Cheney saw the true path to freedom for slaves. From the beginning of his involvement with the abolitionist movement, Cheney

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 125.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 126.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 126-27; Daniel J. Hoisington, *Gettysburg and The Christian Commission* (Brunswick, ME: Edinborough Press, 2002).

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 127.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

firmly believed that the education of freedmen was the first step toward their true emancipation. Cheney arranged a meeting and conferred with the editor of “The Morning Star,” as to the desirability of sending “to the President a Free Baptist memorial, officially signed, asking for immediate emancipation”.⁴⁰⁹ This conference with his fellow Baptists indicates two things: (a) the FWB were genuinely “immediate emancipation[ists],” and (b) that Cheney was clearly unafraid to pursue his goals, even as far as the White House, and the Office of the President.

One of Cheney’s primary goals was the establishment of an educational institution. On the morning of April 17, 1867, Cheney and Senator William P. Fessenden visited Secretary Edwin M. Stanton, United States Secretary of War, to discuss abandoned government properties in Harper’s Ferry then under jurisdiction of the War Department. Unfortunately, Secretary Stanton was “in Ohio-returns,” and therefore unavailable to Cheney and Fessenden. Not dissuaded by this setback, Cheney wrote to Nathan Cook Brackett, stating, “it is my duty to remain here until I see him [Stanton]; and I propose to do so”.⁴¹⁰ Any future communication with Cheney by Brackett was to be addressed in “care of W. Hamlin Esq. Office of the Secretary of the Senate”.⁴¹¹

Cheney’s efforts went even further. After speaking to General Oliver Otis Howard, who had “applied to Pres. Sears for a donation from the Peabody fund for his college [Howard University],” Cheney notes his determination to “follow suit in

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 127.

⁴¹⁰ Oren B. Cheney, Washington, D.C., Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N.C. Brackett (Confidential), Harper's Ferry, WV, April 17, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

reference to ours”.⁴¹² On April 17, 1867, Cheney did just that: he diligently appealed for help from administrators in Washington in order to obtain properties in Harper’s Ferry.

At some point in this journey, Cheney developed a “new idea” for the denominational school, which he shared with Brackett in a letter dated April 17, 1867. In his letter, Cheney suggested to Brackett “that if we can get the lease of the 25 acres and the buildings thereon for a term of years, then we strike for the purchase of the whole government property at the Ferry. We can purchase the property probably at a lower price than any other party, for we want it for the public good—and if we can get possession of it, we can sell it and make a good profit by way of endowing the college...I hope you will not let the business matters at the Ferry be delayed a day. If matters work well here, you must close a bargain at almost any price”.⁴¹³

With its focus on bettering the lot of the freedmen, Cheney’s denomination shared his perspective and set about organizing such a school. However, funding fell woefully short of what was needed to establish the sort of institution Cheney and others envisioned. Although the Free Will Baptists were armed with faith, they were forced to turn elsewhere for funding. Two months earlier, In 1867, Cheney had been providentially given the opportunity for which his denomination had been praying: to make the denomination’s plan of education known to a philanthropist named John Storer.

The Mission Begins: The Midnight Meeting of Cheney and Storer

In 1867, in February, Cheney, then president of Bates College, traveled approximately 60 miles from his campus just outside Lewiston, Maine to visit John Storer in Sanford. This

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ Oren B. Cheney, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

visit was friendly, yes, but also fraught with a purpose: to enlist Storer's financial assistance in support of education. When Cheney finally arrived in Sanford, during the first week of February, he discovered that Storer was preparing to "execute a plan" that involved bequeathing \$10,000 to an "organized body" having the capacity to establish a school for freedmen—an institution that potentially could evolve into a "permanent blessing to the colored race" in the South.⁴¹⁴ After a long, introspective conversation that did not end until midnight, Storer finally confessed to Cheney that "'I should like to give it to your people for I honor them [Free Will Baptists] for the position they have taken'" against slavery.⁴¹⁵ During this midnight conversation, Storer had in effect committed \$10,000 to the Free Will Baptists, contingent upon the requirements that the denomination organize a committee, raise matching funds, manage both the school and its endowment, and locate the school in a permanent facility with potential growth in mind—all before January 1, 1868. To even the most casual observer, the task for the small denomination might have appeared overwhelming. Nonetheless, on February 6, 1867, Storer and Cheney "[wrote] out a plan for a Freedmen's College" in the south that was endorsed by both men.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁴ Edwin Emery, "John Storer," in *The History of Sanford, Maine, 1661-1900*, ed. William Morrell Emery (Fall River, Massachusetts: Published by the Compiler, 1901), 507-08; Henry S. Burrage, *History of the Baptists in Maine* (Portland, ME: Marks Printing House, 1904), 47-61; Burlingame-Cheney, *The Story of the Life and Work of Oren B. Cheney, Founder and First President of Bates College*, 159-60;

⁴¹⁵ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College,," Burlingame-Cheney, *The Story of the Life and Work of Oren B. Cheney, Founder and First President of Bates College*, 159-60.

⁴¹⁶ Acts of the Legislature of West Virginia, , Page 106th Leg., Sixth Session, Commencing January 21st, 1868th Sess. § 117.1 (West Virginia 1868); Joseph Jr. Barry, *The Annals of Harper's Ferry: From the Establishment of the National Armory in 1794, To the Present Time, 1869* (Hagerstown, MD: Dechert & Company Printers, 1869), 57; M. F. Maury and W. M. Fontaine, *Resources of West Virginia* (Wheeling, WV: Register Company, Printers, 1876), 359; Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 594; Henry T. McDonald, "Storer College," in *History of Education in West Virginia*, ed. Thomas C. Miller (Charleston, WV: The Tribune Printing Company, 1904), 292-94; Byrd Prillerman, "Development of the Colored School System," in *History of Education in West Virginia*, ed. Thomas C. Miller (1904), 295-98; John Parker Boyd Storer, jstorer@ezonline.com, Telephone Conversation with

A Benefactor: John Storer

John Storer was born on January 18, 1796, in the southeastern coastal town of Wells, Maine.⁴¹⁷ When he was fourteen, he left his family to attend Bowdoin College, from which he graduated in 1812.⁴¹⁸ By 1820, at the age of 24, Storer had married Wells native Meribah Hobbs—with whom he would have six children—was working as a shipping clerk in Kennebunk for Benjamin Smith and Horace Porter, when his employers suggested that lucrative business opportunities in shipping trades were possible for him in nearby Sanford. The “Maine district” had just shed its northern, Massachusetts territory status for statehood when, on March 15, 1820, it was awarded its statehood in conjunction with the Missouri Compromise. It was primed for business particularly along the inter-coastal waterways and rivers. Sanford was situated along the Mousam River in the southwestern portion of Maine in York County, bordering the State of New Hampshire.⁴¹⁹ If Storer was willing to relocate there, Smith and Porter ventured, they would financially underwrite the business. Thus it was that Storer ended up in the river town of Sanford—at a time when the potential for capitalist ventures was rising and the question of slavery was growing.⁴²⁰

In fact, New England as a whole was the center of anti-slavery sentiment, particularly among religious organizations. While conducting business between Sanford and Portland, Storer likely came in contact with several New England Baptists, Congregationalists, Unitarians, and Transcendalists, many of whom were anti-slavery

Dawne Raines Burke, re: John Storer (Great-Grandfather) (July 31, 2002); Burlingame-Cheney, *The Story of the Life and Work of Oren B. Cheney, Founder and First President of Bates College*, 160.

⁴¹⁷ Emery, "John Storer," 507-08; Storer, Telephone Conversation with Dawe Raines Burke.

⁴¹⁸ Storer, Telephone Conversation with Dawe Raines Burke.

⁴¹⁹ Emery, "John Storer," 507-08; W. W. Stetson and B. A. Hinsdale, *History and Civil Government of Maine* (Chicago, IL: Werner School Book Company, 1898), 35-60; Edwin Emery, *The History of Sanford, Maine, 1661-1900* (Fall River, Massachusetts: Published by the Compiler, 1901), 507.

⁴²⁰ Stetson and B. A. Hinsdale, *History and Civil Government of Maine*, 35-60.

advocates who had organized various aspects of their denomination's opposition to slavery in the New England states. Although Storer was a professed Congregationalist, he frequented the company of Free Will Baptists because he "was deeply interested in the history and aims of [the] denomination" during his lifetime.⁴²¹ Storer first became aware of the Baptists' wide-ranging activities through his housekeeper, Mary Bachelder, who was a devout Free Baptist and often read to her employer from such Baptist publications as: "The Freewill Baptist Register," "The Morning Star," and "The Freewill Baptist Magazine, or Quarterly."⁴²² Although his health was not always good, Storer was still mentally and socially adept; a keen businessman, and he used every opportunity to keep abreast of prominent social issues of his day.⁴²³ Bachelder's reading sessions kept Storer informed about some of the century's most controversial issues: temperance, women's suffrage, anti-slavery, emancipation, benevolent and missionary enterprises, colonization, and territorial expansion such as the corresponding actions out of which Maine's statehood was acquired.⁴²⁴ So outspoken on these issues was the Baptist organ, "The Morning Star," that it drew the attention of New Hampshire legislators, who brought a "[c]ruel pressure . . . against [it] on account of its outspoken position concerning slavery".⁴²⁵ For awhile, the presses of the Free Will Baptist Printing Establishment were stopped. From such radical efforts, Storer received a solid education on humanitarian goals. So concerned was he about the plight of the slaves that he traveled directly to

⁴²¹ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College,".

⁴²² Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 543-47; Emery, *The History of Sanford, Maine, 1661-1900*, 506; McClain, "Storer College: Harper's Ferry, West Virginia (1865 - 1897)," 21.

⁴²³ Storer, Telephone Conversation with Dawe Raines Burke; Emery, *The History of Sanford, Maine, 1661-1900*, 507.

⁴²⁴ Emery, *The History of Sanford, Maine, 1661-1900*, 230-39, 250-52, 277-99.

⁴²⁵ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 544.

Harper's Ferry to speak with Brackett, "who was then organizing and superintending mission schools in the Valley of Virginia."⁴²⁶

During these years, Storer witnessed the unswerving "history" of the small Baptist denomination as it began to unfold.⁴²⁷ Perhaps one of the last letters he wrote before his death to the denomination, dated October 3, 1867, best describes his sentiment toward them. In this missive, he claims, "I knew your people more than sixty years ago, and have traced their progress with wonder and admiration since; and can but exclaim, "What hath God wrought!"⁴²⁸ This level of commitment to the denomination and their "history" ultimately led Storer to proclaim to Cheney, during their 1867 winter meeting, that because of "the position they ha[d] taken" against slavery he viewed the Free Will Baptists with "honor" for their strong sense of human dignity.⁴²⁹

Unfortunately, before Storer could make the long journey to witness first-hand the operation of the "Southern enterprise" his contribution helped to establish, on October 23, 1867, at the age of 71, he died after suffering an "attack of typhoid fever" from which he never recovered.⁴³⁰ According to Emery, Storer's death was precipitated by prolonged "[g]rief at [Meribah's] death [seven years earlier] and anxiety on account of the war."⁴³¹ Although Storer had been plagued throughout his life by periodic illnesses, biographers

⁴²⁶ Benjamin S. Morgan and J. F. Cork, *History of Education in West Virginia* (Charleston, WV: Moses W. Donally, Printer, 1893), 185.

⁴²⁷ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College,"

⁴²⁸ "Storer College," *Morning Star* (Dover, NH), August 26, 1867, 11/6.

⁴²⁹ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College," 15.

⁴³⁰ "Storer College," 11/6; Rasmussen, "Sixty-Four Edited Letters of the Founders of Storer College," 16; Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College,"; Alfred Mongin, "A College in Secessia: The Early Years of Storer College," *West Virginia History* 23, no. 4 (July 1962): 2, 263-68.

⁴³¹ Emery, *The History of Sanford, Maine, 1661-1900*, 508.

believe that the combination of these two events “completely broke him down and shortened his life.”⁴³²

Before his death, Storer—an avowed Whig—served the Sanford community as “selectman and member of the school committee,” and for a year he acted as the postmaster of Springvale.⁴³³ Emery describes Storer, as “a genuine contributor to charitable and religious organizations,” adding that “[d]uring the Civil War no other man in town had the Union cause more at heart”.⁴³⁴ Prior to his death, Storer “offered to erect a monument in memory of the soldiers at Sanford” who had fought in the Civil War.⁴³⁵ However, Sanford declined Storer’s offer because of specified “conditions” which likely involved the township assuming partial responsibility by raising matching funds.⁴³⁶

Storer’s burial service, conducted October 25, 1867, was attended by a large crowd. As a final indication of the direction in which his religious patronage had moved, the funeral of the man who had been in his lifetime a Congregationalist was officiated by Davis and Day, Free Will Baptist ministers.⁴³⁷ Two weeks later, “The Morning Star” reported to the denomination that “[John Storer] was not nominally a member of the Free Baptist denomination, but his sympathies had been more and more identifying him with us as a people,” and that his “interest in the school which he really founded was very deep, and during the last weeks of his life he expressed great gratitude that God had permitted him to live to know that it [Storer College] had become a fact”.⁴³⁸ Although Davis and Day formally represented the denomination at Storer’s funeral, several Free

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ Emery, "John Storer," 507-08.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ "Storer College," 11/6.

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

Will Baptists were in attendance since the congregation as a whole realized—even if from a distance—that John Storer was a man, as “fixed as the hills” when it came to two things: executing good business practices and supporting those less fortunate than he.⁴³⁹ It would now be up to the denomination to make Storer’s vision a reality, but they would be assisted in their efforts by a key contact in Washington: Storer’s fellow Bowdoin College alumnus and then-Senator William Pitt Fessenden.

Storer College’s Washington Advocate: William Pitt Fessenden

One of Storer’s fellow Bowdoin-alumnus, financier and statesman William Pitt Fessenden was born in 1806 in New Hampshire, but throughout his legal career he would be associated with the state of Maine. An 1823 graduate of Bowdoin College, Fessenden was admitted to the bar and then opened his first law practice in Portland, assisting his father Samuel, who was already well known for his abolitionist stance.

When the mission of organizing Storer College was undertaken, Fessenden assumed the role of financial administrator over Storer’s bequeathal. As such, he was responsible for verifying that the Free Will Baptist commissioners indeed met all of the requirements established by Storer, including timely collection and verifiable submission of matching funds. In the early stages of development of the mission, Fessenden also assisted Cheney toward his goal of acquiring the Harper’s Ferry property.

On Thursday, April 19, 1867, Cheney and Fessenden attempted to meet in pursuit of this goal with Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, who unfortunately had to cancel

⁴³⁹ Oren B. Cheney, Lewiston, ME, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N.C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, March 15, 1867, West Virginia Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

the meeting because he was detained by the “Ohio-returns.”⁴⁴⁰ Although Stanton was not expected to return until the next day, Fessenden encouraged Cheney to remain until he had spoken with the Secretary regarding “permanent” occupancy by the Free Will Baptists of the federal buildings on Camp Hill in Harper’s Ferry. Keenly aware of Fessenden’s political acumen, Cheney stayed. Truth be told, Cheney also believed if the conference with officials was deferred, the “delay would have been at the sacrifice of all” work toward the Shenandoah Mission and the promise of its educational enterprise.⁴⁴¹ The Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society simply ran the risk of missing the chance to secure the government buildings. Cheney and Fessenden alike wanted the matter settled before the next congressional adjournment. Cheney waited patiently albeit anxiously for Stanton’s return in order to make the next step appeal to General Oliver Otis Howard should the need arise. The Baptists’ political sagacity and Job-like patience finally paid off when they were given verbal approval, in 1867, to occupy the buildings on Camp Hill until the matter was ultimately settled on December 15th, 1868 by an Act of Congress although James Calder, a future college president expressed certain reservations.⁴⁴²

⁴⁴⁰ Oren B. Cheney, Office of Secretary of U.S. Senate; Washington, D.C., Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, April 19, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴⁴² *United States, Cong., An Act Providing for the Sale of the Lands, Tenements, and Water Privileges Belonging to the United States at and Near Harpers Ferry, in the County of Jefferson, West Virginia* (Bargain and Sale, 15 December 1868); *Spirit of Jefferson* 12 March 1868: 2, col. 4-5.

An Early Advocate of Diversity: James Calder

On March 18, 1867, Calder wrote Brackett in Harper's Ferry, ostensibly to express regrets that the latter could not attend a church convention in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.⁴⁴³

Speaking from the perspective of a college administrator, Calder then gets to the true point of his letter: he disagreed with the plan of the Home Mission Society's "board of corporators" to use "color" as a delineating factor for the school's establishment.⁴⁴⁴

Calder emphatically states, "This plan for a 'Colored College' does not strike me favorably. We, as a denomination, profess to be opposed to caste, and claim that all our institutions should be open to black students. Why should we now build a college from which white students shall be excluded? Away with all caste [stet]. I fear this is a snare for us which the devil has moved a Congregationalist to tempt us with" making an indirect reference to Storer's pledge.⁴⁴⁵ Nonetheless, Calder accepted the invitation to join the "commission," and the "commission" benefited from Calder's varied background.

Early in his career, Calder had been exposed to various foreign and domestic environments that helped shape, broaden, and define his role on the "commission."

Between 1851 and 1854 James Calder and his new bride of barely one year were foreign missionaries to "Foo-Chow," China. When their foreign mission was completed, life for

⁴⁴³ James Calder, Harrisburg, PA, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, March 18, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

⁴⁴⁴ James Calder, Free Will Baptist Correspondence; I. D. Stewart, Dover, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to Ebenezer Knowlton, Harper's Ferry, WV, January 4, 1868, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322; James M. Brewster, Morning Star Office; Dover, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, February 7, 1868, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

⁴⁴⁵ James Calder, Harrisburg, PA, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, March 18, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

the Calders lay elsewhere: eventually, they returned home to Pennsylvania.⁴⁴⁶ Once back in the states, Calder was appointed editor of “The Church Advocate,” which was another denominational publication. In 1857, Calder was solicited for, and accepted the temporary principalship for Shippensburg Collegiate Institute, the predecessor of Shippensburg University although Calder would not stay very long.

One year later, in 1858, Calder accepted a position as “professor of Belles-lettres” at Pennsylvania Female College, but continued to edit “The Church Advocate” and minister to a growing congregation at Bethel Church. In 1862, Calder’s congregation voted to combine with the Free Will Baptist denomination. Afterward, Calder and his congregation erected the First Free Baptist Church in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on the corner of State and Fourth Streets. While Calder acted as pastor of the Baptist church, he began active work on behalf of “The Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South” to institute a college in the south in 1867. Two years after Storer’s agreed charter, in 1869, Calder relocated to Hillsdale, Michigan to assume the presidency of Hillsdale College, the Free Will Baptists’ college facility in the west.⁴⁴⁷ Calder remained Hillsdale’s principal administrator for the following two years until the death, in 1871, of his Pennsylvania colleague, Thomas Henry Burrowes. With Burrowes’ death, Calder accepted the presidency of Pennsylvania State College, the antecedent of Pennsylvania State University. During his tenure as president, Calder diversified the student

⁴⁴⁶ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 99.

⁴⁴⁷ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1870, Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Normal Department, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Freewill Baptist Printing Establishment: Dover, NH.

population, in 1871, by convincing the school's Board of Trustees to admit the first women into the school's programs.⁴⁴⁸

From *The Morning Star* to Missioner: Silas Curtis

Unlike Calder, who expressed reservations about the exclusionary charter's language and legal descriptor: "colored," Curtis expressed concern with financing the school instead. He confided to Brackett his anxiety: "our funds are becoming low & the prospect ahead for any increase is not very flattering."⁴⁴⁹ The Free Will Baptists had sent members of the denomination—north and south—to specifically collect donations for school support, but Curtis was worried about the lack of funds being generated. Curtis shared his worries with Brackett, noting that "Bro. Stockman is in the field as agent, but he does not appear to be getting much money—I think we shall not be able to employ so many teachers next year as we have this year & I hardly know how to pay these bills."⁴⁵⁰ The reservations expressed by Curtis suggest that the minister possessed a shrewd financial sense that would need to be satisfied. For such an educational enterprise to succeed, his position suggests, much financial groundwork must still be laid.

Curtis is known not only for his attention to detail but also for his diligent pursuit of church expansion and humanitarian efforts. Some biographers attribute his zeal in this area to the loss of his only child, which occurred when he was pastor of the Free Will Baptist Church in Lowell, Massachusetts. It is true that hard on the heels of this tragedy,

⁴⁴⁸ Penn State University Libraries, "Penn State Presidents and Their Achievements," *Penn State University Archives*, <<http://www.libraries.psu.edu/crsweb/>> <http://www.libraries.psu.edu/crsweb/speccol/psua/psgeneralhistory/presidents/calder.htm>, 1996.

⁴⁴⁹ Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, May 6, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

⁴⁵⁰ Silas Curtis, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

Curtis began to direct his energies toward denominational expansion and enterprise. He was, in fact, the major impetus behind the denominational organ “The Morning Star,” which Burgess and Ward refer to as indicative of the “era of great prosperity” in Baptist history.⁴⁵¹ In addition, Curtis is credited with “founding educational institutions and the organization of benevolent societies” within the Free Will Baptist denomination that ultimately played a crucial role in Storer’s institution and subsequent development.⁴⁵² With three other like-minded ministers, Curtis convened an “educational convention” out of which grew the Education Society and Biblical School that supported the Baptists “Southern enterprise” to effect “moral” and “Christian character” in the school while teaching literacy skills to freedmen and their families.

For thirty years, Curtis served as Corresponding Secretary for the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society from 1839 – 1869, a position of tremendous responsibility given the number of outlying ministers and missionaries working in the south. Through the Corresponding Secretary, Curtis, all information to and from mission teachers, preachers, mission stations and centers was transmitted. When the war ended, Curtis was one of the first Free Baptist emissaries to work in Virginia. Two years before Brackett’s formal appointment, in 1867, Curtis was in fact appointed “superintendent of the work among the freedmen, and afterwards visited the schools and mission stations in Shenandoah Valley”.⁴⁵³ In the history of Storer College, Curtis’s name must stand alongside those of Cheney, Brackett, and others.

Although he expressed some reservation about its establishment, as did Calder, Curtis proves by his history of activities that he was nonetheless an early advocate for the

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 544.

⁴⁵² Ibid., 146.

⁴⁵³ Ibid., 146.

“Southern enterprise” and a vanguard in the movement.⁴⁵⁴ On many levels, his concern was indeed justified. Despite such reservations, however, the society proceeded with its plans: they set about selecting someone to take charge of operations at the Shenandoah mission, plus someone to act as superintendent of schools. The society and its commission collectively decided that on the best combination to lead the project: the Reverends Alexander Hatch Morrell and Nathan Cook Brackett.

The society sent Morrell to Harper’s Ferry to “take charge of the missionary operations” at the Shenandoah Mission while at the same time they officially appointed Brackett as Superintendent of Schools. From 1867 – 1880, Morrell functioned as the mission’s religious administrator while Brackett, for that period and many years thereafter, coordinated educational activities and filled various administrative roles to ensure that “[t]he church & school [would] be mutual auxiliaries” creating greater efficiency and increased resourcefulness.⁴⁵⁵

A Man For Religious Leadership: Alexander Hatch Morrell

Alexander Hatch Morrell was selected by the society for his gifts of religious leadership and devotion, but also for his broad appeal. Burgess and Ward refer to him as the “ideal pastor” who was “a clear and forcible reasoner [sic] and a good sermonizer [sic]” while Kate J. Anthony claims that Morrell was the “model missionary”.⁴⁵⁶ Morrell was also known as a caring, sympathetic man interested in the “welfare of those about him,” for whom he assumed spiritual responsibility in a “heartly and genuine” manner, although he

⁴⁵⁴ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College".

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., 594; George T. Day, Morning Star Office; Dover, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, November 18, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

⁴⁵⁶ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 436-37; Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College,".

was “never intrusive” while shepherding his flocks.⁴⁵⁷ During revival meetings, he delivered sermons with “remarkable power and sweetness,” and his religious charisma made him “a favorite with the old, the middle-aged and even the children, whom he never forgot”.⁴⁵⁸ Morrell’s appeal to children—paired with his affinity for children—gave him an advantage with the Home Mission Society and thus in part prompted their commissioning of him to invigorate the mission’s religious component, and provide spiritual sustenance for the FWB-HMS’s mission workers.

For his own part, Morrell was inclined to go to Harper’s Ferry since he was an original member of the “The Commission For the Promotion of Education in the South”.⁴⁵⁹ Morrell was thus acquainted with the operations in the valley, and his primary task was to organize churches in support of the mission.⁴⁶⁰ Since Morrell was designated as the mission’s religious leader, some of his duties also included regular reports to the denomination’s “Morning Star” and “Freeman,” which were widely disseminated throughout New England, and the “Berkeley Union,” a weekly newspaper published in bordering Berkeley County in Martinsburg.⁴⁶¹ By such reports, it was hoped that Morrell would cultivate and maintain positive relationships with both local and distant communities regarding the denomination’s work in the valley by enlarging their understanding for the Baptist’s mission, progress, and needs.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁷ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 436-37.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ Commission For the Promotion of Education in the South, "[Free Will Baptist] Circular."

⁴⁶⁰ George T. Day, Morning Star Office; Dover, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, November 18, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322; George T. Day, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

⁴⁶¹ George T. Day, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

⁴⁶² I. D. Stewart, Dover, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, March 3, 1868, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322; George T. Day, Free Will Baptist Correspondence; *Martinsburg New Era* 30 November 1865: 2, abstract, *Berkeley County & Regional Collection; Martinsburg-Berkeley County Public Library; Virginia*

By the time Morrell finally arrived in Harper's Ferry, the society had so sharply defined his duties that he, along with Brackett, knew exactly how to proceed with the work of the Shenandoah Mission. Morrell was given "oversight of the churches and people, giving much-needed instruction in all that pertains to social and religious life," which left Brackett and the mission teachers to concentrate on the mission schools and general educational development.⁴⁶³ The denomination realized the importance of Morrell's configuration into the "Southern enterprise."⁴⁶⁴

Within a year after moving to Harper's Ferry, however, Morrell was beset by an unknown illness, as noted by Brackett.⁴⁶⁵ Any illness associated with Morrell's work was disconcerting to the society since it heavily relied on his ability to function as "pastor" to their churches and mission center, and as their "soliciting agent" for funding in addition to student recruitment.⁴⁶⁶ Morrell's leadership was a vital aspect of the mission center and the school network that it sponsored. Kate Anthony, an active member in the Woman's Home Missionary Society, asserts that Morrell was a special person "whose heart had been strongly drawn to the work, [and] was sent to Harper's Ferry by the Home Mission Society to engage in special missionary efforts and build up Free Baptist churches."⁴⁶⁷ Despite his illness, during the thirteen years that he served as "pastor" and "soliciting agent" for the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society, the denomination at large concluded that "he performed a most useful work" for the

Free Press 3 January 1870: 2; *Spirit of Jefferson* 10 October 1871: 2; *Virginia Free Press* 14 October 1871: 2; *Virginia Free Press* 13 June 1874: 3.

⁴⁶³ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 594.

⁴⁶⁴ Anthony, "Historical Sketch," 4.

⁴⁶⁵ I. D. Stewart, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

⁴⁶⁶ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 436-37.

⁴⁶⁷ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College," 7.

Shenandoah Mission and thus helped to stabilize its progression during the greatest period of its vulnerability.⁴⁶⁸

A Superintendent is Chosen: Nathan Cook Brackett

The commission's choice for superintendent came swiftly. Before June 10, 1867, Isaac Dalton Stewart communicated to Nathan Cook Brackett that the Home Mission Society had voted to elect him "[its] Superintendent of Schools in the Shenandoah Valley for the year ensuing."⁴⁶⁹ The choice was a logical one, for Brackett had long been a devoted denominational laborer.

Brackett was born on July 28, 1836 in Phillips, Maine. He attended nearby Phillips High School and later the Maine State Seminary, in Lewiston, where he met Oren Burbank Cheney who had been a major impetus behind the "Southern enterprise" from its inception.⁴⁷⁰ After leaving seminary, Brackett entered Dartmouth College, from which he graduated in 1864. From 1864 – 1865, after a short stint in South Carolina, Brackett followed Sheridan's Union Army Corps wagons throughout the Shenandoah Valley, and into Harper's Ferry as a representative of the United States Christian Commission.⁴⁷¹ In the Valley, Brackett's responsibilities were varied and—with so much

⁴⁶⁸ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 594.

⁴⁶⁹ I. D. Stewart, Northwood, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, June 10, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

⁴⁷⁰ Anthony, "Historical Sketch," 4.

⁴⁷¹ Nathan Cook Brackett, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, Storer College Collection, Vertical File: Binder, 1861-1865, ND, Journal Entry, Library & Curatorial Services; Mary Clemmer Ames, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, Storer College Collection, Vertical File Binder: 1866, "The Independent: Yankee Teachers in the Valley of Virginia," Library & Curatorial Services, HAFE (photocopy); *United States Christian Commission: Fourth Annual Report*, Storer College Archives, Vertical File Binder: U.S. Christian Commission (1866), by J. R. Miller, General Field Agent (1 January 1866), 1-20; Louise Wood Brackett, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, Storer College Archives, Vertical File: Correspondence, Notes & Reports, Etc.: Brackett, Newcomer, McDonald Collection, Volume I, 1892, File: Typescript Copy of Brackett's Public Address at Curtis Memorial Church, Storer College: A Chapter of History, Harper's

to accomplish—seemingly never fulfilled. He transferred soldiers’ pay—from both confederate and union forces—to the railroads’ agents to ship back home to family members for safekeeping. He ministered to the troops. He observed, storing what he saw and heard and experienced for future reference.

Although he worked tirelessly during this period, according to Burgess and Ward, Brackett’s “great work has been in connection with the Shenandoah Mission” relative to the postwar years.⁴⁷² Complementing his domestic mission in the Shenandoah Valley, Brackett was also a member of the Free Will Baptist Foreign Mission Board from 1878 – 1883. In addition, he was a member of the General Conference Board and the Board of Corporators for “The Morning Star,” which under the organizational aegis of the Free Will Baptist Printing Establishment helped acquire vital financing for educational efforts in the Shenandoah Valley when the time came to quickly disseminate information throughout the denomination.⁴⁷³

Brackett’s devotion and commitment eventually cultivated respect from the local community, among educational circles, and certainly within the denominational enterprise. A native from Harper’s Ferry, Joseph Barry, Jr. wrote that Brackett was a

Ferry National Historic Park, Library; Anne Dudley Bates, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, Storer College Collection, Vertical File Binder: 1909-1910, 18 August, 1910, File: 983-85, Tribute to Dr. Brackett, Library & Curatorial Services, HAFE; Henry T. McDonald, President's Memoir: In reference to Brackett and U.S. Calvary Escorts in the Shenandoah Valley (Storer College, Harper's Ferry, WV, 23 October 1937); Mary Brackett Robertson, "Traditions and Memories," Public Address: Founder's Day (Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Library & Curatorial Services: Storer College Collection, 26 February 1937), Vertical File Binder: Correspondence, Notes & Reports, Etc.: Brackett, Newcomer, McDonald Collection, Vol. 1 (1936); Also see: Daniel J. Hoisington, *Gettysburg and The Christian Commission* (Brunswick, ME: Edinborough Press, 2002). Hoisington elaborates on the objectives of the U.S. Christian Commission. Hoisington’s essay collection is largely based on primary data compiled from U.S.C.C. delegates, commissioners, and other witnesses during the commission’s zenith. Hoisington includes a quote from Walt Whitman who was disgusted with the mercenary tactics that began to emerge and escalate within such competing male-dominated, religious-type charities during the Civil War that were trying to justify their existence. Whitman witnessing these unfolding actions was then provoked to claim that “the only good fellows I have met are the Christian Commissioners—they go everywhere and receive no pay” for their services and activities, 8.

⁴⁷² Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 67.

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

“courteous gentleman, and [wa]s highly respected by the people generally”.⁴⁷⁴ In 1821, Brackett received official endorsement from one of West Virginia’s premiere educators, Dr. Carter Goodwin Woodson, who after teaching in the state for several years, complimented Brackett on “the successful work being accomplished there [at Storer College] under the direction of Dr. N.C. Brackett—[since it was] the only effort for secondary education for Negroes in the State” until the 1890 Morrill Act.⁴⁷⁵ Burgess and Ward claim that without Brackett’s “talent and learning, [and his] marked patience, persistence, and discretion, [which] have been devoted to the elevation of the freedmen in morals, education, and piety,” domestic missions as a whole would have suffered in the valley.⁴⁷⁶

The mission school “work was prosecuted with energy and success,” by Brackett and the mission teacher cohort, although the superintendent’s responsibilities were somewhat alleviated by the arrival of Morrell.⁴⁷⁷ In 1867, Brackett was situated to further advance not only the educational groundwork of the Shenandoah Mission but also to broaden his own personal knowledge regarding West Virginia’s political infrastructure. Although Brackett was Maine-born and New Hampshire-educated, by this date, he had been in West Virginia so long and worked for its interests with such fervor

⁴⁷⁴ Barry, *The Annals of Harper's Ferry: From the Establishment of the National Armory in 1794, To the Present Time, 1869*, 57.

⁴⁷⁵ Carter G. Woodson, "Studies in Social Science: Early Negro Education in West Virginia," ed. Carter G. Woodson, 3 (Institute, West Virginia: The West Virginia Collegiate Institute, December 1921), 40.

⁴⁷⁶ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 67; Virgil A. Lewis, "Early Education in West Virginia," in *History of Education in West Virginia*, ed. Thomas C. Miller (Charleston, WV: The Tribune Printing Company, 1904), 17-54; Prillerman, "Development of the Colored School System," 295-98.

⁴⁷⁷ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 594.

that, according to Bates, he considered it “his adopted State,” and was buried in Harper’s Ferry in 1910.⁴⁷⁸

During 1864 – 1865, Brackett was in a position to observe first-hand the partitioning of the newly-organized state, as well as the geographical, social, economic, and political developments beginning to take shape there.⁴⁷⁹ Prepared or not, Brackett was thrust into the reality of southern politics. The southern socio-political context forcibly shaped Brackett’s mission school network, influenced the subsequent mission’s organization, and contributed to the mission teachers’ social ostracization.⁴⁸⁰

Thus it is small wonder that in 1867, when the commission considered candidates for superintendent of the new school, Brackett’s name was virtually without parallel. His past efforts on behalf of the denomination indicated that he could be trusted with the most difficult of assignments. Simultaneously with being named superintendent, Brackett received additional orders from the commission. In a letter received by the new superintendent on June 10, the Home Mission Society Secretary, I. D. Stewart informed Brackett of several decisions made by the denomination: the society had voted to employ and sustain twelve (12) permanent mission teachers; Brackett was required to implement and “arrange a system of tuition” for the 1868-69 school term “with discretion to remit to

⁴⁷⁸ Bates, "Tribute to Dr. Brackett."

⁴⁷⁹ Brackett, "Storer College: A Chapter of History,"; Otis K. Rice and Stephen W. Brown, *West Virginia: A History* (KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 140-254; James E. Taylor, *With Sheridan Up The Shenandoah Valley in 1864* (Cleveland, OH: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1989); Gary Gallagher, *Struggle For the Shenandoah: Essays on the 1864 Valley Campaign* (Kent State University, 1991).

⁴⁸⁰ "Home Mission Society," Anne S. Dudley: Address Before the Home Mission Society, *Morning Star* (Dover, New Hampshire), 23 October 1867, XLII, Anniversaries: 131: 131; Jacqueline Jones, "Foreward," in *Sarah Jane Foster: Teacher of the Freedmen, A Diary and Letters*, ed. Wayne E. Reilly (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 12-13, 20; Sarah Jane Foster, "Letters from West Virginia, 1865-1866," in *Sarah Jane Foster, Teacher of the Freedmen: A Diary and Letters*, FWB mission teacher diary, ed. Wayne E. Reilly (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 48-52, 54, 85; Silas Curtis, Dover, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, December 8, 1865, West Virginia Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322; Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N.C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, Feb 8, 1866, Storer College Archives: Vertical File: Binder 1866; Ames, "149-156,".

indigent pupils;” and he was to ensure that mission teachers were not allowed “to remain in the Valley” between school terms.⁴⁸¹ Until the FWB-HMS could assure their physical safety and psychological resilience, the society believed it best to send the mission teachers back to New England to recuperate among family and friends while at the same time to relate their experiences in the south to the denomination’s various invested societies.

In quick succession, then, the denomination had chosen the people who would staff its schools and had begun the process of directing its work. However, the hardest part of the job—funding and creating the school itself—was yet to be accomplished. It had begun with great fervor two months before when Brackett had been chosen superintendent.

Funding Begins in Earnest

In April 1867, Cheney met in Harrisburg with two other members of his organizational subcommittee, George Ball and Calder, and the trio proceeded to a meeting with Secretary Simon Cameron, in the War Department, from whom they sought political support as well as an opinion regarding the denomination’s likelihood of securing the federal buildings on Camp Hill. During this meeting, it was also decided that “at the proper time” when Calder believed that Governor Boreman of West Virginia was approachable, Calder with his varied background and educational experience was directed by the denomination to request state aid amounting to \$50,000. Since Ball was from Buffalo, he became responsible for advancing a plea in New York on behalf of the

⁴⁸¹ I. D. Stewart, Free Will Baptist Correspondence; Rasmussen, "Sixty-Four Edited Letters of the Founders of Storer College," 99-100.

educational commission to freedmen's aid and benevolent societies. Ball was specifically directed to contact Gerrit Smith, who subsequently donated \$500 to the mission enterprise.⁴⁸² A longstanding and "stalwart antislavery leader," Smith was known from the beginning of the antislavery movement for his New York speeches that "demanded" unqualified emancipation, and he often used his private home as sanctuary for runaway slaves braving the long trip north in search of a new life.⁴⁸³

With the commission's efforts off and running, that same April, Cheney posted a letter from Providence, Rhode Island to Brackett, indicating that the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society "thought best to have some kind of an organization at once" in order to advance their strategies.⁴⁸⁴ Brackett was asked to read the secretary's notes on the meeting with Cameron and sign the conference paper for approval, returning it as soon as possible. Time was of the essence. In Washington, General Howard was also involved in the denomination's efforts but likewise had developed plans for a normal school in the national district. Howard ultimately would be competing against the denomination for a share in philanthropists' funding for the district's college named in his honor. Cheney contacted General Howard in Washington in order "to make his conditional subscription to this 'provisional committee' for the reason that he may die, or Johnson may remove him before we can get 'incorporated.' If he will make the subscription to us, we will give bonds for the safe keeping of funds" toward accumulating

⁴⁸² Oren B. Cheney, Providence, RI, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, April 25, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

⁴⁸³ Carter G. Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 5 (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1928), 322-23; John Hope Franklin Jr. and Alfred A. Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1988), 155, 177; E. Allen Richardson, "Architects of a Benevolent Empire: The Relationship Between the American Missionary Association and the Freedmen's Bureau in Virginia, 1865-1872," in *The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction*, ed. Paul A. Cimbala and Randall M. Miller (NY: Fordham University Press, 1999), 92.

⁴⁸⁴ Oren B. Cheney, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

the necessary matched funds for the “Southern enterprise.”⁴⁸⁵ Cheney had to ensure that the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society’s plan was comparable to Howard’s conception for a normal school in Washington—a school that would later become Howard University, instituted the same year as Storer in 1867.⁴⁸⁶

The paths of both men, and both projects, ultimately led to New York and Dr. Barnas Sears, Director of the Peabody Education Fund. Cheney discussed several options with Sears, requesting that Sears forward a “Peabody Circular” to Brackett in Harper’s Ferry. Like Howard, Cheney was specifically interested in Sears’ requirements for normal school scholarships entailing tuitions and boarding costs. After Sears had informed Cheney of what he needed to know and Brackett had signed the “commission’s” proposed school plan, Cheney then circulated the plan to Day, Knowlton, Curtis, Brewster and Goodwin. Their signatures were presented first to “Bro. Storer” to verify that every effort and progress was in operation.⁴⁸⁷

Efforts continued unabated. The commission’s secretary, Jonathan Brewster, forwarded FWB-HMS circulars to Brackett outlining the duties and responsibilities of everyone involved in the enterprise. Brewster directed Brackett to “distribute [the circulars] to the persons for which they are intended”.⁴⁸⁸ Specifically, Brewster noted, “Please inform Mr. Ames that [he] is a member of the committee to raise funds, and explain to him the nature of his duties. Please also inform us here when the deed of the land is actually made out so that the state[ment of its completion], may appear in the

⁴⁸⁵ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College, 4."

⁴⁸⁶ Oren B. Cheney, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

⁴⁸⁷ Rasmussen, "Sixty-Four Edited Letters of the Founders of Storer College," 85-88.

⁴⁸⁸ J. M. Brewster, Dover, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, June 17, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

Star.”⁴⁸⁹ With funds rising and the acquisition of the land nearing, the denomination’s efforts moved closer to fruition. Nonetheless, some hurdles—primarily financial—remained. Periodically, in order to meet monthly payments, the commission was forced to “hire money personally”.⁴⁹⁰ Cheney was among those who did so in order to help the school become a reality.

In May, after much discussion among members of the Home Mission Society, Curtis sent Brackett a letter from Concord, in which he expressed directly his desire for a normal school. “I wish to have that course taken which will be best for the cause and the least expensive for our funds are growing low & we must study economy in all our outlays,” Curtis wrote. “I am decidedly in favor of a normal [stet] school as soon as we can obtain a place without incurring a debt.”⁴⁹¹ It was Curtis’ opinion that “[n]o colleges nor universities [sic, stet] for the Freedmen will be needed for years to come & we had better attend to their present needs—I would be glad enough of the property at Harper’s Ferry if you consider that a good healthy location & we can get the property. I am in favor of getting all the Bureau will let us have—& all we can get—I should hope to secure the 10,000 of Mr. Storer” in order to proceed with their plan for educating freedmen.⁴⁹²

The sum promised by Storer was indeed forthcoming, but in the meantime additional matching funds were arriving, piecemeal but steadily. After learning that the Freedmen’s Bureau would contribute \$6,000 to their Cause, George Day wrote Brackett, claiming that this news is “[l]ike cold water to a thirsty soul is good news from a far

⁴⁸⁹ J. M. Brewster, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

⁴⁹⁰ I. D. Stewart, Morning Star Office; Dover NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper’s Ferry, WV, October 10, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

⁴⁹¹ Silas Curtis, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

⁴⁹² Ibid.; Rasmussen, "Sixty-Four Edited Letters of the Founders of Storer College," 96-98.

country.' The news which you send is specially refreshing".⁴⁹³ Day, a stickler for detail, went on to inquire on "what basis or condition" the bureau was to contribute.⁴⁹⁴ "Can it be counted as a part of the \$10,000 which we must secure in order to get Mr. Storer's donation," Day inquired, "or is it Gen. H's subscription on the basis mentioned to Bro. Cheney?." ⁴⁹⁵ Day was so elated about finally receiving the \$6000 check that he revealed to Brackett in a letter dated November 26th that he "really enjoyed handling that piece of paper when I [Day] thought of all it signified."⁴⁹⁶ Day also requested a copy of Storer's terms of bequeathal, the original of which was in Brackett's possession. At this point, a little over a month remained before the denomination would have to raise matching funds. As Day recounted to Brackett, "it seems that we must have the \$10,000 invested on or before the 1st of Jan'y. We shall of course try to see that there is no slip about the matter, if we have to raise the money ourselves & take subscriptions & notes for security."⁴⁹⁷ When the Baptists had accumulated \$10,000 in matching funds, the commission's treasurer, Ebenezer Knowlton, had to forward to Senator Fessenden in Washington a sworn affidavit to verify that the "amount of money [wa]s on hand & invested" in "a temporary Stock Company organized under the laws of West Virginia" for the school.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹³ George T. Day, Dover, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, July 6, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

⁴⁹⁴ George T. Day, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.; Morning Star Office; Dover, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, November 26, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

⁴⁹⁷ George T. Day, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid; Anthony, "Historical Sketch," 6.

“Devoted to the Interest of Humanity”: Ebenezer Knowlton

A descendant of three generations of ministers, Ebenezer Knowlton was born in Pittsfield, New Hampshire on December 6, 1815, directly into the Free Will Baptist faith. Knowlton’s father, also called Ebenezer, had been converted during a September 12, 1799 revival at which the denominational founder, Benjamin Randal, was present. Knowlton’s early religious upbringing in a household with three generations of ministers likely contributed to his ability to cultivate positive relationships. Hence, when the Free Will Baptists devised their plan of education, Knowlton’s contributions were from the political side of things. He was able to expedite the incorporation of the “body politic” for the “Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South” by applying his political know-how for the “commission[‘s]” livelihood.

Knowlton’s skill as a legislator was so renowned that in 1869 he was courted by the Maine Republican Party Convention as a gubernatorial candidate. Knowlton declined, his decision swayed most likely by his educational responsibilities and by a fear that politics would distract him from his religious activities. Knowlton went on to serve the denomination as President of the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society, a “corporator” of the Free Will Baptist Printing Establishment, and primary moderator for many Free Will Baptist General Conferences.⁴⁹⁹ His name appears frequently in Storer College records, and he remained active with the college in Harper’s Ferry until sometime around 1871 – 1872, when ill health most likely prohibited further work. Until that time, Knowlton supported denominational efforts by exercising his political

⁴⁹⁹ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 328.

clout and expertise, which was aptly paired with George Day's experienced background in legal policy.

A Propensity for "Incessant Toil": George Tiffany Day

Like many of his fellow Free Will Baptists, George Tiffany Day was intimately involved in the most important movements of his day. On December 2, 1859, as John Brown was being executed in Charlestown, West Virginia, Day was among several speakers to address a large, public assembly in Providence, Rhode Island, where he prayed not only for the condemned man's soul but also for the impending national strife that Day so strongly sensed was to follow Brown's December execution in 1859.⁵⁰⁰ An orator, minister, essayist, and published author, Day was regarded as a "master in the pulpit [who] was also master in the political arena" since Day had appeared several times before the Rhode Island Legislature.⁵⁰¹ One of the topics on which he was particularly vocal was that of emancipation; and, from 1858 – 1859, he "made several speeches before the Legislature on the Colored School bill[']s]" proposal since Day was a respected community advocate.⁵⁰²

Due to his propensity for "incessant toil"—from early in his career he was known for working until he reached a state of utter exhaustion—Day was forced to periodically convalesce.⁵⁰³ In February 1864, just three-months before Cheney and Brackett planned to leave Maine to join the United States Christian Commission (USCC) in the south, Day left Rhode Island ahead of Cheney and Brackett for Virginia, to also work for a period as

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., 156; Osborne P. Anderson, *A Voice From Harper's Ferry*, Narrative of Events at Harper's Ferry with Incidents Prior and Subsequent to its Capture by Captain Brown and His Men (Boston, MA: Printed For The Author, 1861; reprint, NY: World View Forum, 2000).

⁵⁰¹ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 156.

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., 157.

a representative of the USCC as superintendent of southern schools.⁵⁰⁴ It is possible that Day and Brackett were assigned to the same commission corps, or at the least crossed paths along the way. Cheney, on the other hand according to his wife, Emeline-Burlingame Cheney, was then working out of the national headquarters in Washington, D.C. In 1867, Day was the acting editor of “The Morning Star,” and it was his dubious honor in the fall of that year to publish the death notice of Storer’s benefactor, John Storer, on October 23rd, 1867.⁵⁰⁵ Day paired his policy know-how with Brewster, and began soliciting funds for the commission on behalf of the college. Together both men played a vital role in directing the institution’s early financial matters.

Pastor and Superintendent: Jonathan McDuffee Brewster

Brewster soliciting for funds to support the “Southern enterprise” was involved with the effort that led to the creation of Storer College. Jonathan McDuffee Brewster was raised on a family farm in Wolfborough, New Hampshire, and in 1860 graduated four-years earlier than Brackett from Dartmouth College. After leaving Dartmouth, Brewster pursued theological studies in New Hampton and Andover, Massachusetts. He completed his ministerial training in 1863, as pastor of the church in Springvale, Maine, during the height of civil conflict; in December 1864, he was officially ordained into the ministry. That same year, after a convincing conversation with William Burr, Jonathan Brewster became assistant editor of “The Morning Star.” Between the years of 1869 – 1871, as the work at Storer College began to escalate, Brewster was also serving as pastor to churches in both: Fairport, New York, and North Scituate, Rhode Island, later being

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., 157.

elected Superintendent of Public Schools for the latter region. Since Brewster served as both pastor and superintendent in the North Scituate community, he was likely very visible and well known.

Brewster's high-profile activities in the religious and educational arenas put him at the forefront of movements that led to advanced schooling for freedmen. Brewster's background helped to diversify the "commission[er's]" general characteristics, and inform its understanding for freedmen's education as it proceeded to solicit funds in support of its school plan. From 1872-1882, he participated in several important activities on behalf of the Free Will Baptists. First, he was appointed Clerk of the Rhode Island Association. In 1875, he became an original "corporator" of the Free Will Baptist Printing Establishment. With a high level of missionary zeal, Brewster served on both the domestic and foreign mission boards (acting on the Executive Board of Directors for the latter), and he was elected to several terms on the Board of Trustees for Storer College, a board which grew out of the original "Commission[ers] For the Promotion of Education in the South." Brewster's activism touched on many reformist issues of the period. For example, just prior to his death on June 2, 1882, he was actively engaged with the Executive Committee of the Rhode Island Woman's Suffrage Association operating as an advocate for women's voting rights in that state.⁵⁰⁶ Other FWB however worked in concert with Brewster to bring the valley's school to fruition.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., 70; West Virginia Legislature, "Act of Corporation Designated as "The President and Trustees of Storer College"; James M. Brewster, Free Will Baptist Correspondence; William P. Fessenden, Washington, D.C., Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, January 2, 1868, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322; "Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Normal Department".

“Right and Reasonable to Serve God”: George Harvey Ball

Unlike Brewster and most of his Free Will Baptist peers “stationed” in New England, George Harvey Ball can claim wide-ranging places of residence and a more unique educational background. Although his parents were native New Englanders—both of whom were residents of Massachusetts—Ball was born on December 7, 1819, in the Canadian Province of Nova Scotia, in the inlet township of Sherbrooke near Wine Harbor. In 1836, when Ball was still a youngster, his family moved to the Ohio wilderness, where until the age of 20 he was home-schooled by his mother. Biographers note that the young Ball “studied systematically evenings until ten o’clock” preparing his lessons and working diligently, so that before long he found himself teaching other children in his community, first unofficially and then in a frontier schoolhouse.⁵⁰⁷

During the next several years, Ball’s career took him in many directions. At the Ashtabula Quarterly Meeting, he was granted a license to preach, and he either instituted churches or ministered to congregations throughout Ontario, New York, and Rhode Island. Believing that education was central not only to ministerial development but also to personal development, Ball accepted the principalship of the Geauga Seminary, where he taught and influenced numerous students, among whom was future president James Abram Garfield.⁵⁰⁸

Ball worked diligently to establish two denominational higher education institutions: Hillsdale College in Michigan and then Storer College in Harper’s Ferry. His organizational skills were an asset to the commission although his religious work often took him far afield. As a member of the Foreign Mission and Free Will Baptist

⁵⁰⁷ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 35.

⁵⁰⁸ William M. Thayer, *From Log-Cabin to White House: The Story of President Garfield's Life* (London: Partridge Publishers, 1882).

Conference Boards, for example, he represented the Free Will Baptists at the General Baptist Conference held in England in 1883. Moreover, his activities were equally diverse. During the 1870's, he served as editor for two denominational organs, "The Morning Star" and "The Baptist Union." During the height of the post-war debates, Ball's experiences as an editor prompted him to publish several books, articles, and essays for other New England religious and secular presses.⁵⁰⁹ Regardless, Ball's systematic diligence could only be matched by Stewart's personal sacrifice.

From Legal to Religious Studies: Isaac Dalton Stewart

Of Scots-English ancestry, the official author of: "The History of the Freewill Baptists," Isaac Dalton Stewart, was born in Warner, New Hampshire just outside of Concord two days before Christmas 1817. From the two-hundred acre ancestral farm on which Stewart lived with his parents and five siblings, the vista "commanded a wide prospect extending into more than twenty towns."⁵¹⁰ Stewart's educational background is likewise indicative of his family's social status: he attended school in a district that boasted "eighteen teachers, six members of the Legislature and one governor of the state" among a class of twenty-five scholars.⁵¹¹

After attending Hopkinton Academy for a period, Stewart left New Hampshire for Ohio, where he resided until 1838, first teaching before deciding ultimately upon law as a profession. Before long, though, his plans would change. First, he returned to New Hampshire, where he taught and continued his studies at Henniker Academy. Then he moved to New Jersey, where he taught for awhile at Scotch Plains near Westfield, in

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., 36.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid., 618.

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

Union County. In 1841, Stewart enrolled in the Biblical School located at North Parsonfield, Maine under the tutelage of Reverend Smart, but he eventually transferred to the New Hampton Theological School, which was operated by the Baptists. In 1842, Stewart accepted the principalship of the Henniker Academy, where among his pupils he counted James W. Patterson, who was later elected to the United States Congress.⁵¹²

He returned to New Hampshire, however, in 1867, just in time for John Storer to appoint him to the nine-member provisional “Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South.”⁵¹³ Stewart made every effort and “strenuous exertion” to ensure that the “conditions of Mr. Storer’s will” were met within the specified time limits.⁵¹⁴ Stewart supported the commission financially and politically. He also served as recording secretary for the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society, as well a member of its executive committee; secretary of the Anniversary Convention; member of the Education Society; and member of the Board of Trustees for Storer, and Hillsdale Colleges. He so strongly believed in the denomination’s “Southern enterprise” that he committed to use his ancestral farm as collateral and even for sale if need be in order to acquire the matching funds to meet Storer’s terms of contract—literally.⁵¹⁵ Burgess and Ward actually confirm this fact; the church historians state that in order to prevent the failure of the denomination’s southern venture, eventually Stewart “pledged his entire property in behalf of the institution”.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹² Ibid., 619.

⁵¹³ Ibid., 620.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid.

⁵¹⁵ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College."

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., 620.

A Family History of Philanthropy: Charles Howard

Before becoming involved with the creation of the school in Harper's Ferry, Charles Howard served as a trustee for the university that in tribute to his brother, Oliver Otis Howard, still bears his family's surname.⁵¹⁷ It was important to both Howard brothers that a school for freedmen be instituted in the District of Columbia, particularly since in preceding decades "the unfinished and desecrated capital" had been blemished by the presence of "slavemongers" and "slave drivers" prodding chained, marching slaves through the streets.⁵¹⁸ Northerners visiting the capital city during those decades were, according to Johnson, "shocked grievously" by the sight.⁵¹⁹ Until 1850, Washington had served as the collection site, or slave "depot" for slaves in transit waiting to be "sold down the river" temporarily held in the capital until boarded on trains and ships destined for slave states and domestic distribution.⁵²⁰ However, the institution of slavery was not banned from the capital city until 1862, after the Civil War onset.⁵²¹ By that time, as they began to equate war with liberty and liberty with full emancipation, slaves had begun to make the trek northward.⁵²²

When the slaves gravitated northward to Border-States, Charles Howard was there to lend his administrative support. Howard was familiar with the Harper's Ferry area having traversed to and fro during the war years, and later likely for the FB when his older brother, Oliver Otis, needed dependable government representatives in socio-

⁵¹⁷ Walter Dyson, *Howard University, The Capstone of Negro Education* (Washington, D.C.: Graduate School of Howard University, 1941), 1-33, 44-50.

⁵¹⁸ Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution* (New York, NY: Knopf Publishing, 1956), 237-78.

⁵¹⁹ Johnson, *A History of the American People*, 400.

⁵²⁰ Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution*, 251.

⁵²¹ "The Saga of African American History," in *Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture: African American Desk Reference*, ed. Philip Koslow (NY: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1999), 8.

⁵²² Mary Clemmer Ames, *Ten Years in Washington: Life and Scenes in the National Capital* (Hartford, CN: A. D. Worthington & Co., Publishers, 1880), 70; Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution*, 237-78.

political incendiary regions. When Charles Howard agreed to become a member of the Board of Trustees for Storer College, he was also a trustee for Howard University. In this manner, Howard provided a keen sense for the grander scheme of things for the school in Harper's Ferry because he was closely linked with Howard due to his older brother, Oliver Otis, who was appointed President of Howard University in 1869. Charles' participation with the administrative board at Storer College was fortunate for the ferry school since it is likely that he was familiar with educational structures at Howard University, which had been granted provisional charter the same year as Storer College, in 1867, Charles Howard then operated as an educational advisor, as well as a trustee for the college whose primary focus was with the school's finances (likely in correspondence with the FB) during a time when the Baptists needed his insight and input.⁵²³

Regardless, Howard's early involvement with the school in the capital city made him a tireless advocate for similar institutions, particularly the one in nearby Harper's Ferry. Ultimately, Howard was not the only federal representative to aid the college; there would be others.

In the Middle of the Action in Harper's Ferry: Daniel Ames

In a June 17, 1867 letter to Nathan Cook Brackett, Jonathan Brewster identified Daniel Ames as "a member of the [education] committee to raise funds" and indicates that Brackett should thereafter "explain to [Ames] the nature of his duties".⁵²⁴ Six years earlier, in 1861, Ames had been working for the federal government in Harper's Ferry as

⁵²³Clifford Muse, "Howard University's Founders and Supporters: The Military and the Abolitionist Connection," <<http://www.huarchivesnet.howard.edu/>>.

⁵²⁴J. M. Brewster, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

“a storekeeper” when the town was taken under Confederate authority.⁵²⁵ Nonetheless, he worked as diligently as his fellow Free Will Baptists to ensure the success of the Harper’s Ferry mission.

Prior to his arrival in Harper’s Ferry, where after the war he joined the Baptists’ “Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South,” Ames had served, for a brief period, as principal of a boy’s school in New Jersey and had been a congregational minister in both New York and Minnesota. It was while working in New York that Ames met his future wife, Utica native Mary E. Clemmer, a well-educated woman who had attended the Westfield Academy in Massachusetts and had embarked on a fledgling career in journalism. Mary Clemmer was eventually the highest paid female journalist of her time, and she was in Harper’s Ferry, in 1865, when the first mission teacher cohort arrived by train to the Shenandoah Mission.

Clemmer and her husband, Daniel, in due course relocated to Harper’s Ferry, where Daniel Ames took a position with the federal government and their lives became embroiled with events leading up to the Civil War. They did not have long to wait before their ferry community was affected by the rising tensions. On April 17, 1861, “[d]espite western admonitions” and “[w]ithout waiting” for the “required ratification by the people in the spring elections on May 23[, 1861],” Governor Letcher proceeded to adopt a secession ordinance.⁵²⁶ Governor Letcher’s rush to dispatch troops to Harper’s Ferry was triggered by: the ferry town’s geographical proximity to the capital city, the strategic advantage behind retaining control of the rivers, railroads, and canals, the necessity to

⁵²⁵ "Mary Clemmer Ames," in *American National Biography*, ed. John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, vol. I (London: Oxford Univeristy Press, 1917), 416-18.

⁵²⁶ Rice and Stephen W. Brown, *West Virginia: A History*, 116.

sentinel arsenal resources, and—perhaps more importantly—a desire to deter another John Brown episode.⁵²⁷

When Confederate forces captured the ferry town at the outbreak of war, Ames was thus working there and living peacefully with his wife, but he was considered a risk because of his association with the government.⁵²⁸ As a result, Ames and his wife were taken into custody by Confederates guardsmen and for a time were imprisoned.⁵²⁹

Since Daniel Ames was located in Harper's Ferry, he likely acted not only as local liaison for the "commission" but also the "commission" depended on its federal relationships to a moderate degree to promote its best interests. When the Ames witnessed the arrival of the first mission teacher cohort, in 1865, the Baptists were making subsequently decisions that influenced its plan for freedmen education.

An Early Contributor: Edward A. Stockman

In 1865, Edward A. Stockman was among the first ministers hired by the Free Will Baptists to venture south, yet his work with the mission school at times proved dissatisfying. In fact, of all the men involved in the enterprise, Stockman received harsher criticism for his inability to work effectively and consistently toward raising funds, which was one of his primary responsibilities. Yet, when considering the immediate fallout from the war, Stockman was working at a disadvantage on two accountants: (a) he was trying to counteract Confederate sympathies; and (b) to combat the Johnsonian politics that enabled these sympathies.

⁵²⁷ Ibid., 124.

⁵²⁸ "Mary Clemmer Ames," 417; Rice and Stephen W. Brown, *West Virginia: A History*, 116, 124, 131.

⁵²⁹ Ibid., 417; "Mary E. Clemmer Ames," in *The West Virginia Heritage Encyclopedia*, ed. Jim Comstock, vol. 1, *A to Atkinson* (Richwood, WV: Jim Comstock Publisher, 1976), 70.

Initially commissioned by Curtis to organize relief efforts and institute churches, Stockman traveled to a large plantation six miles outside Beaufort, North Carolina, where—before his arrival—the “colored people” had actually begun to organize on their own a Baptist “settlement [and] a meeting house [with] a colored preacher”.⁵³⁰ Unlike these hardy souls, however, most freed southerners were reluctant to take such action, because they feared President Johnson betrayed emancipation by creating policies that discouraged the assistance of relief workers while encouraging lawlessness.⁵³¹ After working in Beaufort, Stockman moved to Hilton Head, South Carolina, where he remained to organize a church until further “directions” were given by Curtis.⁵³² As Corresponding Secretary for the Home Mission Society, Curtis had other plans for Stockman, which he discussed in a letter to Brackett: “If you think [Stockman’s] labors with you [Brackett] in the Shenandoah Valley or the district you have assigned to you, as a preacher and missionary would be for the advancement of the cause we are laboring to promote, please so inform me”.⁵³³ Curtis’s decision to place Stockman in Harper’s Ferry was motivated by a desire to consolidate a Free Will Baptist power base; as he noted in a letter, he urgently wanted “to concentrate [the denomination’s] freedmen’s mission work to some one locality, instead of having it scattered so far apart” amid continuing instability.⁵³⁴

Curtis was concerned about keeping Stockman not only employed, but also out of danger. Stationed as he was for a period in South Carolina, where the situation remained unstable, Stockman faced peril as a result of his work on behalf of the freedmen.

⁵³⁰ Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper’s Ferry, WV, November 7, 1865, Storer College Archives: Vertical File: Binder 1861-1865, Letters Received.

⁵³¹ Trefousse, "Andrew Johnson and the Freedmen's Bureau," 29-45.

⁵³² Silas Curtis, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ Ibid.

“[Stockman] is our missionary to Beaufort,” Curtis pleads with Brackett, “& he informs me that the consequence of the policy of the government in pardoning the Rebs and restoring to them their property at Beaufort & the Sea Islands the Freedmen are leaving Beaufort in such numbers that soon there will be none of any consequence in the place” to which to minister, or educate.⁵³⁵ Since Johnsonian policy granted former Confederates a pardon in exchange for a pledge of loyalty to the Union, southern states grew exceedingly dangerous, and therefore unstable.⁵³⁶

Before being placed in Harper’s Ferry, Stockman returned to the American Missionary Association’s offices in New York for a brief respite while Curtis determined his next move. Suggesting that Stockman is a “good preacher & good business man,” and “a man of good judgment,” Curtis proposed to Brackett that “he can board in your club and travel out & do mission work, visit, distribute books & tracts, visit schools, preach & etc. to good advantage & the advancement of our mission there.”⁵³⁷ Ultimately, however, Curtis’s praise would prove to be less true than he had anticipated.

During mid-January 1866, the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society officially decided to send Stockman to assist Brackett in Harper’s Ferry. Upon arrival, Stockman reported to Brackett, for a his orders and “plan of operation,” in order to maintain proper correspondence with Brackett’s overall objectives, as they were given from the FWB-HMS to its Shenandoah Mission.⁵³⁸ While Brackett was ordered to remain as

“Superintendent [stet] of the mission & schools in the district,” it was suggested by Curtis

⁵³⁵ Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, ND, 1865, Storer College Archives: Vertical File: Binder, 1851-1865, Letters Received.

⁵³⁶ Trefousse, "Andrew Johnson and the Freedmen's Bureau," 29 - 45.

⁵³⁷ Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N.C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, January 9, 1866, West Virginia Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

⁵³⁸ Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N.C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, "Storer College Archives," January 19, 1866, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

that he “consult with [Stockman], & decide where & how he had better labor for the present: & you can hereafter propose any plan of operation for Bro. Stockman which you may think best after looking around & conversing with him; & we will give our approval or disapproval and directions as we think best after learning facts from you” based on the mission’s operational goals.⁵³⁹

Stockman was given a huge responsibility: fundraising. During the fall of 1867, Stockman was noted as being “in the west,” frantically collecting personal notes from friends, family, and supporters of the Free Will Baptists in order to amass the necessary cash capital required by Fessenden, in his capacity as legal guardian of the Storer bequeathal.⁵⁴⁰ At this time, Brackett learned that Stockman was collecting up to \$1500 in notes for the enterprise. Yet, Curtis believed that his efforts could be improved. At one point, he suggested to Brackett, “I propose sending Bros. Dunjee & Keys” to replace Stockman the following year to collect notes, meet with church-goers, and solicit support for the school.⁵⁴¹ Concurring with Curtis, Day claimed that “Bro. Stockman is doing less than ever in the agency, & proposes to give it up if we wish him to. I suppose he may be planning to give up the H.M. agency altogether, & perhaps take a pastorate. We are trying to get two other men at work, & hope to do something before Jan'y 1”.⁵⁴² Early in 1868, Stockman was still collecting “notes” from individuals who had loaned the denomination cash to make the January 1, 1868 deadline for raising matching funds.⁵⁴³

⁵³⁹ Silas Curtis, "Storer College Archives."

⁵⁴⁰ I. D. Stewart, Dover, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, December 6, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

⁵⁴¹ Silas Curtis, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

⁵⁴² George T. Day, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

⁵⁴³ I. D. Stewart, Dover, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, February 17, 1868, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

Although frantic, Stockman's efforts must have been less than successful, for the following spring (1869), Curtis reported to Brackett that Stockman "does not appear to be getting much money" to help finance the school.⁵⁴⁴ Eventually, Stockman would abandon the "Southern enterprise" in order to organize a church of his own in the north.⁵⁴⁵ A local legislator fulfilled an essential role in the school's charter and institution after Stockman however returned to New England.

Ever an "Active Promoter": Joseph T. Hoke

A native of Martinsburg, where he was born in 1835, Joseph T. Hoke was the only Berkeley County representative appointed to "The Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South." Well-known and respected throughout the region, Hoke was barely thirty-years old when he vigilantly assisted the Free Will Baptists with the charter of Storer College, and later he was elected to a senatorial seat in the West Virginia Legislature.⁵⁴⁶ Nonetheless, for his efforts, Hoke and his family incurred sharp criticism from elements of the Martinsburg community because they boarded mission teachers.⁵⁴⁷ Although Lincoln's "Emancipation Proclamation" was signed on January 1, 1863, slaves in some areas beyond the secessionist states for whom the proclamation was intended were not immediately released from bondage because, after all, pockets of confederate sympathies lingered and ruled in those areas long after the war's end.

⁵⁴⁴ Silas Curtis, Concord, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, May 6, 1869, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 2621, Box 1, File 1.

⁵⁴⁵ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College".

⁵⁴⁶ Joseph Hoke, Wheeling, WV, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, February 11, 1868, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 2621, BX 1, FF1.

⁵⁴⁷ Foster, "Letters from West Virginia, 1865-1866," 33-50, 52, 64, 136.

Well-educated and politically sophisticated, however, Hoke was a confirmed Unionist who would not be deterred. At a young age, he had left Virginia for Illinois to be educated at the Rock River Seminary; from there, he had attended Ohio's Oberlin College, which had a reputation for being a "friend of the oppressed" and was known for its early work in the nineteenth-century with Native Americans and Negroes.⁵⁴⁸ Exposure to Oberlin's social philosophy perhaps enhanced Hoke's perspective. Consequently, he decided to attend Hillsdale College, the Free Will Baptist school in Michigan. He graduated from Hillsdale in 1860, just as contentious issues of war—socially, intellectually, and morally—preoccupied most communities. Despite these issues, Hoke departed for Ann Arbor, Michigan, where in 1864 he graduated from Michigan University with a law degree just as Brackett was graduating from Dartmouth with a theological degree. Degree in hand, Hoke returned that same year to Martinsburg, where he was admitted to the Berkeley County Bar in the Union's newly-formed thirty-fifth State of West Virginia.

Primed to be an activist, Hoke immediately became involved in local affairs, which would prove beneficial for Storer's institution. In 1864, he ran for public office and, at the tender age of twenty-nine, was elected Berkeley County's Prosecuting Attorney. In 1864, he began publishing "The Berkeley Union," a pro-Unionist newspaper that happened to be the first weekly newspaper published in Martinsburg

⁵⁴⁸ James H. Fairchild, *Oberlin : The Colony and The College, 1833-1883* (Oberlin, OH: E. J. Goodrich, 1883), 9-49; Mary Church Terrell, "The Progress of Colored Women: An Address Delivered Before The National American Women's Suffrage Association," in *American Memories*, Library of Congress, <<http://frontiers.loc.gov/ammem/aaphtml/rbaapcbibAuthors04.html>>, 18 February 1898; Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863 - 1877* (NY: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1990), 66; Joseph Jeffrey Walter, *West Virginia & Regional History Collection*, Storer College Archives, BX 1, FF 1, 5 October, 1888, Typescript Letter from Joseph Walter to Louise Brackett, Wise Library, West Virginia University.

(although “The Martinsburg Gazette” had been in operation since 1799).⁵⁴⁹ To counterbalance Hoke’s liberal views, “The Martinsburg New Era”—a conservative, Confederate-imbued newspaper—was founded in 1865. At one point, the two newspapers waged war regarding the mission school. The year of its founding, “The New Era” cautioned local citizens, or “the elite of our place,” against offering a “cordial welcome” to the New England schoolteachers, who had been commonly referred to in the area as “nigger teachers.”⁵⁵⁰ In an editorial in the “Union,” Hoke—who was an acting commissioner at the school—responded to Charles Faulkner’s “slight fling” not only on behalf of the mission teachers but also on behalf of the Free Will Baptist’s “Southern enterprise” as a whole.⁵⁵¹ Charles Faulkner had been such a notorious Confederate because of his various and differing actions throughout the war that the state and federal governments were prompted to demand his incarceration and proscription for a period.

Politically, Hoke was a constant challenger. In 1866, he vied for a senatorial seat in the West Virginia Legislature, was elected, and then was re-elected for two subsequent terms in 1868 (when he served as the Judiciary Committee’s Chairman) and 1886. Later, he accepted an appointment to the Fifth Judicial Circuit. During a twelve-year period, Hoke attended the Republican National Convention three times—1868, 1872, and 1880—as West Virginia’s elected delegate. Defeated as a congressional candidate in

⁵⁴⁹ *The West Virginia Heritage Encyclopedia*, ed. Jim Comstock, vol. 11, *Haythe, Ray to Iron Furnace* (Richwood, WV: Jim Comstock Publisher, 1976), 2334; F. Vernon Aler, *Aler's History of Martinsburg and Berkeley County, West Virginia* (Hagerstown, MD: The Mail Publishing Company, 1888), 383-84; Rice and Stephen W. Brown, *West Virginia: A History*, 75.

⁵⁵⁰ *Martinsburg New Era*, 2; Foster, "Letters from West Virginia, 1865-1866," 35-36, 137; Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873* (Atlanta, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 50, 58, 77-84, 182-83; Richardson, "Architects of a Benevolent Empire: The Relationship Between the American Missionary Association and the Freedmen's Bureau in Virginia, 1865-1872," 29-32, 213-20.

⁵⁵¹ Foster, "Letters from West Virginia, 1865-1866," 35-36; Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College,".

1880, Hoke eight years later was elected to the Third Judicial Circuit, after which he was appointed Consul to St. John's in the Canadian Province of New Brunswick.⁵⁵² Hoke's obvious sense of justice and political radicalism fueled the West Virginia Legislature's political engines, so that eventually a state charter of incorporation was granted to "The Commission For the Promotion of Education in the South" —thus, the state officially recognized Storer College, as "an institution of learning for the education of youth."⁵⁵³

This event occurred during the West Virginia Legislature's Sixth Session in Wheeling, in March 1868, when Hoke was serving as a state senator. The pursuit of incorporation began in January of that year, when Isaac Stewart wrote to Brackett requesting a copy of the "Charter for Storer College that we may have a guide in the draft of the one we are to ask from the Legislature".⁵⁵⁴ During the first week of February, "The Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South" received a report from its Charter Committee, the goal of which was "to procure a charter for Storer College from the Legislature of W. Va."⁵⁵⁵ When the three-member committee—Cheney, Knowlton, and Calder—presented their draft of the charter to the Commission, the draft generated "various suggestions".⁵⁵⁶ On this subject, the Commission assembly voted that the "whole subject of obtaining a charter from W. Va. be left with the Committees, appointed

⁵⁵² *The West Virginia Heritage Encyclopedia*, ed. Jim Comstock, vol. 11, *Haythe, Ray to Iron Furnace* (Richwood, WV: Jim Comstock Publisher, 1976), 2334.

⁵⁵³ West Virginia Legislature, West Virginia State Archives, Sixth Session: Chapter 117, 106 - 107, 3 March, 1868, File: Storer College, An Act to Incorporate the Storer College, Charleston, WV, Wheeling, WV: John Frew, Public Printer; Barry, *The Annals of Harper's Ferry: From the Establishment of the National Armory in 1794, To the Present Time, 1869*, 57; James Calder, Boston, MA, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, February 6, 1868, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322; Joseph Hoke, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

⁵⁵⁴ I. D. Stewart, Morning Star Office; Dover, NH, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, January 20, 1868, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

⁵⁵⁵ James M. Brewster, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

by the Commission and the Corporation of Storer College.”⁵⁵⁷ Cheney, Knowlton, and Calder were expected to “confer with Mr. Fessenden” not only regarding the charter of the school but also on “his returning possession of the \$10,000 donated to the Commission by Mr. Storer,” and “to secure the passage of a bill by congress granting to the Commission certain Government property at Harper's Ferry.”⁵⁵⁸ The Charter Committee—Cheney, Knowlton, and Calder—were to keep the remaining commissioners abreast of their progress.

Although the original composition of the Charter Committee changed from time to time while the Baptists carefully prepared a charter draft, the committee's final draft appeared as follows:

"Oren B. Cheney, Silas Curtis, Ebenezer Knowlton, George T. Day, Jonathan M. Brewster, Nathan C. Brackett, George Goodwin, James Colder, George H. Ball, Alexander H. Morrell, Isaac D. Stewart, Charles H. Howard, Daniel J. Young, Daniel Ames, Edward A. Stockman, John O'Donnell, and their associates, be and they are hereby created a body politic and corporate, by the name and style of 'The President and Trustees of Storer College, ' an institution of learning for the education of youth, without distinction of race or color, at or near Harper's Ferry, in the county of Jefferson, ...[the board] shall have power to establish in said college such departments and courses of study as they may elect; they shall have power to confer such degrees as are usually conferred by colleges and universities established for the education of youth, and they shall be and they are hereby invested with all the rights, powers, privileges and immunities incident to similar corporations and institutions".⁵⁵⁹

Although Brackett, Knowlton, and Calder had worked diligently to create the charter, when the question of incorporation reached the legislature, it was Hoke's political sagacity that proved vital to the Free Will Baptists. When the school's charter was

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ James M. Brewster, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

⁵⁵⁹ West Virginia Legislature, "Act of Corporation Designated as "The President and Trustees of Storer College."

presented, “intense and violent opposition” permeated the legislature largely over inclusion in it of the phrase “without distinction of race, or color,” a decision influenced by Cheney.⁵⁶⁰ At this point in time, Hoke—having talked extensively with Brackett—served not just as a member of the commission but also as local legal counsel for the Baptists.⁵⁶¹ As the question of Storer’s charter moved through the legislative process, Hoke realized that the voting margin was likely to be narrow, so as the date for the legislative roll call approached, he “carefully watch[ed]” each committee’s forming opinion observing its “progress of events” since the Baptists anxiously awaited Hoke’s reports.⁵⁶² Knowing that his direct affiliation with “The Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South” automatically annulled his vote on the question of Storer’s charter, and thus determined to ensure that his legislative vote could be cast, Hoke hastily (if only temporarily) resigned his appointment to the Baptist “commission” in the final hour before the legislature’s representatives casts their votes.⁵⁶³

Hoke’s resignation was timely, for he in fact “cast the decisive vote, for the success of the measure turned upon his foresight and the Act passed by *one* [stet] majority”.⁵⁶⁴ After the vote, Hoke immediately reassumed his appointment to the Baptist commission, which afterward convened as the Storer College Board of Trustees. In terms of his work on behalf of Storer College, Kate J. Anthony indicated that “[Hoke] has

⁵⁶⁰ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College,"; West Virginia Legislature, "Act of Corporation Designated as "The President and Trustees of Storer College;" James Calder, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

⁵⁶¹ James Calder, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

⁵⁶² Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College."

⁵⁶³ James Calder, Free Will Baptist Correspondence; Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College."

⁵⁶⁴ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College."

ever been an active promoter of [its] welfare.”⁵⁶⁵ On March 3, 1868, the charter passed in Wheeling during the Sixth Session of the West Virginia Legislature. Storer College had been incorporated.

Although in the history of Storer College, the names of Cheney, Curtis, and Brackett stand out, it is clear that for their own tireless efforts on behalf of the school, other men deserve recognition. Without their collective talents, skills, and contributions—Knowlton and Day’s political know-how and expeditious legislative routes, Brewster’s power of persuasion, Ball’s systematic diligence, Stewart’s sense of legal acumen and personal sacrifice, Howard’s depth of perspective, Ames’ intimate governmental relationships, Stockman’s fundraising efforts, Hoke’s local and state involvement—the “commission[‘s]” ability to achieve and implement the Baptists’ plan for freedmen education, found a series of mission schools in hostile southern territories, lay the foundation for higher education, and consequently the institution of Storer College in Harper’s Ferry, would have been otherwise an unfathomable folly without the corresponding actions of these dedicated men.

The Mission Comes to Fruition: The Opening of Storer College

However, in compliance with the original Baptist plan and Storer’s contract, when Storer College opened its doors to students, on October 3, 1867 under provisional authority, the organizing “Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South” convened as the school’s first Board of Trustees. The formal governing structure entailed: two executive officers, a five-member executive board, and a geographically and professionally diverse

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.; West Virginia State Legislature, "An Act to Incorporate Storer College," 117.1; West Virginia Legislature, West Virginia & Regional History, A & M 2621, Box 1, FF 2, 1868, Senate Bill No. 100, Morgantown, WV, West Virginia University.

Board of Trustees consisting of twenty-one members. Calder, the newly elected President of Hillsdale College, also consented to be the first President of Storer's Board of Trustees—a logical choice given that his years of educational experience substantiating his abilities to organize a college governing board. Brackett served as both Secretary and Treasurer. The Executive Board members were Reverend J. W. Dunjee, Dr. George H. Ball, and the Honorable Stephen P. Morrill, all of whom complemented the efforts of Calder and Brackett.

The Board of Trustees hailed from as far north as Maine, as far south as Virginia, as far west as Illinois, and as easterly as Massachusetts. Additional trustees included: Dr. Oren Burbank Cheney, Honorable Ebenezer Knowlton, Reverend Jonathan Brewster, Honorable George Goodwin, Reverend Isaac Dalton Stewart, Reverend Daniel Ames, Honorable John O'Donnell, Reverend Silas Curtis, Dr. George Tiffany Day, Reverend Anthony H. Morrell, General Charles H. Howard, Reverend Edward Stockman, Honorable Joseph T. Hoke, Reverend T. J. Furgerson, and Henry Houke. To this distinguished board was added Miss Anne S. Dudley, the first woman to serve on the Baptist college's Board of Trustees. The addition of Dudley is perhaps due to her long-suffering, patient spirit, as well as her bravery and fortitude, which she freely invested to organize several freedmen hovels into God-fearing and education-seeking communities.⁵⁶⁶ Dudley's appointment truly indicates the degree to which the Free Will Baptists were dedicated to breaking boundaries.

In the final outcome, the Free Will Baptist's mission had been accomplished, both figuratively and literally. With Storer's seed money officially bequeathed to them, on January 1, 1868, the Baptists set their "Southern enterprise" on seven acres in Harper's

⁵⁶⁶ "Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Normal Department," 7.

Ferry, in four buildings of Victorian-style, originally built for use by armory officers were granted for Baptist use by the U.S. government. The college's founders had succeeded in taking the freedmen's physical emancipation to the next logical stage: the freedom to pursue an education that would truly open to them opportunities that had long been withheld for far too long in the south. Storer College was—at long last—a reality.

CHAPTER 6

THE PHYSICAL CAMPUS, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SECONDARY DIVISION, 1867 – 1884

Storer College opened its doors in October 1867 to a grand total of nineteen students, all of whom had enrolled under the direction of a teacher trained in Maine, Miss Martha W. L. Smith. Barely three months later, however, the number of enrollees had risen to thirty-six, and by the time the school's charter was granted, on March 3 of the following year, seventy-five students were in attendance.⁵⁶⁷ After months of concerted effort on the part of its founding "commission," strong encouragement and compelling support from the colored community it would serve, Storer's early exponential growth predicted that the FWB correspond the physical development of the campus in order to meet population demands. This chapter describes the physical grounds, plant development, and the development of the institution's academic and normal departments during the first years of operation at Storer College.

The Physical Plant: Expanding to Meet the Demands of a Growing Population

The four main physical structures that would eventually form the physical nucleus of Storer College, as well as the seven acres on which they stood, had served as part of the original, triangular-shaped, 125 acre headquarters of the United States Armory since June 15, 1796, when President George Washington established the arsenal in Harper's Ferry at

⁵⁶⁷ Kate J. Anthony, Storer College Archives, Box 16, FF7, 1891, Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House; West Virginia Legislature, West Virginia State Archives, Sixth Session: Chapter 117, 106 - 107, 3 March, 1868, File: Storer College, An Act to Incorporate the Storer College, Charleston, WV, Wheeling, WV: John Frew, Public Printer.

the strategic confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers.⁵⁶⁸ After nearly a hundred years of service, the “four large, brick mansions” owned by the federal government atop Camp Hill had seen better days.⁵⁶⁹ Originally the homes of the armory’s administrative officers—the superintendent, the superintendent’s clerk, the paymaster, and the paymaster’s clerk—the structures had been “greatly injured” during the Civil War; nonetheless, the Free Will Baptists believed that the old buildings—no matter how war-torn—were of “inestimable value” considering their long-range design to eventually develop mission school classrooms into an advanced collegiate campus.⁵⁷⁰ In 1865, the federal government was inclined to temporarily “loan” one of those buildings, Lockwood House, to Brackett so he could begin his “school work” in the region.⁵⁷¹ It was not long, however, before Storer outgrew its cramped home and the Free Will Baptists began to shape plans for expansion of their campus.

Although it must be remembered as the first home of Storer College, Lockwood House proved not only too small but also so dilapidated it provided insufficient shelter during the harsh winter months common to northeastern West Virginia. Finally, in September 1867, a year or more after the school had taken up residence in Lockwood House, the Freedmen’s Bureau donated \$500 for the express purpose of funding needed repairs to the structure.⁵⁷² While this funding provided stopgap measures that would help

⁵⁶⁸ Samuel Kercheval, *A History of the Valley of Virginia*, Revised and Extended by the Author and New Notes Added by the Editor, ed. E. E. Keister (Strasburg, VA: 1833; reprint, Harrisonburg, VA: C.J. Carrier Company, 2001), 362-63; Millard K. Bushong, *A History of Jefferson County West Virginia* (Charles Town, WV: Jefferson Publishing Company, 1941), 55-57; Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1929 - 1930, Catalogue of Storer College 1867 - 1930: A Junior College For Colored Youth, With Academic, State Normal, Musical and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

⁵⁶⁹ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College," 9-12.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid.

⁵⁷² James Edmund Stealey, III, "The Freedmen's Bureau in West Virginia," *West Virginia History* 39 (1978): 99-142, 99-142.

the school's residents combat the winter weather, it did nothing to give them more room, so the need for expansion remained pressing. What of the other three government buildings atop Camp Hill? Could they also be loaned—or better yet, purchased? It was a problem the ever-vigilant Cheney was already attempting to address.

Four months after his initial meeting with Storer, Cheney traveled to Washington, where he received the promise of a \$6000 donation from the Freedmen's Bureau, seed money for the matching funds required by Storer's arrangement. With funding on the horizon, Cheney turned his sights toward acquiring the Camp Hill property. He arranged to meet with Secretary Stanton, Fessenden, and, later, with James A. Garfield, for whom he outlined the Free Will Baptists' plans and their desperate need for additional space. He broached the topic of the Camp Hill property, but he immediately sensed his listeners' ambivalence. Because no government official could guarantee Baptist occupation of the government site in Harper's Ferry, Cheney thought best to devise an alternate plan in the event that the denomination was denied permanent occupancy of the Camp Hill buildings. With Cheney's personal assistance, the nearly 150-acre Smallwood Farm, located along the Bolivar Heights summit, was purchased as a potential alternative site for the college, with the deed of sale recorded by the Jefferson County Clerk on June 18, 1867.⁵⁷³

Although it would be retained as collateral to ensure the institution's financial security, the Smallwood Farm along the Bolivar Heights was not destined to become the home of Storer College.⁵⁷⁴ Eventually, the government moved beyond indecision. On December 3, 1868, fifteen months after the college accepted its first, official entry-level

⁵⁷³ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College," 5; Property Deed, Jefferson County, Deed Book C (Jefferson County Circuit Court Property Deed 13 May, 1871), 1-2

⁵⁷⁴ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College," 5.

class of nineteen students under the chartered name of Storer College on October 2, 1867, Congress granted the denomination the right to provisionally occupy all four government buildings on seven acres atop Camp Hill.⁵⁷⁵ Then, on December 15, 1868, after the college was incorporated by the state legislature, the War Department published the following announcement that was guaranteed to take the Baptist occupancy of Camp Hill one step further:

"This Indenture Witnesseth: That whereas an Act of Congress, approved the 15th day of December 1868, entitled 'An Act providing for the sale of the lands, tenements and water privileges belonging to the United States at and near Harpers Ferry, in the County of Jefferson, West Virginia.' provides in words and figures following, to wit: Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled: That the Secretary of War, be and he is hereby authorized and directed to make sale at public auction of the land, tenements, and water privileges belonging to the United States at and near Harpers Ferry in the County of Jefferson, West Virginia".⁵⁷⁶

By 1868, the four physical structures and the seven-acre real estate on which they sat were valued at \$30,000.⁵⁷⁷ After several weeks of mandatory public advertisement "in one of the principal newspapers in each of cities of Washington, New York, and Cincinnati for sixty days prior to the sale," the government properties were sold at "public auction" over a three-day period.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.; Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1935-1936, Catalogue of Storer College 1867 - 1936: A Junior College For Colored Youth, With Pre-Medical, State Normal, Academic, Musical and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees; Bushong, *A History of Jefferson County West Virginia*, 217.

⁵⁷⁶ *United States, Cong., An Act Providing for the Sale of the Lands, Tenements, and Water Privileges Belonging to the United States at and Near Harpers Ferry, in the County of Jefferson, West Virginia*, at 579 (Bargain and Sale, 15 December 1868)

⁵⁷⁷ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College,".

⁵⁷⁸ "Bargain and Sale," 579-81.

As a result of this sale, the Free Will Baptists assumed ownership “at public auction” of four dilapidated buildings—Lockwood House, formerly the paymaster's quarters (Building 32); Brackett House, formerly the superintendent's clerks' quarters (Building 31); Morrell House, formerly the paymaster's clerk's quarters (Building 30); and Anthony House (Anthony Memorial Hall) , formerly the superintendent's quarters (Building 25). After the deed received the official “War Department Seal” from the Secretary of War, the document was notarized in the “District of Columbia, City of Washington,” whereby “the Secretary of War [then was] authorized and directed to convey by deed to Storer College, an institution of learning chartered by the State of West Virginia all those portions of aforesaid property...buildings with lots on which they stand, numbered thirty, thirty one and thirty two and also building numbered twenty five...”.⁵⁷⁹ The deed, which conveyed all four buildings plus acreage, was then entrusted to Thomas A. Moore, Clerk of the County Court in the County of Jefferson, West Virginia, to be recorded in the county’s Book of Deeds on December 15, 1869.⁵⁸⁰ The “Bargain and Sale” of these government properties in Harper’s Ferry was specifically directed to aid “religious, charitable and town purposes” after the war’s close.⁵⁸¹ Nonetheless, due to the political sagacity of Cheney, Brackett, Knowlton, Calder and others, the Free Will Baptists, with earlier political assistance from Howard, Fessenden, Cameron, Garfield, Hoke, and Senator Wiley, another West Virginia political ally who joined in the early efforts, were given special consideration for the “bargain and sale” of the four government buildings. The mansions formed the initial campus of the “Southern

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., 579.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., 579-81.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., 580.

enterprise” in which the Free Wills were already so heavily invested.⁵⁸² Before long, the mansions would be joined on Camp Hill by additional buildings that had to be erected to serve the college’s ever-expanding population. In the history of Storer College’s physical plant, the four original buildings—Lockwood House, Brackett House, Morrell House, and Anthony House [later, Anthony Memorial Hall]—and two new dormitories, Lincoln Hall and Myrtle Hall, prove worthy of consideration, for without them, the college could not have grown, nor its influence become so far-reaching.

Lockwood House

The Lockwood House, as the structure later became known, was originally the site of a smaller building which from 1819 – 1847 served first as the home of Captain John H. Hall. According to Bushong, Hall was “an able inventor and gunsmith from Yarmouth, Maine” arriving in Harper’s Ferry two years earlier in 1817. After a series of lucrative experiments, Hall’s pursuit led to the “Hall Breechloading Flintlock Rifle and Pistol,” for which the government initially erected two buildings for Hall’s usage on Virginus Island in the middle of the Shenandoah River, later known as “Hall’s Rifle Works”.⁵⁸³

Eventually, Hall was named Assistant Armorer to the federal armory under Colonel James Stubblefield. Stubblefield was the armory’s superintendent until 1829 “during the armory’s period of expansion” when Stubblefield also hired four teachers and instituted a school for “the education of his employees’ children”.⁵⁸⁴ After Stubblefield and Hall left the area, the Lockwood House was then occupied by Archibald M. Kitzmiller, Clerk to the Armory Superintendent, albeit Hall was the first to occupy the Lockwood House.

⁵⁸² Ibid., 579-80; Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College," 4.

⁵⁸³ Bushong, *A History of Jefferson County West Virginia*, 78.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

Kitzmiller was later, in 1859, one of two hostages that John Brown dispatched to negotiate a truce with federal agents before his demise. After 1847, the smaller building was razed and a larger one constructed that would eventually house the armory's Superintendent and Paymaster, and develop as Storer's main classroom building, chapel location, and administrative office. The initial house, which measured fifty-six-by-forty feet, was a single-story brick structure, complete with east and west porticoes, seated atop an elevated limestone basement, perhaps in an effort to prevent water damage from the area's underground springs. An eighteen-by-twenty brick "outbuilding" was included, along with a 12,000-capacity cistern that was meant to ensure a generous water supply for its inhabitants. In 1858, a second story was added to the structure, and two years later, in 1860, government plans were authorized for a new horse stable to replace an "old rough cast stable."⁵⁸⁵ The order for the stable's construction was, forestalled however, by the opening theater of the Civil War.

After the onset of war, the armory property was occupied at different times by various military representatives, who—along with the later religious representatives—became inextricably connected not only with the history of the "sleepy pre-war town" but also with select physical structures.⁵⁸⁶ For example, the former home of the superintendent's clerk bears not his name, nor that of his successors, but that of Civil War General Henry Hayes Lockwood, who lived in the government house for a scant three months in 1863 while preparing a brigade for the Battle of Gettysburg. The war ensured Lockwood's connection to Harper's Ferry. A dispatch from General Meade, dated

⁵⁸⁵ John Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, National Park Service/University of Maryland Cooperative Project (Harper's Ferry National Historic Park Collection: United States Government, December 1991), 10.

⁵⁸⁶ *The Lockwood House: Birthplace of Storer College*, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, by Anna Coxe Toogood, Park Historian (Harper's Ferry National Historic Park: United States Government, 3 January 1969), 4, Furnishings Study: Historical Data Section, REP-HAFE-11.

August 1, 1863, ordered Lockwood's garrison to defend the Potomac River from Harper's Ferry, West Virginia to Williamsport, Maryland "in view of the probability of the return of Lee or a part of his army into Maryland."⁵⁸⁷ It was part of Meade's strategy to impede Lee's progress up and down the valley knowing that Lee was quite familiar with the terrain in that area.

After Lockwood vacated the ferry town, the government house on Camp Hill was sequestered in 1864 by General Philip Sheridan, who commanded the Army of the Shenandoah, to which Brackett had been assigned as a USCC field delegate. When Brackett was in Harper's Ferry with Sheridan, he helped a young woman named Julia Mann. Mann, from the winter months of 1864 through the first months of 1865 just before the Appomattox Surrender, had been operating in Lockwood House a school for slave refugees.⁵⁸⁸ Without question, Miss Mann was influenced by her uncle, educational reformer Horace Mann, whose democratic vision and republican ideology ignited the Common School Movement in America; perhaps his belief in "universal education" had even inspired her willingness to relocate to the Shenandoah Valley on behalf of educating war refugees.⁵⁸⁹ It was also during these months of working with Mann that Brackett not only acquired a heightened sense for the degree of refugee duress but also likely witnessed the mounting social prejudice against the young schoolteacher, a prejudice that was a foreshadowing of that which he and other Baptist representatives were to combat

⁵⁸⁷ George G. Meade, "Letter from Major-General George G. Meade to Major-General H. W. Halleck (United States Army of the Potomac)," <<http://www.civilwarhome.com/>> [Path: <http://www.civilwarhome.com/aftergettysburgor.htm>], 18 July 1863.

⁵⁸⁸ Mary Brackett Newcomer, "Anniversary Speech: Contributions of My Family," Typescript (Harper's Ferry, WV: Harper's Ferry National Historical Park; Library & Curatorial Services, c1937); Toogood, *The Lockwood House: Birthplace of Storer College*, 11; Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 11.

⁵⁸⁹ Pubic Broadcasting Sytem, "Schoolhouse Pioneers: Horace Mann," <<http://www.pbs.org/>> [Path: <http://www.pbs.org/onlyateacher/richman.html>], 2003.

when they attempt to occupy, for later purchase the Lockwood House after the war.⁵⁹⁰

As Toogood notes, “the local community had staunchly objected to the use of the government building [Lockwood House] for school purposes [since a]t the same time the school Commissioners of Harper s [sic] Ferry refused to build a school for colored children,” so that when the “white community learned of the proposition to expand the Harpers [sic] Ferry mission school into a normal school and eventually into an accredited college, their embittered cause was greatly enhanced,” and the community was thereafter, for a considerable period, decidedly against a “colored” school in their midst.⁵⁹¹

Nonetheless, the Free Will Baptists persevered at Brackett's suggestion.

When the Harper’s Ferry Mission School was officially instituted, the single building known as Lockwood House served as “dwelling-house, school and church”.⁵⁹² War refugees remained in the basement and second-story level of the building until the Secondary Division of Storer College was instituted in 1867. Although its second story was largely uninhabitable due to bombardment from Maryland Heights (located across the river) during the war, one room was occupied by a German soldier, his wife, and child until an undisclosed “illness” (perchance complications from war wounds) finally took his life and his family left the house.⁵⁹³ Storer’s actual school activities began in the

⁵⁹⁰ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College".

⁵⁹¹ Toogood, *The Lockwood House: Birthplace of Storer College*, 11.

⁵⁹² G. F. Richings, "Evidences of Progress Among Colored People: Electronic Edition," <<http://docsouth.unc.edu/>> [Path: <http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/richings/richings.html#richi17>], 1902; Louise Wood Brackett, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, Storer College Archives, Vertical File: Correspondence, Notes & Reports, Etc.: Brackett, Newcomer, McDonald Collection, Volume I, 1892, File: Typescript Copy of Brackett's Public Address at Curtis Memorial Church, Storer College: A Chapter of History, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Library; Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College,"; Anne Dudley, "Anniversaries: Home Mission Society," special edition, *Morning Star* (Dover, NH), Wednesday, 23 October 1867, Vol. XLII, No. 31, 123: 123.

⁵⁹³ Mary Brackett Robertson, "Traditions and Memories," Public Address: Founder's Day (Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Library & Curatorial Services: Storer College Collection, 26 February 1937), Vertical File Binder: Correspondence, Notes & Reports, Etc.: Brackett, Newcomer, McDonald Collection, Vol. 1 (1936); Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 12.

southwest room of the first story, and afterward expanded to include the “two adjoining south rooms” in the front of the house.⁵⁹⁴ By 1869, according to Barker and Johnson, the classroom and the school’s chapel had been relocated to Anthony House [later, Anthony Memorial Hall] and Lockwood House became primarily a dormitory.⁵⁹⁵ During the school year, it served as the dormitory for male students, while in the summer it was operated as a hotel of sorts in order to bring in additional income for the fledgling college.⁵⁹⁶

In 1878, in an effort to alleviate cramped living conditions at the college, Brackett planned a Mansard-style roof for Lockwood that would create additional space for ten rooms designated for female students. The aggressive project was ongoing, but it was not completed until 1883.⁵⁹⁷

Brackett House

On July 27, 1865, a government “inspection report” claimed that the clerk’s house, later Brackett House, was in “bad condition” after being abandoned by its former tenants, the United States Sanitary Commission (USSS).⁵⁹⁸ Nonetheless, it was into these quarters that, sometime between 1866 – 1867, the Brackett family moved. Despite its poor condition, Louise Brackett recalled that the former house of the superintendent’s clerk was encircled with a fence “on line with the end of a flag stone walk[way],” an addition that must have improved it to some degree aesthetically.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁴ Robertson, "Traditions and Memories."

⁵⁹⁵ Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 13.

⁵⁹⁶ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College," 21.

⁵⁹⁷ Toogood, *The Lockwood House: Birthplace of Storer College*, 78.

⁵⁹⁸ John Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 16.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

As the population of Camp Hill grew, the existing buildings strained to make room for the new residents. By March 1878, Brackett's correspondence suggests that the Brackett House was reaching maximum capacity—not only physically but also psychologically. In a March 14, 1878 letter to Francis Mosher, founding member of the Missionary Society and then editor of denominational publications *The Myrtle* and *The Little Star*, Brackett indicates that “We have not felt that we could get along this way another year, i.e. be so crowded. We have but one sleeping room for our family of six [and n]o room for hired girls” in the house.⁶⁰⁰ By publicizing the overcrowded conditions in the denomination's organs, Mosher used her media influence to “[add] materially in the erection of Myrtle Hall at Storer College and in its mission” by widely disseminating information about the college, and making Brackett's needs in the valley known throughout the denomination's various publications.⁶⁰¹ Although the college's physical campus continued to expand, however, even as late as 1880, the Brackett House was occupied by twenty-three people: Principal Brackett, Louise Wood Brackett, his wife; the four Brackett children, James W., Mary, Celeste E., and Ledru J.; Nathan Brackett's sister, Lura E.; three servants; and thirteen boarding female Storer students. Mary Brackett [Robertson], the Brackett's daughter, had an even stronger connection to the house than did her parents. She alleged in later years that “if family legend is correct, [I] was born in that house in November before the Act of Congress gave [the Brackett House] to Storer College in December” in 1868.⁶⁰²

⁶⁰⁰ Nathan Cook Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, to Francis Mosher, Dover, NH, 14 March, 1878, Storer College Archives, Vertical File: Correspondence, Notes & Reports, Etc.: Brackett, Newcomer, McDonald Collection, Volume I.

⁶⁰¹ Gideon A. Burgess and John T. Ward, "Storer College," in *Freewill Baptist Cyclopaedia* (Chicago, IL: The Woman's Temperance Publication Association, 1889), 440.

⁶⁰² Robertson, "Traditions and Memories," 3; United States Government, Bureau of the Census, 1880, Tenth Census of the United States, Town of Harpers Ferry, Jefferson County, West Virginia.

Morrell House

One of the four main government structures on Camp Hill, Morrell House began its existence as the default home of Benjamin Mills, who served as master armorer at the arsenal. Although a residence had been constructed for Mills in Lower Harper's Ferry, the armorer believed the location was "unhealthy" and, citing fear for his health, "refused to occupy the new house" along the town's traditional flood plane.⁶⁰³ Accordingly, when in 1856 Armory Superintendent Clowe drafted plans for housing in Upper Harper's Ferry, the master armorer was included in the living arrangements.⁶⁰⁴ Until 1859 Mills would occupy what would become known as Morrell House. In 1860, the moving into the house of T.L. Patterson, Potomac Dam Engineer, brought about a minor controversy. When word of Patterson's occupancy reached Colonel Craig, he immediately ordered then Superintendent Barbour "to remove" the engineer from the premises. Although Patterson did vacate the building, Colonel Craig's intention for the house's use—and thus the reason for his unusually harsh response—remain unknown.⁶⁰⁵

According to Louise Wood Brackett, writing in a September 6, 1917 letter to Henry Temple McDonald, by 1867 the Morrell House had become occupied by several "refugee families" trapped by the wake of confusion and generalized loss.⁶⁰⁶ Although the Morrell House was not deeded to the Free Will Baptists until December 15, 1869, it had been occupied as early as 1867 by Reverend Alexander Hatch Morrell, from whom it

⁶⁰³ Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 20.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁵ Philip R. Smith, *Research Report: History of Superintendent's Clerk's Quarters, Camp Hill (1857-1867)*, United States Department of the Interior (Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, 27 March 1959), 4-10.

⁶⁰⁶ Louise Wood Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, to Henry Temple McDonald, Harper's Ferry, WV, 6 September, 1917, Storer College Collection: Vertical File: Correspondence, Notes & Reports, Etc.: Brackett, Newcomer, McDonald Collection, Volume I, Storer College Archives.

would take its name in the unfolding physical campus of Storer College.⁶⁰⁷ After the Morrell family gained unofficial access to the house, the former Paymaster's Clerks' Quarters were possibly enlarged, since Kate Anthony's 1891 "Historical Sketch" suggests that "add[itions]" were made to the house.⁶⁰⁸ During the 1870 school term, Reverend and Mrs. Morrell shared the Victorian house with "twenty to twenty-seven girls" that were chaperoned and boarded by them during the early "years of close quarters and hard work" at Storer.⁶⁰⁹ By 1880, census records indicated that joining Morrell in the house were his wife, Eliza [Seavy]; one daughter-in-law, Eliza J.; one grandchild, Joanna E.; and teacher Martha [W.L.] Smith.⁶¹⁰

It is fitting that one of the original buildings on campus became associated with the Morrell family name, for the reverend had long worked tirelessly for the denomination: he had directed the Shenandoah Mission's religious activities, represented the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Board, and eventually became the "soliciting agent" to generate funds and recruit students for Storer's programs.⁶¹¹ In fact, with the exception of a four-year period (1881 – 1885), Morrell's life was devoted to serving the Free Will Baptist denomination on the campus of Storer College.⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁷ Property Deed, Jefferson County, Deed Book 4 (Jefferson County Circuit Court Property Deed 15 December, 1869): 575: 575; Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College," .

⁶⁰⁸ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College,"; Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 22.

⁶⁰⁹ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College,".

⁶¹⁰ United States Government, "Tenth Census of the United States,".

⁶¹¹ Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 21; Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 437; Mary Brackett Newcomer, "Anniversary Speech: Contributions of My Family," Typescript (Harper's Ferry, WV: Harper's Ferry National Historical Park; Library & Curatorial Services, c1937).

⁶¹² Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 436-37.

Anthony House [Memorial Hall]

In 1846, the government's appropriation for the United States Armory's Superintendent's house, later to become Anthony Memorial Hall, amounted to \$15,000, including \$2,000 devoted to the installation of a fresh-water cistern. Completed in July 1847, the house was a "two story brick dwelling with a two-story wing connected by a passageway" to protect its inhabitants from the ferry's harsh elements.⁶¹³ Key amenities—landscaping improvements, storage buildings, vital fencing—were added to the superintendents' residence over time in order to augment the real estate value of the federal property. These improvements and protective enclosures made the superintendents' administrative residence a suitable overnight location for President Lincoln to take refuge on the federal installation on the evening of October 2, 1862 when Lincoln took his private train car from Washington earlier in the day bound for Harper's Ferry under heavy guard on his way to visit Major General George B. McClellan. McClellan's army was then across the Potomac River in Sharpsburg, Maryland recovering from the Battle of Antietam, which had been fought two weeks prior on September 17, 1862.⁶¹⁴ "In little more than a month, Lincoln would relieve McClellan of his command for failing to pursue the Confederates after the Battle of Antietam, but Lincoln would not quite be finished with his lethargic commander. In two year, the duo would tangle once again when McClellan, as the Democratic nominee—would challenge Lincoln in the presidential election" of 1864.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹³ Smith, *Research Report: History of Superintendent's Clerk's Quarters, Camp Hill (1857-1867)*, 4.

⁶¹⁴ Phil Conley and Boyd B. Sutler, *West Virginia Yesterday and Today (3rd)* (Charleston, WV: Education Foundation, Inc., 1952), 23; Bushong, *A History of Jefferson County West Virginia*, 157-58.

⁶¹⁵ Mark Snell, MSNELL@shepherd.edu, Personal Communication. RE: Lincoln/McClellan, 1862. Dr. Mark Snell is the Director of the George Tyler Moore Center for the Study of the Civil War, a branch of Shepherd University located in Shepherdstown, WV, (23 January 2004); Otis K. Rice and Stephen W. Brown, *West Virginia: A History* (KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 155.

According to Mary Brackett [Robertson], even after the war's outcome her father was still reluctant due to local opposition to relocate the fledgling school into Anthony Memorial Hall. Since pockets of resistance to the idea of a "colored school" still existed, Brackett wisely realized that attempts to develop the other buildings could be seen as a flouting in the face of local opinion. By keeping the Harper's Ferry Mission School's operation in Lockwood House, Brackett reasoned he would be better able to monitor and minimize oppositionist activities by maintaining a safe distance between differing factions.⁶¹⁶ Hoping that they could diffuse local opposition by proceeding with caution and extreme propriety, the Free Will Baptists did not feel at liberty to relocate the mission school and the school's chapel into Anthony Memorial Hall until 1869.⁶¹⁷ Two days before Christmas 1869, the denomination dedicated the chapel in Anthony Memorial Hall.⁶¹⁸

At this point in time, however, the hall did not yet have its official name. That would not occur for some ten years or so when, by 1880, plans to expand the former Superintendent's Quarters were put into operation. The need for expansion had been a long time developing. During the 1870 – 1880 decade, the student population at Storer had increased considerably, and, due to this growth spurt, the Normal Department was repeatedly "hampered by its cramped condition" and limitations.⁶¹⁹ In an attempt to alleviate the space constraints, the Women's Missionary Society at the 1880 Centennial Conference began a "project to raise funds" in order to erect a new physical structure to

⁶¹⁶ Joseph Barry, Jr., *The Annals of Harper's Ferry: From the Establishment of the National Armory in 1794, To the Present Time, 1869* (Hagerstown, MD: Dechert & Company Printers, 1869), 57.

⁶¹⁷ Louise Wood Brackett; Robertson, "Traditions and Memories," 15.

⁶¹⁸ "Catalogue of Storer College 1867 - 1936: A Junior College For Colored Youth, With Pre-Medical, State Normal, Academic, Musical and Industrial Departments".

⁶¹⁹ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College," 10.

accommodate this crucial element of the school's operation.⁶²⁰ The women organized the project so that various denominational agencies "selected different rooms to finish and furbish" for the college in Harper's Ferry.⁶²¹ With the assistance of Deacon Lewis Williams Anthony, the women proceeded.

In October 1871, Anthony had become a member of the Executive Committee of the Free Will Baptist Home Mission, so he was well acquainted with the ongoing educational work at Storer College. Eight years later, in 1879, he was elected the society's president, which further spurred his interest in the southern school. Anthony subsequently became a "liberal benefactor of the benevolent enterprises of the denomination," and he donated \$5,000 of his own money for an additional multiple classroom wing to be built on the former superintendent's house.⁶²²

Anthony Memorial Hall's original right wing, visible in the earliest pictures of Camp Hill, "antedates the war" years: it was used both as the private residence for the United States Armory's Superintendent and, later, as a soldier's hospital after the war's onset.⁶²³ To expand the hall via classroom wings, the denomination hired Washington, D.C., architect R. A. Gillis to design two 42.5' two-story square complementary annexes for each side of the existing 49' x 98' rectangular-shaped building. When completed, the annexes made the structure an imposing 130' in length.⁶²⁴ The cornerstones for the complementary annexes were laid on May 31, 1881 in conjunction with the 14th anniversary of the school, on May 30, to which noted orator, Frederick Douglass, was

⁶²⁰ Ibid.

⁶²¹ Ibid.

⁶²² Storer College Collection, Bulletin, 1948-1950, Storer College Bulletin, 1948-1950, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV.

⁶²³ Benjamin S. Morgan and J. F. Cork, *History of Education in West Virginia* (Charleston, WV: Moses W. Donnally, Printer, 1893), 186.

⁶²⁴ Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 25-27.

invited from Washington, D.C. in addition to Andrew Hunter, the John Brown prosecutor.⁶²⁵ After construction was completed the following year, the new structure was then physically centered between the newly-constructed boys' and girls' dormitories, to the south and north, respectively. The main entrance was centered in the older section, while each of the annexes had separate entrances. Male students entered the building through the new eastern-entrance in the southern annex, while female students entered through the eastern-entrance in the original northern annex, the entrances closest to their respective dormitories

Inside the "new edifice," the "old chapel" was updated, refurbished, enlarged, and retained in the "left wing," serving increased populations as the religious sanctuary. The new complex also contained "a chapel, lecture rooms, recitation rooms, library, quarters for the principal's family, and janitor's rooms".⁶²⁶ For his dedication and generosity, on May 30, 1882, Anthony received the honor of having the hall dedicated to him.⁶²⁷ From 1882 – 1955, Anthony Memorial Hall developed into the focal point and primary activity center for the Storer College campus. With the four government buildings now commonly surnamed for a wartime general, and three dedicated churchmen—Lockwood, Brackett, Morrell, and Anthony—Storer College began the school's next developmental phase, the Secondary Division. The school however continued to expand to accommodate the influx of secondary students while simultaneously offering preparatory classes to students in need of basic foundations in order to proceed to the next level of

⁶²⁵ See: Frederick Douglass, "John Brown: An Address on the Occasion of the Fourteenth Anniversary of Storer College, Harper's Ferry, West Virginia," <<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/>> [Path: [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/murray:@field\(FLD001+07012896+\):@@@%\\$REF\\$](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/murray:@field(FLD001+07012896+):@@@%REF)], 30 May 1881.

⁶²⁶ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 19.

⁶²⁷ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College,"; Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 25.

learning. To accommodate their students, the Board of Trustees approved plans to begin dormitory construction with aid from the Freedmen's Bureau.

Lincoln Hall

Consequently, the first major construction project on Storer's campus was Lincoln Hall, a boys' dormitory, so named to honor "The Great Emancipator." With a \$4,000 donation from the Freedmen's Bureau, between 1868 – 1870, construction was completed on the "three story wooden building 40 x 75 feet containing 34 double rooms" just to the south of Anthony Memorial Hall.⁶²⁸ The dormitory had the capacity to board 68 students, although during higher occupancy periods it is likely that these numbers were expanded. Although Storer's Industrial Department was not operational until 16 years later, Lincoln Hall was constructed by "a Union veteran" functioning as "foreman" for an aggressive project the "labor" force for which was made up of Storer's "students" enrolled for coursework during the period.⁶²⁹

Myrtle Hall

Since space was always at a premium in the early days of Storer College, by the 1870s, the need for a girl's dormitory had become critical. In 1873, the foundation for such a dormitory was laid to the north of Anthony Memorial Hall, although the denomination—which maintained a particular aversion for the "dragging weight of *debt* [stet]"—did not initially have funds to complete the project.⁶³⁰ The building campaign was spearheaded

⁶²⁸ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College,"; Morgan and J. F. Cork, *History of Education in West Virginia*; Stealey, "The Freedmen's Bureau in West Virginia," 99-142.

⁶²⁹ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College,".

⁶³⁰ Ibid.

by Frances Stewart Mosher, a denominational editor and an advocate of Storer who would later serve on the college's Boards of Instruction and Trustees.⁶³¹ The idea for soliciting funds by touring one of the school's music ensembles was developed. In Summer 1873, led by Anne Dudley and Martha Stowers, the Union Chorus (later to be known as The Harper's Ferry Singers) eagerly made their appeals on behalf of the school's needs performing for various New York townships and cities—from Buffalo to Utica. Not only did the group give *a capella* concerts to solicit donations from interested individuals, groups, and congregations, but ardent abolitionist minister Henry Ward Beecher at one point “yielded the pulpit of his church to Dudley for her entreaties”.⁶³² When the tour ended, it had raised \$4,000, with an additional donation of \$2,000 submitted by veteran abolitionist Gerrit Smith.⁶³³

With supplementary contributions toward construction costs by the Women's Missionary Society (\$1000) and the Centennial Jubilee Singers (\$600), the project slowly came to fruition and finally, on May 30, 1876, the building, 43' x 80', was dedicated.⁶³⁴ Additionally, after reading about the building's increased needs in *The Morning Star*, several New England churches, Sabbath schools, youth ministries, and other scholars sent offerings to refinish the building. Individual gifts purchased “doors, windows, and even bricks” to complete the project for the next school term when Myrtle Hall was opened. Unlike the other buildings, the names of which derived from leaders and major

⁶³¹ Gloria Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, National Park Service, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park (Morgantown, WV, 2002); Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1889-1891, Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic, State Normal, and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Harper's Ferry: Published by the Board of Trustees.

⁶³² Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 56.

⁶³³ Robertson, "Traditions and Memories," 17; Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 36; Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 55-56.

⁶³⁴ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College,".

contributors, the “Myrtle” of Myrtle Hall likely derives from the denomination’s youth publication of the same name, perhaps a nod to the numerous children from northeastern churches that made its construction possible through their own penny-nickel-dime campaigns.⁶³⁵ In fact, Anthony, as well as Morgan and Cork state that “[t]here are few buildings anywhere that represent a larger ownership...Thousands of children paid for single bricks, with nickels and dimes”.⁶³⁶

After the requisite funds were raised, the cornerstone of the north-facing Myrtle Hall was laid at its construction site five years later, in the summer of 1878. Two months later, Brackett reported that the first floor elevation of the building was in place; in addition, other pertinent features of the building were well underway with “12 rooms on a floor [with each room] 12 x 16”.⁶³⁷ Built upon a limestone base, the hall was constructed of brick with an enhanced Mansard-style roof, a curved, vertically-sloped, yet raised roof line that created a spacious quality because of the common usage of dormer windows in what was otherwise attic space. The brick building was ten windows abreast along its southern and northern exposures with the front of the building facing east just like Anthony Hall.⁶³⁸ According to Barker and Johnson’s report, the new building later had a “one-story porch with [a] second story balustrade” opening to the outside.⁶³⁹ The balustrade’s railing and banisters outlined the first-story porch from the second-story elevation below. Upon its completion, Myrtle Hall housed the girls’ preceptress and

⁶³⁵ Ibid.; Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 440, 449.

⁶³⁶ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College,"; Morgan and J. F. Cork, *History of Education in West Virginia*, 187.

⁶³⁷ Nathan Cook Brackett, Anthony Hall, Harper's Ferry, WV, to Frances Stewart Mosher, Hillsdale, MI, 10 August, 1878, Storer College Archives: Vertical File Binder: Brackett Correspondence, Volume I.

⁶³⁸ John Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 37.

⁶³⁹ Ibid.

matron, boasted 35 rooms for students above the basement level, and provided in its basement a score of domestic operations, including cooking and laundry facilities.

During the 1880 – 1881 school term, several improvements must have been made to Myrtle Hall. Miss Lura E. Brackett reported to *The Missionary Helper* in January that “[i]n Myrtle hall we feel we are steadily gaining. The facilities for making the girls comfortable were much improved”.⁶⁴⁰ Since the hall’s completion and improvements extended over a long period of time, despite their enthusiasm for the changes, the students, preceptress, and matron who lived there must have grown quite weary of the general inconvenience caused by construction. With the clamor, additional traffic caused by workmen, the general displacement amid supplies and materials sitting throughout the hall, and the increased noise level, the women were pleased when the hall’s improvements were finally completed. In winter 1881, all construction seems to have ceased, for Brackett stated that “[f]or the first time we had the whole house to ourselves, undisturbed by plasterers, painters, etc.”.⁶⁴¹ During the 1881 school term, 60 females boarded in Myrtle Hall, with fewer than seven girls then hiring outside assistance for “board and washing”.⁶⁴² In 1881, according to a report submitted by Lura Brackett, the Free Baptist Woman’s Missionary Society was directly assisting 50 of those students while 10 others received indirect aid, although the type of assistance was not specified.⁶⁴³ The Free Baptist Woman’s Missionary Society did finance the hall’s kitchen, study-

⁶⁴⁰ Lura E. Brackett, "[Missionary] Report of Miss Brackett," in *The Missionary Helper*, Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society no. 1 (Storer College Archives, January-February 1881), 7.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid.

⁶⁴² Ibid.

⁶⁴³ Ibid.

room, and other projects, not only to improve the building but also to support boarding students.⁶⁴⁴

Before it was converted as a men's dormitory, in 1918, Myrtle Hall sustained two fires, "one in November of 1883 and another in December 1892".⁶⁴⁵ At some point, between the 1920 and 1930 decade, Myrtle Hall was renamed Mosher Hall since the Sanborn Fire Map indicated this change from the 1922 to the 1933 update.⁶⁴⁶ After the building was renamed Mosher Hall, in the following decade, the building's first story was converted for use as a small physical education facility with "recreation and athletic rooms installed" for students, in addition to an infirmary room.⁶⁴⁷ What began as Myrtle Hall was demolished in 1963 by the National Park Service.⁶⁴⁸

With four "war-torn" buildings and two dormitories that were constructed over a period of years, the college had its physical start. Simultaneously, in order to meet the increasing demand for its services, it had to grow in focus, curricula, and scope. In addition to providing a foundational or basic education, Storer College evolved into an institution that through its Secondary Division and [State] Normal Department prepared others to take up the task of teaching.

⁶⁴⁴ Brackett, "[Missionary] Report of Miss Brackett," 7-8.

⁶⁴⁵ John Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 37.

⁶⁴⁶ Sanborn Insurance Company, *Storer College Campus*, Physical Building Schematic (Storer College Archives: Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, 1922); Sanborn Insurance Company, *Storer College Campus*, Physical Building Schematic (Storer College Archives: Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, 1933).

⁶⁴⁷ John Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 38.

⁶⁴⁸ *Completion Report: Demolition of Brackett and Mosher Halls and Grounds Cleanup*, tech. rept. no. APW-8 (Storer College Archives, 29 July 1963).

The Normal Department: Creating a New Generation of Educators

Expansion of the elementary education offered by Storer did not occur without some concerted effort on the part of the college's creators. During Spring 1867, the Free Will Baptists enthusiastically worked to open the Normal Department in time to qualify for assistance from a key educational philanthropy, the newly-established Peabody Education Fund.⁶⁴⁹ Their efforts were fueled by the news that Barnas Sears, the Fund's general agent, was planning a trip to select pre-existing, southern schools that could qualify for funding.⁶⁵⁰ Sears was directed to select schools "in which the destitution [was] greatest and the number to be benefited largest" in order to quickly educate students for teaching in southern and later, free schools.⁶⁵¹ There was but one stipulation: According to the "Circular of the General Agent of the Peabody Education Fund," which was widely disseminated throughout the south, the fund could not be used to found schools, assume routine support for, or finance "literary" or "professional" schools.⁶⁵² It was even not within the limits of the Peabody Education Fund to locate or hire teachers. To qualify, Storer's Normal Department had to be in place, organized, and functioning by the time Sears arrived.

⁶⁴⁹ Oren B. Cheney, Lewiston, ME, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, April 27, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

⁶⁵⁰ Barnas Sears, West Virginia & Regional History, A & M 2621, Box 1, FF 1, 1867, Circular of the General Agent of the Peabody Education Fund, Morgantown, WV, West Virginia University; Jesse Brundage Sears, *Philanthropy in the History of American Higher Education* (Washington, D.C.: Governemnt Printing Office, 1922; reprint, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1990), 82.

⁶⁵¹ Barnas Sears, "Circular of the General Agent of the Peabody Education Fund,"; Frank Bowles and Frank A. DeCosta, *Between Two Worlds: A Profile of Negro Higher Education*, The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, vol. 5 (NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971), 44; Ullin Whitney Leavell, *Philanthropy in Negro Education* (George Peabody College for Teachers: Nashville, TN, 1930; reprint, Westport, CN: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 59-62; "The Peabody Education Fund Collection, 1881-1918," <www.library.vanderbilt.edu/speccol/peabody.shtml>.

⁶⁵² Barnas Sears, "Circular of the General Agent of the Peabody Education Fund."

Again, Cheney played a key role in getting the Normal Department up and running. Cheney wrote to Brackett on April 27, 1867 that “in order to receive anything from the Peabody fund we must have a first class [stet] Normal School in operation” before Sears’ arrival.⁶⁵³ Cheney was aware that the fund allowed for schools with Normal Departments to receive “particular attention,” and that Sears anticipated supporting organized schools, or departments offering Normal Teacher education.⁶⁵⁴ Cheney immediately recognized and reported to Brackett that “Dr. Sears will insist that we have a teacher who understands how to teach teaching [stet].”⁶⁵⁵ Thus, the Baptists began to look for a college graduate who had attended an approved “Normal School” for at least “one term” to begin the program.⁶⁵⁶ Although the FWB-HMS was given a slight reprieve when Cheney discovered that Dr. Sears would not actually begin his southern tour until 1868, the college had already begun substantive work on its Normal Department.⁶⁵⁷ Together, the preparatory, secondary, and normal departments would eventually offer the sort of education touted by the Free Will Baptists as key to their mission: one that combined traditional subjects meant to improve the mind with others meant to inculcate moral, ethical, and religious principles in those it touched.

The Storer Curriculum: Blending Education and Morality

During the formative phase of Negro education, when institutions were first established for the sole purpose of educating freed and free blacks, Booker T. Washington made the heartfelt claim that “the Negro worshiped books. We wanted books, more books. The

⁶⁵³ Oren B. Cheney, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

⁶⁵⁴ Barnas Sears, "Circular of the General Agent of the Peabody Education Fund."

⁶⁵⁵ Oren B. Cheney, Free Will Baptist Correspondence.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

larger the books were the better we like[d] them. The more the books cost the better we like[d] them. The longer names the books had the better we like[d] them. We did not think much, as a race, about what was in the books; but we thought the mere possession and the mere handling and the mere worship of books was going, in some inexplicable way, to make great and strong and useful men of our race” after so many years in bondage.⁶⁵⁸ Washington’s claim that the very concept of the Book represented the potential for freedom and self-development indicates the level of desire inherent in those of his race for the sort of evolution that promised both physical and intellectual independence.

The Free Will Baptists’ social and educational philosophies, which reflected their prevailing religious orthodoxy, made just such development possible. According to the canon of their religious faith, if adherents chose to live a life of elevated character, social tolerance, and moral integrity, their lives—by example—stimulated others to an improved lifestyle while simultaneously uplifting individuals and their society. Typical of the educational institutions of the period, Storer College thus directed its aims toward intellectual development combined with an inculcation of morality and Christian virtues.⁶⁵⁹ With these ends in view, school policy and practice included two Sabbath religious services and daily mandatory chapel attendance. As students from various faith backgrounds worshipped together, however, the mid-week prayer meetings common to the Free Wills was made optional. Regardless, the school emphasized the impossibility of true intellectual enlightenment without an accompanying moral development.

⁶⁵⁸ Booker T. Washington, "Some Results of the Armstrong Idea," *The Southern Workman* XXXVIII (1909): 176, 169 - 172.

⁶⁵⁹ Linnea Hamer, "Storer College: The Education of the Black America," Harper's Ferry, WV, 1983, HFR-00416, 5.

Incorporated into the Storer's "discipline" then was the principle that "Teachers will spare no pains, both by precept and example, to inculcate good morals, habits of industry and selfdependence [sic]. It is, in fact, the design to make this a model school in every particular" for the common good.⁶⁶⁰ Their model school would depend for its success upon several related principles: the dedication of its founders to the principle of making education possible to all, the diligent pursuit by its faculty of community-building, the institution of rules governing behavior, the logical connection in its curriculum between "book-learning" and morality, and the selection of guest speakers whose own lives indicated the potential for success likewise open to Storer students.

Storer's Financial Dedication to Education

The Free Will Baptists designed their southern school so that "expenses [we]re reduced as low as possible," so that none would be excluded or "debarred from the privileges of study" due to lack of financial means.⁶⁶¹ To help finance their education, many of Storer's "first students [between 1867 – 1880] were given work on the grounds and in repairing the old buildings and in cultivating the farm[?s]" gardens, crops, and livestock.⁶⁶²

As is the case today, the cost of an education during the nineteenth century could be quite prohibitive. In 1869, the general tuition range at Storer was between \$3.00 – \$9.00, depending upon whether students enrolled per term (\$3.00), or for the full year (\$9.00). If students "guaranteed five years of instruction," they purchased a "Certificate

⁶⁶⁰ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1869, Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Normal Department, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Libby & Co., Printers--Enquirer Office: Dover, NH.

⁶⁶¹ "Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Normal Department,".

⁶⁶² Storer Record, in *Storer College National Alumni Collection*, vol. 12, 3, Harper's Ferry, WV, 1895, 4.

of Scholarship” from the school’s treasurer for \$20.00. As is the case at most universities today, the school charged an additional fee for students enrolled in special courses—“Drawing, Painting and Instrumental Music”—that would be used to cover costs for specialized utensils, equipment, and instrument rentals.⁶⁶³

In 1869, students had two different boarding options: (a) live in the Lockwood House, or (b) take rooms in privately owned houses with approved chaperones. If students chose to board in the Lockwood, the “[r]oom-rent” was \$3.00. To offset these expenses the Baptists “furnished [students] with employment to some extent” in order to defray the routine expenses associated with formal schooling. However, boarding costs in private houses or cottages with “good families” cost \$2.00 – \$3.00 per week. The Baptists often made exemptions for “indigent students,” abating “a part or the whole of the Tuition and Room-rent,” so that they too were offered opportunities for “habits of industry and selfdependence.”⁶⁶⁴

During the 1882 – 1884 session, Storer’s students paid two- to five-dollars for school books.⁶⁶⁵ Boarding dormitory students paid “fifty cents” for an “entrance fee” in order to defer upkeep and repairs for the “stove, double bedstead, table, and chairs” that furnished each dorm room.⁶⁶⁶ Bedding was rented from the school. In 1882, students rented “beds complete”—\$2.00 for three months, or \$3.00 for eight months. If the students returned their bedding in good condition, they received a refund of \$1.00. If

⁶⁶³ "Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Normal Department".

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁵ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1882-1884, Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Morning Star Job Printing House, 29-30.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid; Storer Record, in *Storer College National Alumni Collection*, vol. 12, 3, Harper's Ferry, WV, 1895, 4.

students preferred to furnish their own bedding, in such cases, the school supplied clean straw for twenty cents per student.

During the early 1880s, after students made boarding arrangements, they could expect reasonable monthly expenses during the duration of their stay. The college charged students a weekly boarding fee between \$1.50 to 1.75 paid “*invariably in advance* [stet],” an amount that came to a total of \$6.00 to \$7.00 per month.⁶⁶⁷ Tuition and room rentals were \$1.00 to \$1.50. Students could hire out their laundry for \$1.00, while fuel costs ran between \$.25 to \$.50 per month. The total expenses students could expect to pay per month ranged from \$7.25 to \$10.00, depending on their personal laundry habits and purchases of fuel for room heat.⁶⁶⁸ If students chose to board themselves, their monthly expenses could benefit slightly by a \$4.00 to \$3.00 reduction.⁶⁶⁹ Students could purchase hot meals from local cooks for a nominal fee. Most cooks were colored women with families of their own, or enrolled children who were dedicated not only to supporting boarding students but also to ensuring the schools’ efforts to educate the race.

Throughout this period, Storer’s founders did everything they could to make their education affordable—and to help those students who were not by themselves financially capable of attending. Although its founders were especially concerned with maintaining adequate funding during Storer’s formative years, when the need to improve facilities ran high, they were also aware that most if not all of their students could hardly afford to attend (and benefit) without some sort of assistance. Their very audience demanded that they make allowances—literally.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid.

Storer's Faculty: Education and Morality

In order to ensure that the college did indeed meet this overriding goal, the denomination looked first to its faculty. To begin with, the school's creators sought an integrated team of teachers. As previously noted, when the school opened its doors in 1867, its first nineteen students were under the charge of Miss Martha Smith, who began her career as a teacher working with "contrabands" near Hampton, Virginia during General Butler's command of Fortress Monroe.⁶⁷⁰ For the full 1867 – 1868 school term, however, the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society approved thirteen teachers to be sent to the Shenandoah Valley and the Storer campus; additionally, during the term, Brackett and Morrell also employed "seven colored assistant missionaries" to work alongside the new cohort.⁶⁷¹ The employment of these seven tallied with the society's desire to eventually replace "northern workers" with "colored students" who had been educated at Storer College and hence formally would be prepared "to become teachers and preachers" who would continue to generate "support [from] the people residing there" long after the "northern workers" returned to their places of origin.⁶⁷²

In addition, the denomination believed the responsibilities of its teachers should extend beyond the classroom (educational sphere) into the local community (moral and social spheres). With the passage of time and community needs, mission teachers' responsibilities were thus expanded: they were expected to work toward the betterment of their communities. For example, Anne Dudley, assisted by Miss E. H. Oliver (another mission teacher), organized the first Free Will Baptist church in Martinsburg in Berkeley

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid.; Benjamin F. Butler, *Butler's Book* (1869), 5-50; Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the Civil War* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, Publishers, 1953; reprint, NY: Da Capo Press, 1989), 60.

⁶⁷¹ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 594.

⁶⁷² Ibid.; James Calder, Harrisburg, PA, Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N. C. Brackett, Harper's Ferry, WV, December 10, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

County. The two women were “assisted by a colored preacher” who willingly aided their purpose and solicited others to help on their behalf.⁶⁷³ Shortly thereafter, other churches were organized in Harper’s Ferry and in Charles Town. Consequently, “the work of the mission [was] perpetuated in the churches” by like-minded individuals—black and white—who believed in the mission’s attempt to morally and educationally improve the quality of life for valley residents.⁶⁷⁴ First and foremost, through the examples set by its teachers, Storer enabled its students and the community to realize that “good moral character” was important for everyday living. Additionally, it created a set of rules and regulations—set forth in each year’s catalogue—that helped define its students’ moral characters.

Building a Moral Character: Storer’s Rules of Conduct

Increasing enrollment prompted Storer’s administration to enact more specific rules governing conduct and behavior. The administration openly stated that it “presumed [its students] to be ladies and gentlemen,” and, as such, they were welcome to take advantage of college offerings “only so long as the presumption is maintained”.⁶⁷⁵ To remind students about this “presumption,” the college administration provided them with a “strict code of conduct, carefully laid out in each year’s catalogue”.⁶⁷⁶ These definitive “*requirements and prohibitions* [stet]” were so clearly defined as to brook no misinterpretation, and in order to remain enrolled, students were directed to adhere to “*all*

⁶⁷³ Burgess and Ward, 594.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁵ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1882-1884, “Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments,” Library & Curatorial Services, Harper’s Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Morning Star Job Printing House, 28.

⁶⁷⁶ Gloria Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, National Park Service, Harper’s Ferry National Historical Park (Morgantown, WV, 2002), 59.

[stet] the regulations for the promotion of health, cleanliness and good order” on behalf of the school.⁶⁷⁷

First and foremost, Storer’s regulations were designed to help students succeed academically. Attendance for “recitation[s]” and other extra curricular “exercise[s]” was mandatory for all students unless excused for good reason by a member of the faculty.⁶⁷⁸ When the school’s “study bell” rang, students were expected to immediately report to their rooms to “observe quiet study hours” until last call for light-outs; additionally, students were expected to prepare for each day’s classes with a one-hour study session before the school day started.⁶⁷⁹ Students were not allowed to add, or drop classes, or transfer from one class to another for any reason. To deter distracting or casual assemblies, students were not allowed to “loiter” about the campus, so that students attending classes or participating in study sessions were not disturbed.

In order to complete the totality of its mission, however, Storer’s prohibitions extended beyond the educational needs to the social lives of its students. For obvious reasons, students were not allowed to leave campus without permission, particularly to “attend balls, dances or other parties in the town”—and such permission was never an option during the school week.⁶⁸⁰ Social outings were generally discouraged, especially “pleasure excursions, rides, or walks, in mixed company,” unless the group was accompanied by faculty, or given “special permission”.⁶⁸¹ As might seem logical for a church-affiliated school, the rules specifically prohibited students from visiting “any

⁶⁷⁷ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1882-1884, “Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments,” Library & Curatorial Services, Harper’s Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Morning Star Job Printing House.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid.

drinking saloon,” imbibing “intoxicating liquors,” and using “profane or indecent language” that would reflect negatively on the student population, or the school.⁶⁸² According to David Cole, over the years “intoxicating liquors” had been a minor problem especially in such cases where Storer’s football team traveled into the district to play Howard University; the Storer-Howard game evolved into quite a regional rivalry.⁶⁸³ Students also were not allowed to “play cards, jump, dance or scuffle” in buildings, or to “smoke” in or near “the grounds of the Institution, or on the streets”.⁶⁸⁴ Students were not allowed “[t]o have or use fire-arms,” except with special permission from the school’s principal after hostilities noticeably waned.⁶⁸⁵ Since students were allowed to board off-campus, they could board only in approved boarding houses with approved chaperones. They could not relocate without special permission, and they were discouraged against indebtedness of any kind.

As might also be expected, rules governed interaction between the sexes. While some such rules seemed to focus more narrowly on decreasing the potential for sexual activity—by no means were students allowed to invite “persons of the opposite sex” to their rooms—others seemed geared more toward protecting the “fairer sex” in general. For example, female students “were not allowed to be out after dark, could not be seen alone in the company of a man, and were not even permitted to go to the railway station without a chaperone” to escort them to and from the school’s campus.⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸² Ibid.

⁶⁸³ David Cole, RE: Career and experience in the district, Juanita’s background, work in Washington, and Storer football. 16 February 2004.

⁶⁸⁴ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1882-1884, “Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments,” Library & Curatorial Services, Harper’s Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Morning Star Job Printing House.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid.; Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 60.

In addition to these rules, a comprehensive dress code was instituted for students. Realizing that “a decided movement toward reformation in the dress of school girls” was coming into fashion, the school was just as determined “to establish a standard” whereby to avoid controversy and determine a uniform dress code.⁶⁸⁷ Female students were advised to keep their dress “simple,” with no jewelry, no “silk or velvet,” no “ornaments” of any kind.⁶⁸⁸ The catalogue clearly states that “[f]rom the teacher’s point of view, the schoolroom is a workshop, not a place for cast-off finery...the best and most economical material for school dresses is mohair alpaca”.⁶⁸⁹ Mothers were asked to provide daughters with “a plaited woolen shirt attached to a lining waist, and an elastic Jersey bodice...with one undershirt and two layers of underclothing—one pure wool, the other cotton—solved the school problem; and a corded corset waist, to which the stocking suspenders are attached, supplies the continuation of the one undershirt, and neatly outlines; without compressing, the figure” of female students.⁶⁹⁰ To devise this school dress code, the Storer faculty consulted other schools in New York and Massachusetts, as well as the *Demorest Family Monthly*, a ladies home and fashion magazine that was published from the 1860’s through the turn of the century.⁶⁹¹

From Admission Standards to General Curriculum: A Moral Education

The nature of Storer College’s very admission standard indicated the degree to which the school’s philosophy relied upon the fact that “education” and “morality” did not have to

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid., 30.

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁹¹ “Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Department,” 30; “Demorest Family Monthly,” <<http://www.histclo.hispeed.com>> [Path: <http://www.histclo.hispeed.com/photo/photopubus.html>], 2003.

be mutually exclusive terms. In 1869 and for several years thereafter, admission required first that students “give satisfactory evidence of a good moral character”.⁶⁹² In addition, however, students had to demonstrate proficiency in reading, spelling, penmanship, geography, and mental arithmetic before they could be enrolled in the “Regular Course of Study”.⁶⁹³ According to the school’s educational philosophy, “[t]he greater the proficiency the student has made in these branches, the better will he be able to master the studies of the Course”.⁶⁹⁴ If students were unable to demonstrate proficiencies in each area, they were enrolled in the “Preparatory Department” instead of the “Regular Course of Study” at Storer.⁶⁹⁵ After students enrolled in the “Regular Course,” they were expected to complete the graded course over a three-year period.⁶⁹⁶

The college offered three terms for students: fall, winter, and summer. The fall term included the months of September through December. January through the month of March made up the winter term, and the summer term was extended through the months of April through June.⁶⁹⁷ This trimester system remained in effect until the late 1870’s, when it was changed to a “regular session”.⁶⁹⁸ The “regular session” began the first week of October and culminated on Memorial Day, although students did have one week off for Christmas vacation and another “few days the last of March,” most likely to correspond with and commemorate the most celebrated religious holiday, Easter.

During the nineteenth century, it was common for courses of study to be offered in reverse chronology: first-year students entered the “Third Year,” or least difficult

⁶⁹² "Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Normal Department," 1869, 10.

⁶⁹³ Ibid., 9.

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid., 11.

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid.

curriculum, and over the course of time worked their way “up” to the “First Year,” or most difficult curriculum. Storer’s curriculum followed this tradition.⁶⁹⁹ Students entering the first year of study were expected to advance through fundamental work in “Reading” from third and fourth grade primers, “Spelling,” the beginning level of “Intermediate Geography,” and “Elementary Arithmetic,” coupled with “First Lessons in Grammar, Penmanship, Recitations and Compositions”.⁷⁰⁰ To these subjects, “Second Year” students added reading in fourth and fifth grade primers, a complete “Geography” course, “Common School Arithmetic,” and “Common School Grammar and Analysis.” The “Second Year” curriculum also introduced a course on the “History of the United States”.⁷⁰¹ Culminating the three-year program of study, the “First Year” class focused on more advanced subjects: “Algebra, Physiology, Moral Science, and Natural Philosophy.” “First Year’s” were also expected to write “Original Declamations and Compositions,” as well as take a methods course, “Instruction in the Art of Teaching” to complete the normal program.⁷⁰² This last course was mandatory: funding from the Peabody Education Fund required it.

Storer’s early catalogues listed a wide variety of textbooks used by students for the three-year regular course. In its reading courses, the school utilized a series of gradated textbooks published by Charles Walton Sander in 1858 and 1862. The reading curriculum began with Sander’s easy progressive lessons in both reading and spelling, then advanced to comprehensive principles of rhetorical reading. Through Sanders’

⁶⁹⁹ See: Roy C. Woods, "A Short History of Education in West Virginia," *West Virginia History Journal* 17, no. 4 (1956): 304-28; Irving A. Derbigny, *General Education in the Negro College* (NY: Negro University press, 1947), 12-73; James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 33-78, 110-47.

⁷⁰⁰ "Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Normal Department," 1870, 10.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid.

⁷⁰² Ibid.

series, students matriculated through a series of exercises in both prose and poetry during the “Second” and “First Years”.⁷⁰³ They learned articulation, accent and emphasis, inflection, modulation, and rhetorical pause, with several accompanying exercises.⁷⁰⁴ Through the practice of oratory and declamatory competitions, students were encouraged to develop elocution skills. Simon Kerl’s series on grammar, which was published by Ivison, Blakeman, and Taylor just before Storer College opened in 1867, provided complementary lessons to those of the reading courses.⁷⁰⁵ Storer’s early students worked to acquire the rules of grammar in order to apply the rules to composition. Geography courses relied upon Sarah Cornell’s Series of Geographies, a comprehensive approach to geography by continent that incorporated: introductory lessons, illustrations, questions, definitions, and geographical descriptions.⁷⁰⁶ Quackenboss’ History of the United States, a periodic chapter sequence, taught “Second Year” students American History.⁷⁰⁷ The history series began with “Part I The Aboriginal Period” moving through “Part IV The Constitutional Period”.⁷⁰⁸ The principles of arithmetic were “fully explained and illustrated” by Greenleaf’s new “electrotype” edition, which was published during the

⁷⁰³ Charles Walton Sanders, "Sander's Series of Readers," <<http://digital.library.pitt.edu/>> [Path: <http://digital.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/t/text/text-idx?c=nietz>], 2003.

⁷⁰⁴ Sanders, "Sander's Series of Readers."

⁷⁰⁵ Simon Kerl, "Kerl's Series in Grammar: A Common-School Grammar of the English Language," <<http://digital.library.pitt.edu/>> [Path: <http://digital.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/nietz/nietzbibl-idx.pl?type=fulbib&byte=9068877&rgn1=record>], 2003.

⁷⁰⁶ Sarah S. Cornell, "Cornell's Series of Geographies," <<http://digital.library.pitt.edu/>> [Path: <http://digital.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/t/text/text-idx?c=nietz>], 2003.

⁷⁰⁷ George Payn Quackenbos, "Quackenbos' History of the United States," <<http://digital.library.pitt.edu/>> [Path: <http://digital.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/t/text/text-idx?c=nietz>], 2003.

⁷⁰⁸ Quackenbos, "Quackenbos' History of the United States."

war years, in 1862.⁷⁰⁹ Greenleaf's "inductive system" was a phenomenon for teaching "national arithmetic" at the time.⁷¹⁰

Additionally, students at Storer used the first edition of Francis Wayland's The Elements of Moral Science, published in 1835 by Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln. Since Storer's main provision for enrollment was to "giv[e] satisfactory evidence of moral character," Wayland's series was crucial to the curriculum at Storer College.⁷¹¹ John Call Dalton's textbook, A Treatise on Physiology and Hygiene: For Schools, Families, and Colleges, functioned as the source study for the parts and functions of living organisms.⁷¹² Peck's Moral Philosophy rounded out the curriculum during the formative years.

Barely three years after accepting its first class of students, by 1870, Storer's enrollment had substantially increased to take advantage of this curriculum. By the middle of the decade, in 1875, the "aggregate number of pupils . . . was 285" at Storer College.⁷¹³ The entry year by that time was reclassified as the "First Year" instead of the "Third Year," and the school adhered to a strict, forward chronology from this point corresponding with the number of years individual students were in attendance at the

⁷⁰⁹ Benjamin Greenleaf, "Introduction to The National Arithmetic: On the Inductive System Combining the Analytic and Synthetic Methods," <<http://digital.library.pitt.edu/>> [Path: <http://digital.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/nietz/nietzbibl-idx.pl?type=fulbib&byte=6873873&rgn1=record>], 2003.

⁷¹⁰ Greenleaf, "Fully Explained and Illustrated: Designed for Common Schools and Academies."

⁷¹¹ Francis Wayland, "The Elements of Moral Science," <<http://digital.library.pitt.edu/>> [Path: <http://digital.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/nietz/nietzbibl-idx.pl?type=fulbib&byte=17551549&rgn1=record>], 2003.

⁷¹² John Call Dalton, "A Treatise on Physiology and Hygiene: For Schools, Families, and Colleges," <<http://digital.library.pitt.edu/>> [Path: <http://digital.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/nietz/nietzbibl-idx.pl?type=fulbib&byte=4278850&rgn1=record>], 2003.

⁷¹³ M. F. Maury and W. M. Fontaine, *Resources of West Virginia* (Wheeling, WV: Register Company, Printers, 1876), 359.

institution.⁷¹⁴ Even during these early years, the traditional classroom experience was often rounded out by a series of in-house and guest lectures designed to broaden student's awareness of the world around them and their places within it.

Storer's Lecture Series: Education by Example

In order to prove a well-rounded education consistent with Victorian influences, the creators of Storer College believed students should be challenged by the experiences of others and exposed to various ideas through those experiences. In keeping with this principle, the school's 1880's catalogues claimed that "[t]o listen to great orators is a most important part of a student's education".⁷¹⁵ Every day, at the close of recitations, students were given a "talk or select reading" for fifteen minutes.⁷¹⁶ Lectures addressed a number of subjects, such as "School Discipline, Political Economy, Morals, Physiology, History, [and] the events of the day".⁷¹⁷ Complementing this lecture period, students were encouraged to participate by posing questions, offering comments, opinions, and "minute speeches" making further application of their learning process through inquisition and interaction.⁷¹⁸

In addition, as noted in the 1876 "Resources of West Virginia," the school boasted "an annual course of lectures on scientific, and other topics," which the compilers of the "resource" report believed to be "an excellent feature in its

⁷¹⁴ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1870, Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Normal Department, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Freewill Baptist Printing Establishment: Dover, NH.

⁷¹⁵ "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments," 1889, 21.

⁷¹⁶ Ibid.

⁷¹⁷ Ibid.

⁷¹⁸ Ibid.

administration”.⁷¹⁹ More importantly, however, at various times, the slate of “in-house” lectures was expanded by guest lectures provided by some of the most influential speakers of the day. On May 30, 1881, for example, the occasion of Storer’s 14th anniversary, Frederick Douglass delivered a commencement address on the legacy proffered by the actions of John Brown some twenty or more years earlier. Douglass’s very presence served to remind the students that through education, slavery could be escaped and a new life of freedom achieved. Douglass himself was adamant on this point. In his *Narrative*, Douglass recounts the moment when he realized that slaveowners viewed illiteracy as powerful a tool as the whip for ensuring enslavement through ignorance. Douglass loudly proclaimed that “the pathway from slavery to freedom,” as he personally endured, witnessed, and exemplified.⁷²⁰ In one situation, as Douglass recounts, his mistress began to teach him to read, but the plan was halted by his master, who warned his wife that her efforts would “spoil” the young slave. Overhearing his master’s words indeed proved Douglass’ suspicions. Douglass stated, “I now understood what had been to me a most perplexing difficulty—to wit, the white man’s power to enslave the black man. From that moment, I understood the pathway from slavery to freedom”.⁷²¹ Douglass’s awareness fueled his ardor for educating his fellow blacks, as his commencement address indicates. Moreover, the “very fact that Douglass could stand on a public stage and praise Brown as a heroic crusader for the end of slavery perhaps best illustrates the progress that had been made toward acceptance of emancipation and the assimilation of freedmen into mainstream American society,”

⁷¹⁹ Maury and Fontaine, *Resources of West Virginia*, 359.

⁷²⁰ Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave* (Boston, MA: Anti-Slavery Office, No 25 Cornhill, 1845; reprint, NY: Penguin, 1986), x.

⁷²¹ Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave*, x.

including educational institutions.⁷²² Whereas to teach his fellow slaves Douglass had to break the law, to the students at Storer he could speak freely about the potential for advancement offered by education. Much had changed over the course of the last thirty years—and many more changes were yet to come.

Evolution: Key Changes During the First Phase of Storer's Existence

As the world around Storer continued to change, the school likewise adapted and evolved on a number of levels, from the size of its teaching staff to its rules for students, from its curriculum to its educational scope.

In 1869, the “Board of Instructors” was comprised of seven instructors and three examiners. Brackett remained the principal while his wife, Louise, was “Teacher of Drawing and Painting”.⁷²³ Miss Martha J. Stowers was the acting “Preceptress” and “Teacher of Music,” assisted by Miss Dora J. Stockbridge.⁷²⁴ The “Lecturers” consigned to the “Board of Instructors” were Calder, Ball, and Brewster from the instituting “commission” board.⁷²⁵ The Reverends G. G. Baker, E. S. Lacy, and J. T. Furgerson served as the school’s early “Examining Committee” for students.⁷²⁶

By 1882, Storer College had expanded its “Board of Instructors” to accommodate a more diversified curriculum. Principal Brackett was teaching “Arithmetic and Political Economy” and his wife, Louise Wood Brackett, was reassigned as Assistant Principal. One of Brackett’s younger sisters, Lura Ellen Brackett, taught “English Grammar and Algebra,” and during the period 1882 – 1884 served as preceptress. Eventually, students

⁷²² Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 53.

⁷²³ "Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Normal Department," 1869, 6.

⁷²⁴ Ibid.

⁷²⁵ Ibid.

⁷²⁶ Ibid.; Maury and Fontaine, *Resources of West Virginia*, 359.

expressed a great affinity for the strictly structured, Victorian woman they began to refer to as “Miss Lue,” and she devoted the best years of her life to them, remaining at Harper’s Ferry until her death in 1925.⁷²⁷

Another important change involving the teaching staff occurred during the early 1880s: for the first time, the official Board of Instructors included full-time colored instructors. Miss Coralie Lee [Cook] Franklin, an 1880 Storer graduate, became the teacher of “elocution,” instructing students in the arts of public reading and speaking.⁷²⁸ Likewise, William Henry Bell served as a general “Assistant and Steward” to the faculty at Storer.⁷²⁹ Born a slave in Fairfax County, Virginia, in 1839, Bell later served as a soldier for the Union Army during the Civil War.⁷³⁰ With his interesting background—first, a slave, then a fighter for freedom—Bell most likely provided the Storer College student of the 1880s with a unique perspective on the most important historical movements of the century.⁷³¹ Rounding out the team of black teachers, Franklin and Bell were joined by Mrs. D. B. Washington, who taught “Instrumental Music;” the Misses Laura Taylor and Lizzie Simms; and the Misters John B. Spriggs and Bernard Tyrrell, the last four of whom were “Assistant Pupils” selected from among the student

⁷²⁷ Toogood, *The Lockwood House: Birthplace of Storer College*, 45; Mary Brackett Robertson, Storer College Archives, 26 February, 1937, “Contributions of My Family,” Library & Curatorial Services, Harper’s Ferry National Historical Park.

⁷²⁸ “Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments,” 1880, 12; *Storer College Students*, United States Department of the Interior; National Park Service: Storer College Archives, by Guinevere Roper and Toni Hicks, Historians, Harper’s Ferry National Monument (Harper’s Ferry National Historic Park, 1985?), UN.

⁷²⁹ “Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments,” 1882, 4 .

⁷³⁰ Maude Beatrice Bell Plowden, Martinsburg, WV, to Frank Bell, Bailey, VA, March 14, 1937, Personal Memoirs (Unpublished Manuscript Letter), Bell Family Collection; Maude Beatrice Bell Plowden, Personal Letter, 3.

⁷³¹ Maude Beatrice Bell Plowden, Personal Letter, 3; Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass: His Early Life as a Slave, His Escape From Bondage and His History Complete*, Facsimile Edition (Hartford, CN: Park Publishing Co., 1881; reprint, NY: Carol Publishing Group, 1991).

population to aid their teachers while gaining experience at the same time through mentorship.⁷³²

Other supporting faculty in the early 80's included the Reverend Dexter Waterman, an ordained minister who was responsible for teaching "Scripture History and Butler's Theology".⁷³³ Additionally, Waterman must have functioned much as a mentor for male students interested in becoming preachers since Burgess and Ward state that his "sincere regard for the young men who are coming into the ministry is deeply appreciated" by the denomination.⁷³⁴ When he was a member of the Board of Instructors at Storer, Waterman was nearing 80 years of age but was "still active, conducting the preaching service every Sunday, and attending the other meetings of the church".⁷³⁵ For a period, he also served as a member of Storer's Board of Trustees. Instruction in "Latin and Natural Sciences" was provided by Walter Paul Curtis of Auburn, Maine, the nephew of school founder Silas Curtis.⁷³⁶

During this period, the Board of Instructors also maintained several rotating "Assistants" who alternated working with full-time and part-time faculty.⁷³⁷ Based on the "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments, 1882 – 1884," among those who served in this capacity for the school were C.A. E. Southwell, Mrs. E.C. Jenness (services *gratis*), and W. D. Wilson and J. P. Lovett, both of whom had graduated with elocution teacher Franklin.⁷³⁸ At

⁷³² "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments," 1882, 4.

⁷³³ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 680.

⁷³⁴ Ibid.

⁷³⁵ Ibid., 681.

⁷³⁶ "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments," 1882, 4.

⁷³⁷ Ibid.

⁷³⁸ Roper and Toni Hicks, *Storer College Students*, UN.

time, musical education was handled by Mrs. M. R. Adams, who was responsible for “vocal music,” and Mrs. D.B. Washington, who taught “instrumental music”.⁷³⁹ In 1882, the “Matron” of Myrtle Hall, the girl’s dormitory, was identified as Miss Emily Carter.⁷⁴⁰

By the 1880’s, the curriculum also had undergone considerable changes, primarily to accommodate the needs of what had become three distinct departments: Preparatory, Academic and State Normal. In the 1882 – 1884 school term, 166 students were enrolled in the school’s Preparatory Department, which was itself designated by alphabetical arrangement: students were divided into “Grade A” and “Grade B” classes. During this period, there were 92 students in “Grade A” and 74 students in “Grade B,” for a combined total of 166 students. At the same time, the Academic Department had enrolled 59 students with the express intention of preparing to “fit students for the first-class colleges” over a course of four years.⁷⁴¹ Listed in the 1882 – 1884 Biennial Catalogue as a member of the Academic Department’s “First Class” is Mary Brackett [Newcomer], the youngest child of Nathan and Louise.⁷⁴² Although Mary was eventually sent to New England to complete her education—the school by the time of her graduation had not achieved collegiate status—she began her education alongside the children, and grandchildren of freedmen and free blacks at Storer, in keeping with the inclusive principles of the Free Will Baptists. Of the three departments, the Academic one recorded the smallest enrollment, yet from its conception “it represented the core of what Storer’s founders and administration hoped the school would become—a respected

⁷³⁹ "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments," 1882, 4.

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁴¹ "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments," 1889, 19.

⁷⁴² "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments," 1882, 5.

college for African Americans that could offer courses of the caliber of a traditional liberal arts education".⁷⁴³ Its curricula focused on the classics, such as Ovid, Cicero, and Virgil; English literature, including Shakespeare; Latin and Greek grammar; foreign languages, such as German and French; and a variety of traditional high school level subjects, including algebra, geology, botany, and astronomy.⁷⁴⁴

The school's State Normal Department provided the most academically advanced education. Sixty-three students were enrolled for the three-year program of Normal School Training during the 1882 – 1884 academic school year. During this period, the suggested curriculum matriculation increased by number and in difficulty from six courses in the "First Year" to eleven for the "Third Year" students preparing for graduation.⁷⁴⁵ Storer's "Board of Instructors" and Principal Brackett worked with the West Virginia State Superintendent of Schools to design the Normal Course, so that students upon graduation were qualified "to teach in this and adjoining States" with certificates of proof.⁷⁴⁶ In fact, after 1870, the West Virginia State Superintendent of Schools was automatically allocated an *ex officio* position with the school's four-member Board of Trustees' Officers on whom the school relied for up-to-date information and regulatory recommendations. The school believed the programs success was due in part to the inordinate amount of reading exercises and activities "from which no student [was] excused."⁷⁴⁷ Students were exposed to the "useful arts" as well. For example, female

⁷⁴³ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 58.

⁷⁴⁴ "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments," 1897, 6; Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 58-59.

⁷⁴⁵ "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments," 1897, 18-19.

⁷⁴⁶ "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments," 1870, 1882, 1897.

⁷⁴⁷ "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments," 1870, 11.

students were given instruction in “needle-work” while male students were taught to a more limited degree the art, design, and techniques of “printing”.⁷⁴⁸ Although the school did have a “Biblical Class,” it was not referred to as a department per se. The “Biblical Class” was designed to provide “some knowledge of [Biblical] history and geography,” including the “fundamental doctrines of the Scriptures,” especially for students interested in preaching. Discussions in the “Biblical Class” were perhaps invigorated by the fact that they often contained “[r]epresentatives” of diverse religious “sects” and backgrounds simultaneously.⁷⁴⁹

During the decade of the 1880s, a period that marks the close of the first phase of Storer’s development, another crucial change occurred, this time in the school’s admissions standards. Whereas in preceding years the school catalogue indicated that students were admitted without distinction on account of “color, or race,” they now began to be admitted “without distinction on account of race, sex, or religious preference”.⁷⁵⁰ Students from fourteen different states attended classes in Harper’s Ferry, from as far away as Illinois in the west, Maine in the north, Georgia in the south, and Maryland along the east coast. At the same time, however, the school’s reach expanded beyond the borders of the United States. The second phase of Storer’s existence witnessed the arrival of students from Canada, Liberia, Bermuda, and Port Republic. One such student, Hamilton H. Hatter, of Buxton, Ontario, graduated from the Academic Department in 1884, completed his formal education at Bates College, and then returned to West Virginia “as an instructor in the Sciences and Languages at Storer College” before being

⁷⁴⁸ "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments," 1889, 19-20.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid.,.

“elected to the principalship of Bluefield Colored Institute” by the West Virginia Board of Regents.⁷⁵¹ As Hatter built the school at Bluefield, he turned to Storer graduates for assistance, and even Brackett served as the President of the school’s Board of Regents. Hatter’s efforts—and his dedication to the region—exemplifies the influence of Storer College both nationally and internationally. By 1883, the list of foreign students at Storer had grown to include four students from Africa.⁷⁵²

By 1884, as well, records indicate that some 400 teachers in “West Virginia, much of Maryland, the western part of Old Virginia, Southern Ohio and Pennsylvania” had attended the college for “at least some time,” while 112 students had formally graduated from the Normal Department.⁷⁵³ Storer was the “only school above primary grade” available for students “within a three-hundred mile radius” for a considerable period of time.⁷⁵⁴ As the decade drew to a close, a denominational publication, *The Free Baptist Cyclopedia—Historical and Biographical*, indicated “the number of teachers trained at Storer had grown to nearly 500”.⁷⁵⁵ Truly, by the end of this important second phase of its development, Storer College had not only met most of its initial goals but begun also to expand the scope of its mission. The stage was set for further secondary expansion during the third phase, 1884 – 1921, when the Industrial, Biblical, and Musical departments were developed, and the school struggled for financial security.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid.; Emeline Burlingame-Cheney, *The Story of the Life and Work of Oren B. Cheney, Founder and First President of Bates College* (Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House, 1907), 318; Morgan and J. F. Cork, *History of Education in West Virginia*, 189; Thomas Miller, *The History of Education in West Virginia* (Charleston, WV: The Tribune Printing Company, 1904), 291.

⁷⁵² "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments," 1882, 5-19; Morgan and J. F. Cork, *History of Education in West Virginia*, 187.

⁷⁵³ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 61; Anthony “Historical Sketch,” 13.

⁷⁵⁴ Kate J. Anthony, Storer College Archives, Box 16, FF7, 1891, Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House; Richard I. McKinney, Dissertation Committee Meeting (Falls Church, VA, 7 May 2003), RE: Storer College Curriculum Offerings.

⁷⁵⁵ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 61; Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 625-27.

CHAPTER 7

SECONDARY EXPANSION, 1884 – 1921

The third phase of Storer College's development was marked by further expansion and realignment of the school's mission to include industrial, musical and Biblical education. There were also a number of obstacles that seemed destined to stem that potential, including a decrease in financial assistance and crises within the Free Will Baptist denomination. During the same period, the school also witnessed its first major administrative change. As the nineteenth century progressed into the twentieth, Storer struggled to maintain its original course, yet expand to meet the demands of the nation's growing need for industrial workers.

Consistency Amid Change: Carryovers from Storer's Second Phase of Growth

As Storer prepared for the final days of the nineteenth century, most of the elements that characterized the second phase of its existence remained constant, harbingers of future strength. Where the school's physical campus is concerned, the buildings that first stood on Camp Hill remained, altered ever so slightly to meet the needs of residents and students. The school remained dedicated to helping students financially and, through a continuing series of lectures, educationally. And the State Normal Department continued its record of preparing teachers to carry on the business of educating others.

Physical Components

While other construction projects elsewhere on campus would be undertaken during the second major phase of Storer's existence, one very important structure from its past remained a viable element of its present: Lockwood House, the school's original home. Although the building was in disrepair when Brackett and others took up residence there in the late 1860s, the years saw a number of improvements. In addition to the alterations noted in Chapter 6, at some point before 1894, as schematic drawings from that year indicate, two more outer buildings affixed to Lockwood House to extend its footage. Also, between 1902 – 1907, its western portico was extended northward to wrap around the structure toward what was known as Fillmore Avenue.⁷⁵⁶

Always important to Storer's history, Lockwood House also became an important fixture in the community. By 1900, it was opened year-round to boarders. The Lovetts, Sarah and William, a mulatto family, managed the boarding operation with a fleet of “cooks, waitresses, chambermaids, [a] business manager, mail carriers and gardeners,” incorporating a variety of “entertain[ments]” for their boarders.⁷⁵⁷ After the Lovetts gave up management, their middle child, Maggie Lovett Daniels, and her husband Allen, took over and were still operating the house in 1923 when Henry Temple McDonald notified them that the college intended to enact its right of possession by September 1, 1924.⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁶ John Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, National Park Service/University of Maryland Cooperative Project (Harper's Ferry National Historic Park Collection: United States Government, December 1991), 14.

⁷⁵⁷ Mary Brackett Robertson, Storer College Archives, 26 February, 1937, Contributions of My Family, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park; Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 13.

⁷⁵⁸ Henry Temple McDonald, Harper's Ferry, WV, to Mrs. A. P. Daniel, 12 October, 1923, Storer College Collection: Vertical File: Correspondence, Notes & Reports, Etc.: Brackett, Newcomer, McDonald Collection, Volume I, Storer College Archives; Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 15.

Consistent Financial and Educational Assistance for Students

During this third phase, the school also continued its dedication to its students' educational needs by providing financial assistance when possible and by maintaining what creators considered to be an important series of on-campus lectures.

With its philosophical grounding in the concept of student self-management and independence, from its very inception the school had provided students who lacked sufficient funds with on-campus opportunities to defray the cost of tuition and board. *The Storer Record* supported this program, indicating its endorsement by arguing students “benefited much more by having a chance to earn the money” instead of having it given to them or owing it.⁷⁵⁹ During this period, students could earn toward tuition and board by “cleaning up rooms, . . . cultivating a garden, . . . mending furniture for the school, or . . . teaching a small preparatory class” to first-year students.⁷⁶⁰ Off-campus work could also be found by the industrious student.

In addition, during this period the state of West Virginia began to lend its support to the financial aid effort. Morgan and Cork, for example, claim that “for a period of ten years from 1882 – 1892 the sum of \$630 . . . was received annually from the State of W. Va., for which from thirty-six to fifty pupils yearly were allowed tuition, room rent and mainly book-rent” to attend school.⁷⁶¹ In due course, based upon its desire to staff the numerous Negro schools that sprang up within its borders, the state also approved educational scholarships—including “free tuition, room-rent and use of books”—as

⁷⁵⁹ Storer Record, in *Storer College National Alumni Collection*, vol. 12, 3, Harper's Ferry, WV, 1895, 4.

⁷⁶⁰ Unknown, Storer Record.

⁷⁶¹ Benjamin S. Morgan and J. F. Cork, *History of Education in West Virginia* (Charleston, WV: Moses W. Donnally, Printer, 1893), 185-89.

incentives for students who wished to enter the Normal Department.⁷⁶² For the 1897 school term, the sixty-three students enrolled in the college's teacher training program were "receiv[ing] free instruction and textbooks".⁷⁶³ However, by the end of this phase, in 1921, over ten other "scholarships and [academic] prizes" became available to students.⁷⁶⁴

Students had an opportunity to win several academic prizes. There were three higher educational institutions that offered awards: Howard and Lincoln Universities, and Bates College in Lewiston, Maine. There was an "Alumni Award" for one male and one female. A "Brewster Award" was given to one each: freshman, sophomore, and junior classes. The "Metcalf Scholarship" was offered to one each of the four different classes. Students were encouraged to apply for the Anthony W. Lewis and Ida Stillman Scholarships. The "Anthony Memorial Scholarship" and the Archibald Johnson Honor Metal was given to the senior student with the "highest" score.⁷⁶⁵

They also received continuous "real life" and scholarly insight from a number of guest lecturers who routinely visited the campus. This "Course of Lectures" was meant to supplement and complement a steadily progressive schedule of prescribed coursework. Numerous lectures were provided by visiting ministers. For example, Reverend Earnest G. Wesley of Providence, Rhode Island, "deliver[ed] a course of lectures" during spring 1895.⁷⁶⁶ Well-traveled and an accomplished author and musician, Wesley focused his lecture series on seven subjects: "Teaching, Romanism, Deity of Christ, Social Purity,

⁷⁶² Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1898-99, Annual Catalogue of Storer College: Academic, State Normal, and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Harper's Ferry: Published by the Board of Trustees.

⁷⁶³ "Annual Catalogue of Storer College: Academic, State Normal, and Industrial Departments,".

⁷⁶⁴ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1921-1922, Storer College: A Junior College, 1921-1922, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

⁷⁶⁵ "Storer College: A Junior College, 1921-1922,".

⁷⁶⁶ Storer Record, in *Storer College National Alumni Collection*, vol. 12, 3, Harper's Ferry, WV, 1895, 1.

Missions, Personal Work, [and the] Bible”.⁷⁶⁷ In keeping with the Free will Baptists’ early 1800’s “universal” perspective, the Baptists initiated a practice of inviting various ministers, preachers, and other religious representatives to address the student body’s Sunday congregations at the Curtis Memorial Church among whom were also representative women.⁷⁶⁸ The Baptists’ early interdenominational outlook was maintained, as both the denomination and its administration sought to provide a rich well-balanced educational context for students.⁷⁶⁹ Educators and other professionals also spoke to students in the hope of extending that context. Frances Mosher, a visiting professor from Hillsdale College for a period before accepting a permanent position at Storer, visited the campus in February 1895 as she returned from a Woman’s Council Meeting in Washington, D.C. According to *The Storer Record*, while in Harper’s Ferry Mosher “gave an interesting talk to the general history class on Martin Luther and a most enjoyable lecture before the Woman’s League to which the public was invited”.⁷⁷⁰ Students learned about the art of “Success” from Tracy L. Jeffords, an attorney then practicing in Washington, D. C. A meteorological lecture was given by another guest lecturer, John R. Weeks, entitled: “The Weather, What It Is and How It Is Forecast,” from Binghamton, New York. Dr. Robert W. Douthat from Morgantown, West Virginia visited the campus in 1907 and 1908 to present a lecture on the opening theater and subsequent outcome of “The Battle of Gettysburg” and an overview of “God in History” respectively.⁷⁷¹ Students noted other aspects of the Civil War when Major L.

⁷⁶⁷ Unknown, *Storer Record*, 1.

⁷⁶⁸ *Storer College Catalogue Collection, Catalogue, 1908-09, Catalogue of Storer College Academic, State Normal, Biblical, Musical and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.*

⁷⁶⁹ "Catalogue of Storer College Academic, State Normal, Biblical, Musical and Industrial Departments,".

⁷⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷¹ *Ibid.*

P. Williams detailed the deplorable war time conditions of “Libbey Prison”.⁷⁷² Thomas E. Robertson discussed scientific advancements through “Wireless Telegraphy” with students. A medical doctor, J.R. Wilder’s address was directed toward “The Race Problem” while later during the year, in 1904, E. O. Taylor scientifically approached the “Origin and Effects of Alcohol” on campus.⁷⁷³ Returning to Storer’s campus, in 1907, Mary Church Terrell likely acquired the student body’s attention with her address entitled: “The Bright Side of a Dark Subject”.⁷⁷⁴ Terrell was not a stranger to Harper’s Ferry, on July 14, 1896, Terrell had attended a national conference for the National Association of Colored Women (later, Women’s Clubs). Terrell along with Ida B. Wells-Barnett and others organized “one of the most powerful African-American women’s organizations in the country” after they were discriminated against at the Chicago Exhibition.⁷⁷⁵ Campus students also heard from other dynamic speakers that same year.

In 1907, a mutual friend of both Brackett and McDonald’s delivered a public address to students; George Wesley Atkinson, an West Virginia ex-governor, addressed the student body on “The Integrity of the College Student.”⁷⁷⁶ Since McDonald’s earliest days in West Virginia, the Bluestone, Minnesota native had learned to know Atkinson through Brackett. Brackett and Atkinson had developed a longstanding social and political relationship during the 1880’s when Atkinson chaired the Republican Party

⁷⁷² Storer College Catalogue Collection, Catalogue, 1907-08, Catalogue of Storer College Academic, State Normal, Biblical, Musical and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

⁷⁷³ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1904-05, Catalogue of Storer College. Academic, State Normal, Biblical, Musical, and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

⁷⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁵ Sheila Keenan, *Encyclopedia of Women in the United States* (NY: Scholastic Publishers, 1996)., 94.

⁷⁷⁶ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1904-05, Catalogue of Storer College. Academic, State Normal, Biblical, Musical, and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

in West Virginia before his gubernatorial bid.⁷⁷⁷ In addition, visiting friends of current faculty members often took the opportunity to address students on a variety of entertaining and enlightening topics, from music to travel. Visiting her friend Mary Brackett, for example, Maine resident Dora Jordan “gave the school a very enjoyable talk on her trip [to] Scotland.”⁷⁷⁸ This diverse slate of lecturers further demonstrates the administration’s expectation that students would be provided with as much exposure to other perspectives, opinions, and worldwide familiarity as possible during their time on campus.

Hence, in 1906, Storer’s campus hosted the first American conference of the Niagara Movement, the antecedent organization for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) that had met for the first time the preceding year, in 1905, on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls since no lodging was open to them on the American side.⁷⁷⁹ “J.R.” Clifford, a local attorney and an 1875 graduate of Storer College, operated as Du Bois’ local liaison to coordinate the details of the national meeting. Since “coloreds” during the period were unable to find mass lodging to accommodate such a sizable gathering, the delegates likely stayed on campus in Old Lincoln Hall just south of Anthony Hall. Lincoln Hall’s availability to “colored” guests in the region would develop as a point of controversy between Clifford and his former Principal Brackett in years to come. Lincoln however available to them, in 1906, burned down in three-years time, in 1909. The building was a three-story wooden structure with

⁷⁷⁷ George W. Atkinson, West Virginia & Regional History, A & M 2621, Box 1, FF 1, 15 October, 1880, "Personal Note from Future Governor Atkinson to Nathan Cook Brackett," Morgantown, WV, West Virginia University.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁹ Eric J. Sundquist, "Editorial Note: Chapter 5: Politics, Economics, and Education," in *The Oxford W.E.B. Du Bois Reader*, ed. Eric J. Sundquist (NY: Oxford University Press, 1996), 344.

as many as eight to ten chimneys protruding from its roof. Nonetheless, the conferees would not be swayed they had important business at hand.

At the national meeting, Du Bois launched a five-point appeal for: (a) “the right to vote;” (b) “discrimination in public accommodation to cease;” (c) “right to walk, talk, and be with them that wish to be with us [without] interference;” (d) “justice,” and the (e) “federal government to step in and wipe out illiteracy.”⁷⁸⁰ The substance of *The Niagara Movement Speech*, addressed to a national, public assembly, served not only as the nucleus for Du Bois’ lifelong mantra but also as his oppositionist rebuttal to Booker T. Washington’s appeal for accommodation and assimilation.⁷⁸¹ Three years later, in 1909, the NAACP was officially organized to prevent racially motivated violence and deter discriminatory-based practices.

Eventually, the administration not only welcomed guest lecturers and national assemblies like these to the campus but also began to incorporate music recitals and ensemble performances. In 1908, Storer’s students were exposed to the vocal talents of two vocalists: one from New England and the other from the Mid-West. Students during the term attended the vocal recitals of: Nellie Brown Mitchell from Roxbury, Massachusetts and Anita Brown, a resident of Chicago, Illinois.⁷⁸² Concerts were also given that same year by the “DeKoven Male Quartette” and the “College Girls

⁷⁸⁰ W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, "The Niagara Movement," in *The Oxford W.E.B. Du Bois Reader*, ed. Eric J. Sundquist (NY: Oxford University Press, 1906), 373-76. Du Bois and Washington lived in total opposition during most of their life time. Du Bois eventually left the continental United States for Liberia, Africa. After his death, Du Bois was buried on the African Continent at his request.

⁷⁸¹ Sundquist, *The Oxford W.E.B. Du Bois Reader*, See: Editor’s Notes, Chapter 5: Politics, Economics, and Education, 344-346; Du Bois, "The Niagara Movement," 374-75 in Sundquist’s, *The Oxford W.E.B. Du Bois Reader*; Washington, Booker T. “An Address Delivered at the Opening of the Cotton States’ Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia,” (1895). In *Negro Orators and Their Orations*. ed. Carter G. Woodson, 580-583. NY: Russell & Russell, 1925. This speech by Washington is commonly known as the “Atlanta Compromise.”

⁷⁸² Ibid.

Quartette’”.⁷⁸³ The school’s administration was decidedly in favor of enlightening its student population by any means necessary, and most especially its Normal students who were to eventually direct the learning of their own students since state aid was forthcoming.⁷⁸⁴

Throughout the period, as the state’s growing endorsement of it indicates, the college’s State Normal Department, long applauded for its successful training methods, remained one of the most successful elements in Storer’s evolution.

Storer’s Education of Teachers Continues

By 1895, twenty-seven years after its inception, Storer’s Normal Department had produced hundreds of teachers. As *The Storer Record* indicated that very year, the school’s education program “was among the first in the South to send out competent teachers of the colored race,” although the entry classes were small.⁷⁸⁵ Although the first class of the department was small—only eight in number—by 1895 the department graduated 250, “nearly all of whom have become leaders among their people” in their colored communities.⁷⁸⁶ The performance of Storer graduates on state teacher examinations and the sheer number of those who were gainfully employed in the profession across West Virginia and other states indicate the struggle had paid off.

Storer graduates did quite well on state teacher examinations, which could be quite difficult. Annually, students—either graduates, or near graduates—from West Virginia’s normal schools were examined by counties to which they were making

⁷⁸³ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid., 3.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid.

application for future employment. County examiners, including the local superintendents of schools, were brought together to form three-member Examination Committees.⁷⁸⁷ There were three grades of evaluation: (a) teacher applicants maintaining a 90% average for each phase of testing with no grades falling below 75% were awarded a “Grade No. 1”; (b) those with an 80% average, with no score below 65%, received a “Grade No. 2” marking; and (c) those with a 70% average, with no score below 60%, were given a “Grade No. 3”.⁷⁸⁸ If applicants achieved the “Grade No. 1” evaluation, they were thereafter reexamined only on subjects, for which they received a grade below 82%. In order to maintain not only their initial grade status but also for purposes of certification renewal, normal teachers were assessed on “two additional studies” annually.⁷⁸⁹ The “two additional studies” were perhaps unidentified—a tactic sure to function as preparation stimulus.

In 1895, *The Storer Record* reported on one such county teacher examination. During the public examinations, which were held at some point between 1890 and 1895, Storer sent sixteen teacher applicants to an unidentified county in West Virginia. Most applicants had completed the normal training, but the faculty encouraged a few normal candidates just nearing completion to proceed with the exam. The Storer students arranged to take the examination along with “double the number of white teachers” compared to their number.⁷⁹⁰ Storer’s students papers were “examined and marked” accordingly in each “branch” by the County Examination Committee, all of whom had been selected by local authorities. The students from Storer’s Normal Department

⁷⁸⁷ Morgan and J. F. Cork, *History of Education in West Virginia*, 42.

⁷⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 42-3.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁷⁹⁰ Unknown, *Storer Record*, 3.

performed well on the examination. In fact, the collective percentage earned by the Storer students averaged a “little higher than [that of] the white teachers,” a fact that proves quite indicative of Storer’s success since “there was a white Normal School in the same county” from which most of the students taking the exam had graduated, and from which members of the examination committee also likely graduated.⁷⁹¹

The success of Storer’s students on such examinations was possibly attributable to a new, mandatory prerequisite that required students to academically engage with instructors in a more intimate setting on a more complicated intellectual plane. During the 1890’s, the college instituted a new academic standard for advanced students at Storer. The “Academic and Senior Normal students” began to meet with faculty members on a weekly basis in order “to read and discuss literary works,” an atmosphere in which the open exchange of ideas was not only created but also most encouraged. For example, during the 1898 – 1899 term, authors whose works were slated for discussion with faculty included the works of: Burke, Webster, Lowell, Longfellow, Irving, Wordsworth, Eliot, Whittier, and Shakespeare. The open forum prerequisite for advanced “Academic and Senior Normal” students when coupled with the mandatory “Peabody Teacher Institute” that was established on campus sometime between 1870 and 1882 particularly for Normal students served to lift the school’s education standards. In this manner, the “Academic and Senior Normal” students likely elevated students’ sense of self confidence and mental acumen with a particular regard for differing points of view as well as for the individuals who offered them.⁷⁹² Such open forum opportunities for

⁷⁹¹ Ibid.

⁷⁹² Kate J. Anthony, Storer College Archives, Box 16, FF7, 1891, Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House; Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1898-99, Annual Catalogue of Storer College: Academic, State Normal, and

students would later suitably correspond with the administration's plans to offer advancing pedagogical, managerial, psychological, sociological, economical, ethical, and legal coursework in the interest of Junior College accreditation for the school and certified endorsement for its graduates.⁷⁹³

Consequently, graduates of Storer's Normal Department dispersed like chaff in the wind throughout the two Virginias and surrounding states. In 1895, *The Storer Record* declared that the twenty operating "free schools" in Jefferson County, West Virginia were "taught by former students" of the institution.⁷⁹⁴ The college's students were also working in other "important schools all over the state".⁷⁹⁵ Peyton H. Callaway, originally from Nuttallburgh, graduated from the Normal Department in 1891 and in 1896 taught in Powellton, West Virginia before going on to earn his doctorate.⁷⁹⁶ In 1896, Mary Hawkins was teaching at a private school in Winchester, Virginia. At Salem, Virginia, Mollie Hughes was simultaneously teaching for both the school system and a local church, walking five miles each week to take charge of a Sunday School class. Robert E. Lee, from McGaheysville, Virginia, graduated from the Academic Department in 1889, then attended medical school at the Western University of Pennsylvania,

Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Harper's Ferry: Published by the Board of Trustees.

⁷⁹³ "Catalogue of Storer College. Academic, State Normal, Biblical, Musical, and Industrial Departments,"; "Storer College: A Junior College, 1921-1922,".

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid; Ancella R. Bickley, *History of the West Virginia State Teachers' Association* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1979), 21-22.

⁷⁹⁶ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1889-1891, Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic, State Normal, and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Harper's Ferry: Published by the Board of Trustees; Storer Record, in *Storer College National Alumni Collection*, vol. 13, 5, Harper's Ferry, WV, 1896, 1; *Storer College Students*, United States Department of the Interior; National Park Service: Storer College Archives, by Guinevere Roper and Toni Hicks, Historians, Harper's Ferry National Monument (Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, 1985?).

graduating in 1896.⁷⁹⁷ George Green and John Veney, listed as members of the Normal Department's Third Class (1869), were fondly recalled as some of Storer's "early students" and warmly received by the campus for a denominational meeting in later years.⁷⁹⁸

By 1900, graduates of the Normal Department were scattered across the fifty states, from Maryland in the northeast to Texas in the southwest.⁷⁹⁹ Several other graduates, according to *The Storer Record*, had begun work at "higher institutions" to correspond with study programs begun on Storer's campus.⁸⁰⁰ In 1895, it was noted that one of the school's graduates was appointed "Preceptress" at the "Princess Ann Branch" of "Morgan College" in Maryland. Two others were full professors at the "Virginia Seminary" located in Lynchburg, Virginia, a feeder-school for Virginia Union. Another student acquired a "Professor of Mathematics" in the Virginia English and Classical Institute at Petersburg, Virginia. The teachers of Music and Domestic Science at the West Virginia Colored Institute in Kanawha County, West Virginia, the second Negro college to be established in the state after Storer, were graduates of Storer College. In keeping with the humanitarian spirit with which Storer was established, the "Matron" and "Assistant Matron" at the "National Home for Colored Orphans" in Washington, D. C., were also graduates of the school at Harper's Ferry.⁸⁰¹

During the 1880's the basic departmental divisions at Storer College remained intact, with the Normal Department receiving the greatest amount of publicity for its

⁷⁹⁷ Unknown, *Storer Record*, 1.

⁷⁹⁸ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1869, Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Normal Department, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Libby & Co., Printers--Enquirer Office: Dover, NH; Unknown, *Storer Record*, 1.

⁷⁹⁹ Unknown, *Storer Record*, 3.

⁸⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰¹ *Ibid.*

educational endeavors. However, the last two decades of the century also witnessed a number of changes: from additions to the physical campus, to a change in administration, to the development of new departments, including one that was not without controversy.

New Buildings, New Administration, and New Departments

As with any institution, entity, or organization, the progress of time inevitably is accompanied by alterations in makeup, course, and style. Storer College is no exception. While during its second phase of evolution, 1867 – 1884, it struggled merely to exist, to carve a niche for itself within the context of a growing demand for educating freed slaves, during its third phase, 1884 – 1921, it had developed sufficiently to assert its own need to grow, to usher in a new administrator, and to respond to the nation’s growing need for industrial workers.

Physical Components

Where its physical plant is concerned, if the first few years of Storer’s existence were marked by its creators’ attempts to wrangle space from the federal government, restore war-ravaged buildings, and raise money for additional building projects, the turn of the century welcomed numerous, relatively well-funded, and important expansions to the campus.

During this period of Storer’s development, three libraries were instituted on the school’s campus. The Roger Williams Library, located in Anthony Hall, served students, faculty, administration, and the general campus at large. By the 1890s, it was the primary holding site for over “four thousand five hundred volumes,” with a substantial and varied

complement of “papers, charts and magazines” available for use.⁸⁰² In 1898, Baltimore’s *Enoch Pratt Library* and Mary P. Smith of Nebraska collectively donated nearly 500 volumes to be added to the Roger Williams Library.⁸⁰³ After 1900, the central library incurred a period of expansion when its holdings surged to “over 500 volumes” including supplementary reading tables, work spaces, and current literature indexes.⁸⁰⁴ In addition, each of the two key dorms had its own library collection. In Myrtle Hall, the Dexter Library functioned as part of the reading room complex and contained three hundred volumes for use by female students. In Lincoln Hall, the boy’s dormitory, the Wood Library boasted among its holdings a five-inch telescope, a “lunatelly,” a 2.5’ globe, several sets of charts, and a few pieces of chemistry equipment. Subscriptions to periodicals, reports, records, and journals that were supplied to campus libraries after 1900 were ever increasing. A few examples include: *American Ornithology*, *Harper’s Weekly*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *Bulletins of State Experiment Stations*, *Congressional Record*, *Farm Journal*, *Literary Digest*, *Patent Office Reports*, and *The Advocate* were counted amount the college’s routine subscriptions. Between 1890 – 1920 when student activities were increased, members of “The Lincoln Debating Society,” “Literary Society,” and Woman’s League,” and declamatory and oratorical contestants required such subscriptions since their activities revolved around current issues, trends, and topics of the day. However, rapid expansion and other factors predicted the libraries’ location.

When Anthony Hall was damaged by fire in 1927, its library had to be relocated. Fittingly, it was moved to another building funded by the Anthony family: the Lewis W. Anthony Building, which had been built in 1903. The Board of Trustees intended for

⁸⁰² Morgan and J. F. Cork, *History of Education in West Virginia*, 187.

⁸⁰³ "Annual Catalogue of Storer College: Academic, State Normal, and Industrial Departments,".

⁸⁰⁴ "Catalogue of Storer College Academic, State Normal, Biblical, Musical and Industrial Departments,".

Anthony building to be used for the curriculum connected with its new Industrial Science Department programs. When the building was completed, it was a two-story limestone building. It was dedicated two-years later during a commencement program. When they donated money from their father's estate, three of the eight surviving Anthony children—Alfred Williams, Kate J., and another, unnamed in Storer's records—requested that the building bear their father's name, as, upon its dedication in 1905, it did.⁸⁰⁵ When the time came to relocate the library from the old Anthony Hall, suggestions were made for the building's updating: replace "1395 feet" of maple wood flooring, update heating and lighting systems with accompanying "fixtures," modernize bathroom accommodations, purchase metal book stacks for library use, along with corresponding furniture.⁸⁰⁶ The building also was in need of "a new concrete platform" and "a porch" to modernize and update the facility.⁸⁰⁷ By 1931, several of these suggestions had been honored by the Anthony family: modernized steam heating and water systems were installed with the interior's hallways and rooms painted throughout, so that the Lewis W. Anthony Building previously used for manual coursework was reverted for library usage. It became the Lewis W. Anthony Library with the "name on the lintel," reflecting the Anthony family's financial support.⁸⁰⁸

Another of the school's founding fathers likewise had his name attached to a building erected during the third phase: a church. On September 29, 1889, the Harper's Ferry Free Will Baptist Church cornerstone was put in place to correspond with the Free

⁸⁰⁵ Gideon A. Burgess and John T. Ward, "Storer College," in *Freewill Baptist Cyclopaedia* (Chicago, IL: The Woman's Temperance Publication Association, 1889), 19; Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 39.

⁸⁰⁶ Henry Temple McDonald, Harper's Ferry, WV, to Alfred W. Williams, Hillsdale, MI, 10 August, 1929, Storer College Archives: Vertical File Binder: McDonald Correspondence, 1910 - 1938.

⁸⁰⁷ Henry Temple McDonald.

⁸⁰⁸ Henry Temple McDonald, Harper's Ferry, WV, to Alfred W. Williams, Hillsdale, MI, 23 September, 1931, Storer College Archives: Vertical File Binder: McDonald Correspondence, 1910 - 1938.

Will Baptists' General Conference although for unknown reasons the church's construction was delayed for several years thereafter.⁸⁰⁹ It was not until an offer of \$500 was made by M. B. Smith and J. Howard Gruby, Executors, for the Silas Curtis Estate, that construction was resumed. According to the proviso accorded by Smith and Gruby, the church was to incorporate Curtis' surname. In 1892, the church was duly dedicated as the Curtis Memorial Free Will Baptist Chapel. Not unlike other buildings of the period, the church was made of brick set upon a limestone basement with a gray-black slate roof. The church also had a striking bell tower that was 12' square raised to an elevation of fifty vertical feet. Southern pine and poplar were used to finish the church's interior. Perhaps more importantly, students enrolled in Storer's new Industrial Department were responsible for the construction. During its years of use, the church's dedicatory windows identified several individuals and youth societies that contributed to the church's creation, from inception to completion.⁸¹⁰

Additionally, during the first decade of the twentieth century, the college had either invested in, constructed, or managed several properties surrounding the campus in order to attract visitors and generate additional revenue for its coffers. An early 1920's property inventory, according to Barker and Johnson's report, indicates that these properties did exist for visiting boarders or teacher's residences most of which were small structures comprising only 1.5 stories of living space. In 1906, for example, the "Shenandoah Cottage" was indemnified through the Phoenix Assurance Company for \$700. The cottage was often used for private boarding, but in 1925 it was rented on a

⁸⁰⁹ *Spirit of Jefferson* 24 September 1889: p 3 col 3, 3.

⁸¹⁰ John Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 31.

monthly basis for \$50 to Ammon M. Rogers from Poolesville, Maryland.⁸¹¹ Another two-story bungalow was the Jackson Cottage, built in 1912. This small structure was chiefly used as a private residence for campus instructors. According to the Barker and Johnson report, the “Jackson Cottage” was demolished three years after federal acquisition of the campus in 1960.⁸¹² The “McDaniel, Robinson, Saunders, Sinclair, and McDowell Cottages” were likely alternated as needed for either additional income or residential space for teachers. The “Sinclair and Saunders Cottages” were structurally different, in that they possessed two stories instead of the traditional 1.5-story design.⁸¹³

Situated on “Lot 7” among campus properties was the “White Cottage,” owned by Lura Brackett Lightner.⁸¹⁴ Although Lightner had verbally committed to deeding the property back to the Board of Trustees after she vacated the property for use by incoming “white women teachers,” she did not fulfill this agreement. Instead, she eventually leased or rented the property to Mabel S. Brady and Elizabeth Brady Bird, both of whom were employed by the college at different times in many capacities.⁸¹⁵ In 1909, plans were underway to construct a “one dwelling place” on the corners of Jackson and Fillmore Streets, a parcel that was part of the original government acquisition in 1868.

Dimensions for the wooden house are listed as 32’ x 32’ with a comparable rectangular section shown as 12’ x 25’ projecting from the western façade. Designed as a two-story house with attic, the house boasted ceilings at its center heightened to ten feet with others were lessened to nine feet. Funding for the house was given by the widow of Granville

⁸¹¹ Ibid., 43.

⁸¹² Ibid.

⁸¹³ Ibid., 43-46.

⁸¹⁴ Henry T. McDonald, West Virginia & Regional History Archives, Storer College Collection, Box 1, FF3, 10 June, 1925, File: A&M 2621, Letter from McDonald to Anthony (Typescript), Wise Library, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

⁸¹⁵ John Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 46.

C. Waterman, who had been the principal at Pike Seminary in New York, so Mrs. Waterman knew—first hand—the condition under which many of the denomination’s administrators had lived.⁸¹⁶ The Waterman’s son, Reverend Dexter Waterman, taught “Scripture History and Butler’s Theology” at Storer College for a period, and he was a member of its Board of Trustees, with his term expiring in 1890.⁸¹⁷ The house, not unlike other campus buildings, was often referred to as either the “President’s House” or the “Waterman House”.⁸¹⁸

During the same period, the college had two barns on its property. A barn from a 1911 photograph, according to Barker and Johnson report, shows a barn near Anthony Hall. Since the school was likely making use of livestock to teach courses in animal husbandry, biology, zoology, natural sciences, and botany as it pertains to gardening and crop production, the barn likely housed cattle and other farm animals. College catalogs for several consecutive years, beginning with 1903, demonstrate that such coursework was indeed available for students.⁸¹⁹ Perhaps livestock was also required to demonstrate culinary preparations and slaughtering procedures for the school’s collective consumption and public sale. A second barn, the “Robinson Barn,” located on the eastern side of Anthony Hall, was converted for use by students as a gymnasium.

Although the “barn” was not the most modern facility, several Storer graduates display an

⁸¹⁶ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 681.

⁸¹⁷ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1882-1884, Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Morning Star Job Printing House.

⁸¹⁸ John Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 41.

⁸¹⁹ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1903-04, Biennial Catalogue of Storer College. Academic, State Normal, Biblical, Musical, and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

immediately pleased countenance when asked about the “barn.” In the early days, as the cliché states, “[they] really had some barn burners in that ol’ barn”.⁸²⁰

As construction projects progressed, fires took their toll on two of the college’s four original structures. During April 1909, the original boys’ dorm, Lincoln Hall, long used as a summer boarding facility, burned.⁸²¹ The construction of the hall in 1870 had marked the first major physical undertaking by the Free Will Baptists to expand campus facilities and was the first joint venture between the Baptists, the bureau, and the boys who early enrolled in the school’s programs.⁸²² Its demise meant the end of an era. In 1910, a new dormitory was erected for boys attending the school, known thereafter as “New Lincoln Hall”.⁸²³ To this building project, Kate J. Anthony personally donated \$1,000 and raised another \$500 from the auxiliary FWBS, as well as other sources. When the fall term began in September the new building was nearly complete although heat, electric, and bedding were unavailable. Male students were temporarily “sleep[ing] on the floor” and “eat[ing] in the girls’ hall” as the building neared completion.⁸²⁴ “New Lincoln Hall,” according to Barker and Johnson, was likely completed by the following month in October.⁸²⁵ In a dedicatory service, the dorm was renamed “Brackett Hall” to honor the school’s first “principal” and “superintendent of schools”.⁸²⁶ When “New Lincoln Hall” was completed, the Free Will Baptists had constructed a 3.5 story

⁸²⁰ David Cole, Storer Academy of Aviation (July 30 2002).

⁸²¹ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1929 -1930, Catalogue of Storer College 1867 - 1930: A Junior College For Colored Youth, With Academic, State Normal, Musical and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

⁸²² J.R. Clifford, *Pioneer Press* July 1887: 3, abstract, *West Virginia History & Regional Collection: West Virginia University*, 33; Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*.

⁸²³ "Catalogue of Storer College 1867 - 1930: A Junior College For Colored Youth, With Academic, State Normal, Musical and Industrial Departments."

⁸²⁴ John Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 33.

⁸²⁵ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁸²⁶ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 64.

limestone building with nine windows abreast the building's frontage that included a partial subterranean elevation to correspond with the hillside's rugged topography. Eight years later, in 1918, the long-established tradition of the building as a boys' dorm forever changed: it was re-established as a dormitory for girls. The college experienced yet another fire when on October 24, 1927 the Anthony Memorial Hall burned.⁸²⁷

Other alterations to the campus environment included creation of a new water source and the addition of both a "Soldiers' Gate" and an "Alumni Fence" to commemorate wartime students and alumni. Work on the new water supply line began in 1911. As reported by *The Storer Record* the following year, a 100-foot deep well, a pump room, and an updated pumping system manufactured by the Keewanee Company, had been installed on campus.⁸²⁸ A 6,000 gallon capacity water tank was placed in the basement of the Anthony Memorial Hall, with a corresponding cesspool on the eastern side of the hall. By 1915, a seventy-foot water tower with a 50,000-gallon capacity replaced the former system.⁸²⁹ In 1920, masonry students erected on campus the limestone "Soldiers' Gate" to honor alumni who had fought in World War I while that same year carpentry students built an "Alumni Fence" to enclose campus grounds and walkways.⁸³⁰

The masonry and carpentry students had been trained on campus in Storer's new "Industrial Department" after 1884. In 1891, the DeWolf Industrial Building was erected

⁸²⁷ "Catalogue of Storer College 1867 - 1930: A Junior College For Colored Youth, With Academic, State Normal, Musical and Industrial Departments,"; John Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 26.

⁸²⁸ Ibid.

⁸²⁹ "Campus Improvements," in *The Storer Record*, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, WV, 1912, 4.

⁸³⁰ "Catalogue of Storer College 1867 - 1930: A Junior College For Colored Youth, With Academic, State Normal, Musical and Industrial Departments,".

to serve as the home for vocational education.⁸³¹ The building was named in honor of Alvah B. Dewolf, who became one of the college's greatest benefactors when in 1887 his widow, Mary, donated \$2,000 to complete the industrial project.⁸³² By 1891, the Board of Trustees approved the construction of a east-west passageway from the back wall of the entrance hall in Anthony Memorial Hall out to the DeWolf Industrial Building. The passageway was a "one-story frame[d]" structure bound on the north by Anthony Memorial Hall and on the south side by the DeWolf Industrial Building.⁸³³

Perhaps the most significant new addition to Storer's campus, however, actually had its deepest roots in the previous century. In 1909, John Brown's Fort had been purchased by a group of Chicago businessmen interested in reconstructing the fort for public exhibition at the Chicago World's Fair. At the expense of Miss Kate Field, a historically-minded actress, journalist, and philanthropist, the structure was dismantled in Illinois and transported back to West Virginia, where it was reassembled on the Alexander Murphy farm, outside Harper's Ferry.⁸³⁴ When Storer's Board of Trustees learned this news, a plan was spearheaded and set into motion by Reverend Alfred W. Anthony to purchase the fort and relocate it to the Storer College campus, where it was refurbished and reassembled east of Lincoln Hall for use as a museum the following year in 1910. Several improvements were made to the structure: new flooring was set, glass cases of museum quality were installed in which to exhibit local artifacts and war

⁸³¹ Storer College Collection, Bulletin, 1948-1950, Storer College Bulletin, 1948-1950, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV.

⁸³² John Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 38.

⁸³³ Sanborn Insurance Company, *Storer College Campus*, Physical Building Schematic (Storer College Archives: Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, 1894); Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 26.

⁸³⁴ Charlotte J. Fairbairn, *John Brown's Fort (Armory Engine and Guard House), 1848 - 1961* (15 August 1961), 30-40; Millard K. Bushong, *A History of Jefferson County West Virginia* (Charles Town, WV: Jefferson Publishing Company, 1941), 140-41.

memorabilia, and an elevated gallery was added to increase the interior's physical space.⁸³⁵ For a considerable period, Storer's students were responsible for giving tours of the museum, an endeavor which afforded them not only a chance to learn and disseminate valuable historical information but also an opportunity to practice elocutionary skills.⁸³⁶ In later years, the Storer College National Alumni Association erected a plaque on the building to officially acknowledge the John Brown activities that had, in effect, led to educational opportunities for the American Negro, in addition to liberating both races from institutionalized slavery.⁸³⁷ To have John Brown's Fort resurrected on campus gave further proof that Storer College was dedicated not only to bettering the lot of its students but also to ensuring that the history connected with the freedmen's social betterment contrast against John Brown's activities would not be forgotten. Soon, however, Storer's history itself would see the end of an era.

Brackett Steps Down: Administrative Changes Occur

Even as early as the 1882 – 1884 period, Brackett's appointments had doubled and, with a student body nearing three hundred, his responsibilities likely multiplied exponentially.⁸³⁸ Never did Brackett perform only one function at Storer: he was not only the school's principal and "superintendent," but also the Board of Trustees'

⁸³⁵ Henry Temple McDonald, Anthony Hall, to M. B. Cornwell, UK, 9 March, 1926, Storer College Archives: Vertical File Binder: McDonald Correspondence, 1926 -1936; Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 42; Fairbairn, *John Brown's Fort (Armory Engine and Guard House)*, 1848 - 1961.

⁸³⁶ "Catalogue of Storer College 1867 - 1930: A Junior College For Colored Youth, With Academic, State Normal, Musical and Industrial Departments,".

⁸³⁷ Frederick Douglass, "John Brown: An Address on the Occasion of the Fourteenth Anniversary of Storer College, Harper's Ferry, West Virginia," <<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/>> [Path: [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/murray:@field\(FLD001+07012896+\):@@@SREF\\$](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/murray:@field(FLD001+07012896+):@@@SREF$)], 30 May 1881.

⁸³⁸ "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments".

Treasurer not to mention relative off-campus organizational affiliations and social obligations. By 1896, he had spent over thirty years as the principal of Storer, a span of time that had witnessed not merely the emancipation of a people and their determined search for education but the growth of their awareness that independence alone does not guarantee equality and rights. In the interim, freed blacks began to speak out against what they perceived to be miscarriages of justice or examples of continued inequality. Ironically, one of the things some Storer alumni criticized was a decision made under Brackett's administration regarding the practice of summer boarders.

Practically since its inception, Storer had maintained a practice of "letting" rooms in its dorms and in the other structures it owned to boarders, either year-round or during the summer, as a means of supplementing its income. By 1896, however, it had become obvious that the practice was no longer profitable. That year, the college's Board of Trustees voted to discontinue summer boarding at Lincoln Hall—which had provided lodging for African-American visitors since the war because there was no other available in the area—but to maintain the practice at other locations "for white visitors . . . even though these operations were also not profitable" criticized former students.⁸³⁹ In August of that year, at an "Alumni and Friends" meeting, the decision was heavily criticized, with the most vocal of the attendees being John "J.R." Clifford, alumnus and editor of the Martinsburg newspaper, *The Pioneer Press*.⁸⁴⁰ According to one account, Clifford "used the paper as a vehicle for his criticism of the discriminatory nature of the summer boarding operation and of Brackett's administration at Storer in general" with which

⁸³⁹ Gloria Gozdizik, et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, National Park Service, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park (Morgantown, WV, 2002), 67; Also see: West Virginia Archives & History, "J. R. Clifford," in "Biographies of Prominent African Americans in West Virginia," West Virginia Archives & History, <<http://www.wvculture.org/history/clifford.html>>, 2004.

⁸⁴⁰ Gloria Gozdizik, et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, National Park Service, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park (Morgantown, WV, 2002), 67-78.

Clifford most assuredly did not agree.⁸⁴¹ Regardless of whether or not the summer boarding decision was discriminatory, did it reflect on Brackett's administration as a whole?

Although there is no definitive answer to that question, throughout 1897 Brackett contemplated retirement, and in 1898 he finally stepped down from the position he had held since Storer unofficially opened its door, in 1865, and officially then in 1867. Brackett did, however, push for an investigation by the Board of Trustees into Clifford's allegations, and in 1899 the ensuing report "vindicated" him.⁸⁴² Yet the tide had turned. The alumni response and Clifford's pressing of the discriminatory issue "demonstrated that Storer's students and alumni were beginning to express their own views on the administration of the school" much like students at Fisk, Tuskegee, Spelman, and other institutions during the same period.⁸⁴³

While the Board of Trustees began to search for Brackett's replacement, the board selected an interim administrator. Faculty member Reverend Ernest Earle Osgood—who is identified in the *Annual Catalogue of Storer College, 1897-1898* as a teacher of "Biblical Literature, Physical Culture, and Oratory"—was chosen for the position.⁸⁴⁴

After the Board of Trustees interviewed various candidates, in 1899 its members elected Henry Temple McDonald, an incoming member of the classics faculty who in addition to his administrative responsibilities would teach "Biblical Literature, Physical

⁸⁴¹ Ibid., 68.

⁸⁴² Ibid.

⁸⁴³ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁴ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1897-1898, Annual Catalogue of Storer College: Academic, State Normal, and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Harper's Ferry: Published by the Board of Trustees; Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1896-97, Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic, State Normal, and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Harper's Ferry: Published by the Board of Trustees.

Culture, and Oratory,” as Brackett’s permanent replacement. McDonald would helm Storer for the next 45 years, until 1944 with the advent of the school’s first Negro administrator.⁸⁴⁵ A Free Will Baptist from birth, McDonald had been born in the midwest but was actually a descendant of “one of New England’s oldest families” and “remained proud of this New England heritage throughout his life”.⁸⁴⁶ McDonald earned his bachelor’s and master’s degrees from Hillsdale College, where he made his first substantive connection to Storer College by courting and then becoming engaged to the daughter of trustee Frances Stewart Mosher, Elizabeth, whom he later married.⁸⁴⁷

After graduation, McDonald began his career as a principal with a position at North Adams, Michigan (1897 – 1899), then in April 1899 he moved to the same job with Hillsdale (MI) City Schools.⁸⁴⁸ When he learned of the principalship opening at Storer, McDonald applied for it, eager to continue a tradition begun with his family’s long-established pro-abolitionist activism. McDonald believed it “fitting” that he would get the job at Storer, as he told his mother: “Father worked for the physical freedom of the colored people and I’m in a way carrying on the work he was engaged in by working for their intellectual freedom.”⁸⁴⁹

According to reports, however, when McDonald arrived in Harper’s Ferry he was “not exactly pleased with the condition of the school”.⁸⁵⁰ He observed “serious problems” and suggested that for the college “future prospects seemed somewhat bleak”

⁸⁴⁵ "Annual Catalogue of Storer College: Academic, State Normal, and Industrial Departments,"; Linnea Hamer, "Storer College: The Education of the Black American," Harper's Ferry, WV, 1983, HFR-00416, 10.

⁸⁴⁶ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 69.

⁸⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁹ Ibid., 71.

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid.

upon first assessment.⁸⁵¹ Among the elements that McDonald apparently thought problematic were a small faculty (seven full-time and four part-time teachers), no courses beyond the high school level, lack of science labs and equipment, and a central library he deemed outdated. Moreover, despite the success of its Normal Department, enrollment as a whole was apparently on the decline.⁸⁵² How could the college—so applauded, so cherished—be suffering financially? There is no single answer.

During the final years of Brackett’s administration, the school’s administration had announced concerns about the same issues noted as problems by McDonald. By 1895, the school’s dormitories—which had routinely boarded upwards of 200 students per year—were in desperate need of essential repairs. The water systems were in need of “fitted” improvements to maintain a healthy framework of “water pipes, pumps, [and] cisterns” in proper working order campus wide. Proper “hinges and locks” were a chronic problem since students did not pay particular attention to their care and value. Moreover, it was costing more and more money annually to insure campus buildings.

Aware that it was also growing increasingly expensive to heat the sprawling Victorian houses on campus, as well as the individual dorm rooms, Brackett took great care to remind students of the rising fuel costs during cold months. During the 1895 school term, costs for fuel distribution to the “chapel, recitation, reading, study, and sitting rooms” had “double[d]” campus wide.⁸⁵³

In the face of a stagnant curriculum and declining enrollment, the school apparently realized the need to hire more instructors to “broaden” curriculum offerings and therefore enhance the quality across the “field of instruction” for incoming

⁸⁵¹ Ibid.

⁸⁵² Ibid., 71-72.

⁸⁵³ Unknown, Storer Record, 2.

students.⁸⁵⁴ The president believed that although the school was “painfully conscious” of the necessity “to keep pace with the times” by adding new courses of study or enlarging established departments, doing so would add to the institution’s financial burden.⁸⁵⁵ Increasing the number of teachers was vital, but it also meant taxing an already overburdened budget and broadening the school’s base of support.

The overriding concern was that “[t]he credit of the institution must not suffer,” yet financial duress was having a negative impact.⁸⁵⁶ In 1895, Brackett had announced in *The Storer Record* a general appeal for funding because of “[a]ll the bills” that were “regularly and relentlessly” forwarded to the school’s treasurer.⁸⁵⁷ From the school’s institution, however, the Free Will Baptists were adamantly opposed to debt accumulation, so there was not much that Brackett alone could do to correct the school’s financial situation. Thus, as the century drew to a close, the school struggled for financing.

How had this dire financial situation occurred? What factors led to it? To begin with, one must consider the impact of the Free Will Baptists’ opposition to debt accumulation, which made seeking outside or “loaned” monies virtually impossible. But two other factors contributed to declining financial support for Storer: emancipation itself and growing doctrinal debates within the denomination.

Changes within the Free Will Baptist denomination also affected support for efforts like Storer. For the last years of Brackett’s term, how to make the most effective use of donated monies was a constant theme, for the school remained largely “dependent

⁸⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁷ Ibid.

for its support upon the benevolence of the people” within the denominational community.⁸⁵⁸ The mail constantly brought contributions from denominational friends, families, alumni, and other supporters. Correspondences from the school during this period indicates “that sums of money, large or small, will go as far and accomplish as much in making good citizens, and developing christian character here, as any where in the land”.⁸⁵⁹ Yet, on the whole, financial support from the Free Will Baptists declined, most particularly as the result of doctrinal conflicts that led to dissension within the denomination, but also due to the loss of key leaders in New England. Historical records indicate that “by the late 1880’s and early 1890’s, [the denomination] itself was in the midst of a crisis that would ultimately result in its reunion with the mainstream Baptists in the early twentieth century” after several years in schismatic disunion.⁸⁶⁰

Thus, no single factor created the financial problems experienced by Storer by the turn of the century; however, the job of correcting—or at least alleviating—them remained, falling squarely in the lap of the school’s new principal now for the first time titled: president. McDonald immediately took a “leading role in improving the campus and grounds, expanding the faculty, upgrading the curriculum, and creating better living conditions for the students” across campus.⁸⁶¹ In 1904, McDonald acknowledged that in “appreciation of the great work the school has done for the commonwealth,” the West Virginia legislature had helped finance additional and necessary curriculum changes by contributing a “small biennial appropriation” to the school’s budget.⁸⁶² Specifically, the 1903 legislature had appropriated monies “in payment for industrial training,” so that the

⁸⁵⁸ Unknown, Storer Record, 4.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁰ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 55.

⁸⁶¹ Ibid., 74.

⁸⁶² Henry T. McDonald, "Storer College," in *History of Education in West Virginia*, ed. Thomas C. Miller (Charleston, WV: The Tribune Printing Company, 1904), 294.

college finally accumulated substantial funds with which to complete a building for industrial instruction.⁸⁶³ Although industrial training had taken place on campus in some form or another since the 1880s, the emphasis placed on its Industrial Department during the 1890s and beyond cinched Storer's affiliation with a growing trend in the American working world. The growing centralization of the department followed that of the addition of two other departments, one devoted to Biblical instruction, the other to Music.

Religious Education at Storer

Prior to the turn of the century, the Biblical Literature Department was established by vote of the Board of Trustees during the board's May meeting in 1894. The department was "indorsed" by the FWB Conference Board, in 1895, the following October with McDonald listed as the department's lead instructor.⁸⁶⁴ Storer's Biblical Literature Department added a dimension to the school's Normal and Academic curricula by providing qualifying students with additional religious training. Admission requirements to the department, which was primarily "intended to train candidates for the ministry or missionary work," were accordingly rigorous: among other standards, each applicant was "examined as to character, experience, and adaptation for the Christian work contemplated" by them.⁸⁶⁵ It is unclear when the "Biblical Department" instituted a mandatory oath before students applied to the department because of the incompleteness of the catalogue chronology, but it is likely that such a "character" oath outlining student "behavior" was instituted when the department first offered this curriculum in 1895.

⁸⁶³ McDonald, "Storer College," 294.

⁸⁶⁴ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1901-02, Biennial Catalogue of Storer College. Academic, State Normal, Biblical, Musical, and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

⁸⁶⁵ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 99.

Before students were admitted into this department they took an oath stating: “I do solemnly promise that I will faithfully attend on all instruction and exercises of this department, maintain behavior becoming a Christian, and respect the admonitions of the professors, while I continue a student of the institution”.⁸⁶⁶ Any student caught in the trappings of “tobacco [use] in any form [was not] admitted to th[e] department”.⁸⁶⁷ Nonetheless, the department’s curriculum was quite substantial.

A two-year curriculum, the “Biblical Department” offered its “First Year” students a basic yet broadened approach to the religious program. “First Year” students had to learn the “Books of the Bible” and all the “Principal Characters and Events [associated with] Bible History”.⁸⁶⁸ Students also were expected to learn about the “Apostolic Church” in conjunction with the “Life of Paul” along with the “Acts [and Actions] of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles”.⁸⁶⁹ For the “Pauline” coursework, students used “Stalker’s ‘Life of Paul’” as a “text-book”.⁸⁷⁰ The major method of examination was “Essays” in order for examiners to fully explore student’s collective skills and abilities to formulate effective rhetoric.⁸⁷¹ Additionally, students were given “[i]nstruction in Bible and hymn reading” making further application of the school’s curriculum offerings.⁸⁷²

During the “Second Year” of coursework, students began to focus on the “Life of Christ in the four Gospels” with St. “Luke,” a physician, interpretation of, and guidance

⁸⁶⁶ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1897-1898, Annual Catalogue of Storer College: Academic, State Normal, and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Harper's Ferry: Published by the Board of Trustees.

⁸⁶⁷ "Annual Catalogue of Storer College: Academic, State Normal, and Industrial Departments."

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁷¹ Ibid.

⁸⁷² Ibid.

for students toward a more descriptive understanding for the “Life of Christ”.⁸⁷³ It seems that “First Year” students focused on the “Principal” elements of Christianity while the “Second Year” was reserved for a closer examination of the person of “Christ”.⁸⁷⁴ Students enrolling in this program not only used “Stalker’s” rendition of “Pauline” doctrines but also used the following supplementary texts: “New Companion to the Bible;” Smith’s Biblical dictionary; and then, Bushnell’s ‘Character of Jesus’”.⁸⁷⁵ The colleges catalogues also indicated that “[s]tudents w[ere] allowed to pursue a partial course in [“Biblical Literature”] in connection with their studies in college”.⁸⁷⁶

A part of the early curriculum, in 1895, that was eventually dropped from the program in later years however was a “course of lectures”.⁸⁷⁷ Lectures to “Biblical” students were “given annually before th[e] department on the Bible,” so that students were exposed to “[the Bible’s] use and interpretation, missions, social problems, pulpit oratory, and kindred subjects”.⁸⁷⁸ In 1898, the “[l]ecturers” were listed in the college “catalogue” on page eighteen, as: “Rev. G. H, [sic] Ball. D. D., Rev. J. C. Newman, Rev. B. W. Kirk, Rev. E. G. Wellesly-Wesley, Hon. G. S. Griffith, Mr. J. E. Moorland”.⁸⁷⁹ By 1899, the “course of lectures” was not included in college catalogues, as students prepared to enter their respective religious venues.

Some of Storer’s graduates became religious leaders throughout the continental United States and abroad. In keeping with the doctrinal emphasis of the denomination, however, they did not all become *Baptist* ministers. Although it was administered by the

⁸⁷³ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid.

Free Will Baptist denomination, neither the college nor its Biblical Literature Department attempted to indoctrinate its students in Baptist theology. This policy is consistent with the earliest standards established by Storer's mission teachers, who often attended a variety of churches.⁸⁸⁰ Guided by this established practice, students were therefore drawn to various denominations throughout the state and beyond; as graduates, they acquired appointments with Methodist Episcopal and African Methodist Episcopal Churches, as well as with Regular and Free Baptist denominations, among others.⁸⁸¹

Other students, especially those preparing for foreign mission assignments, took the opportunity to pursue coursework in both the teacher education and religious programs. After graduation, several students were recruited by foreign missions to provide aid and render service to native Africans in their homeland, a task which included establishing both churches and schools. In 1865, mission teachers in America were responsible for transforming classrooms, in which they taught "readin' and 'riting," into sanctuaries for religious "prayin' and learnin'".⁸⁸² That did not change over time. As the centuries changed, students accepting both domestic and foreign mission assignments were not only prepared with the spirit of missionary zeal but also invested with the determination to follow the course of action inaugurated by their predecessors in the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society.

Students graduating from Storer's Biblical Literature Department were eager to impact the communities for which they assumed responsibility—and, by and large, they

⁸⁸⁰ Sarah Jane Foster, "Letters from West Virginia, 1865-1866," in *Sarah Jane Foster, Teacher of the Freedmen: A Diary and Letters*, FWB mission teacher diary, ed. Wayne E. Reilly (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 32, 56, 58.

⁸⁸¹ Unknown, Storer Record, 3.

⁸⁸² Foster, "Letters from West Virginia, 1865-1866," 56; Robert C. Morris, *Readin, 'Riting, and Reconstruction: The Education of Freedmen in the South, 1861-1870* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 5-55.

were successful in the task. The Reverend J. C. Newman, an 1880 graduate, reported to the *Record* that his congregation increased by sixty during the winter months.⁸⁸³ John Burrell accepted a church position in Shepherdstown, West Virginia, and in 1896 he identified “several candidates for baptism” at his church in that community.⁸⁸⁴ An 1893 graduate, John W. Hayes, left the area to enroll in the Divinity School at Howard University. Hayes was “granted a local license” to preach in his hometown of Pittsburgh while matriculating through the divinity program at Howard.⁸⁸⁵ On February 3, 1895, in St. Joseph, Missouri, a young African Methodist Episcopal pastor and 1880 Storer graduate, Reverend Frank J. Peck, held a dedication service to commemorate the community’s new church, for which his congregation had long awaited, supported, and financed.⁸⁸⁶ The local Missouri newspaper, *The St. Joseph Mirror*, included an announcement of the occasion reflecting the township’s sentiment, which read: “The people of St. Joseph are conscious of the great work accomplished by Rev. Peck; and they appreciate his great worth and unquestioned ability. As a financier, he is preeminently one of the foremost in this western country. Although a young man, his mastery over conditions and affairs would reflect credit upon a man of maturer years and riper experience. The church will ever speak of his untiring labors [sic]”.⁸⁸⁷ Higgenbotham asserts that between 1880 – 1920, “the church served as the most effective vehicle by which men and women alike, pushed down by racism and poverty, regrouped and rallied against emotional and physical defeat” to ultimately contribute in a

⁸⁸³ Unknown, *Storer Record*, 1.

⁸⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁸⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 1; "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic, State Normal, and Industrial Departments,".

⁸⁸⁶ Unknown, *Storer Record*, 1; Roper and Toni Hicks, *Storer College Students*.

⁸⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

positive way to the larger community.⁸⁸⁸ Storer's Biblical Literature Department assisted in making such contributions possible.

Musical Education at Storer

By 1905 – 1906, Storer had added to its growing curriculum a Musical Department—a logical extension given its long-established tradition of musical and vocal training since the 1865 mission teachers discovered how beautifully their students could sing with such innate harmonies.⁸⁸⁹ In spring 1895, the Harper's Ferry Singers, a vocal ensemble formerly known as *The Union Chorus*, embarked on a tour during which they performed for donations, much like Fisk University's *Jubilee Singers* in Tennessee, in order to generate additional funding for the college. A strictly auditioned group of singers, Storer's touring vocal ensemble had been performing as a quartet since the 1870's and had become quite famous for its skill. So varied were vocal demands placed on the group that it became all the more imperative to follow a strict regime of auditions for singers who could perform *a cappella*.⁸⁹⁰ After its early success, the group was expanded to an octet: two singers assigned to each of four basic voice parts—soprano, alto, tenor, and bass—although during more complicated arrangements (i.e. Renaissance motets and madrigals) the four basic voice parts were divided into eight independent voice lines.

The octet likely was responsible for memorizing all of its performance music, since the

⁸⁸⁸ Evelyn Brooks Higgenbotham, *Righteous Discontent* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 1.

⁸⁸⁹ See: Sarah Jane Foster, "Letters from West Virginia, 1865-1866," in *Sarah Jane Foster, Teacher of the Freedmen: A Diary and Letters*, FWB mission teacher diary, ed. Wayne E. Reilly (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1990).

⁸⁹⁰ Barbara Rasmussen, "Sixty-Four Edited Letters of the Founders of Storer College," Master Thesis (Wise Library, West Virginia University: Morgantown, WV: Department of History, College of Arts and Sciences, 1986), Call Number: W 378.7543 HIST. R185S, 27-28; Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 56.

three primary teaching methods for the period involved “recitation,” “repetition,” and “practice,” tasks closely associated with exercises in both mental and physical discipline.⁸⁹¹ Since on its tours the ensemble offered to New Englanders what was perhaps their first direct contact with the Harper’s Ferry school, students selected for the octet were likely gifted musically and oratorically.

The tradition of strict training continued with the newly-established Musical Department. Under the direction of Rev. J.R. Wood, free weekly group or “chorus” vocal lessons were required of all students, but those who were interested in pursuing additional training could enroll in fee-based private courses where they could develop individual talents.⁸⁹² Students interested in instrumental lessons could under the tutelage of Miss Emma F. Johnston and for a quarterly fee of \$6.00—with half payable at the beginning of the term, and half when the lessons were half over—become adept at the piano or the organ. As time and styles progressed, the variety of music lessons offered at the school grew. By 1814, for example, as guided by bandmaster John W. McKinney, Storer offered “instruction in band music, orchestra, and several glee clubs,” an effort to accommodate student interest and proficiency.⁸⁹³ Storer graduated several accomplished and talented musicians. Before graduating in 1920, for example, Don Redman—who

⁸⁹¹ Alexander L. Wade, *A Graduating System for Country Schools* (Boston: New England Publishing Company, 1881), 182-98, cornell 1855; Charles Walton Sanders, "Sander's Series of Readers," <<http://digital.library.pitt.edu/>> [Path: <http://digital.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/t/text/text-idx?c=nietz>], 2003; Joseph Jeffrey Walter, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Storer College Archives, BX 1, FF 1, 5 October, 1888, Typescript Letter from Joseph Walter to Louise Brackett, Wise Library, West Virginia University; Unknown, Storer Record; Charles Wesley Emerson, *Physical Culture* (Boston, MA: Emerson College Publishing, 1909); Irving A. Derbigny, *General Education in the Negro College* (NY: Negro University press, 1947).

⁸⁹² Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 100-01.

⁸⁹³ Ibid.

would become “[o]ne of the leading Jazz composers and musicians of the 1920s and 1930s”—had played in the Storer College band.⁸⁹⁴

In the grand scheme of things, Storer’s addition of Biblical Literature and Musical departments was quite unsurprising. Religious education and musical training both play important roles in preparing students to undertake missionary work or to teach school during a period when faith was still an acceptable part of the curriculum. Another of Storer’s curricular developments, however, was perhaps not only more unexpected but a bit more controversial. Regardless, the rise of Storer’s Industrial Department can be interpreted as the school’s response to a growing national need, which was an administrative effort to correspond the school’s curriculum with society’s industrial growth.

Storer’s Answer to a Growing Need

In their “History of Education in West Virginia,” Morgan and Cork state that “for a period of ten years from 1882 – 1892 the sum of \$630 dollars was received annually from the State of W. Va. . . .” by Storer College.⁸⁹⁵ It is likely that the timely appropriation of this “sum” indicates the state’s intention to educationally endorse and financially sponsor industrial-type training for Negroes at that period in time. Morgan and Cork continue to assert that “[Storer’s] theory during twenty-five years of its history ha[d] been that the best help for young people is *to show them how to help themselves* [italics added],” literally, beyond the confines of the traditional classroom.⁸⁹⁶ The focus of the industrial

⁸⁹⁴ Ibid., 101.

⁸⁹⁵ Benjamin S. Morgan and J. F. Cork, *History of Education in West Virginia* (Charleston, WV: Moses W. Donnally, Printer, 1893), 185-89.

⁸⁹⁶ Morgan and J. F. Cork, *History of Education in West Virginia*, 185-89.

age was with: skilled labor, precision, accuracy, and efficiency because as Norton *et al.* state “[b]y 1880 the status of labor had undergone a dramatic shift in just a single generation” largely due to “[t]echnological innovation and assembly-line and [mass] production...and specialized operation” that then dictated the course of action to be undertaken by educational institution in America.⁸⁹⁷ How else could Storer’s students develop the skills necessary to correspond with a social-type enterprise in work-related organizations unless they had been offered “industrial” coursework?⁸⁹⁸ In 1895, the school’s *Storer Record* stated that “industrial education was necessary because “the condition and wants of the people made it such in fact, at a very early day” in the school’s history.⁸⁹⁹ The two West Virginia, educational historians, Morgan and Cork, proceed to collectively proclaim in their history of West Virginia education that “[p]articularly are *we* [italics added] glad of the spirit of *enterprise* [italics added] shown by those who have left the beaten path to engage in some *independent business* [italics added]. Among theses may be found hotel and boarding house keepers, butchers, shoemakers, blacksmiths, liverymen, dressmakers and [even] one milliner” from Storer College.⁹⁰⁰ Consequently, it is highly probable that the students at Storer College were included in, and publicly endorsed by the West Virginia Legislature since Storer expanded its curriculum offering, in 1886, to include an “Industrial Department,” which

⁸⁹⁷ Mary Beth Norton and *et al.*, *A People and A Nation (6th Ed.)* (NY: Houghton Mifflin, 2003), 494-95; Linnea Hamer, "Storer College: The Education of the Black American," Harper's Ferry, WV, 1983, HFR-00416, 7; Paul Johnson, *A History of the American People* (NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1997), 529-624.

⁸⁹⁸ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1882-1884, Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Morning Star Job Printing House.

⁸⁹⁹ Storer Record, in *Storer College National Alumni Collection*, vol. 12, 3, Harper's Ferry, WV, 1895, 1-4.

⁹⁰⁰ Morgan and J. F. Cork, *History of Education in West Virginia*, 185-89.

was in close proximity to the same time that the school began to receive state aid, as the state entered the unfolding context of the nation's Industrial Age.⁹⁰¹

Storer's Role in Industrial Education

In 1904, McDonald suggested that “[a]s the needs of the times have changed and it has become apparent that normal work ought to be supplemented with other work, Storer has changed her Curriculum. From her founding the school has stood by the theory that honest labor never degrades a man. And so it has been very easy for the college to expand its work to include Industrial training”.⁹⁰² Since its earliest days Storer College's founders and fathers firmly believed that in order for young men and women to demonstrate balanced development, they must be directed not only toward moral development alone but also that of intellectual and physical development.

Although Storer did not possess a formal Industrial Department when it first opened its doors to students, “the condition and wants of the people made it such in fact, at a very early day”.⁹⁰³ However, historians suggest that in its early days, “[a]lthough the school did offer industrial courses, and considered them essential, it was more as a way of teaching good work habits and Christian morals” consistent with the school's educational philosophy.⁹⁰⁴ One might also consider that—given the state of the buildings and grounds during the early years of the college—such training was based partially on necessity. These earliest industrial students began “work[ing] on the grounds and in

⁹⁰¹ Hamer, "Storer College: The Education of the Black American," 7; Otis K. Rice and Stephen W. Brown, *West Virginia: A History* (KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 183-204.

⁹⁰² McDonald, "Storer College," 294.

⁹⁰³ Unknown, Storer Record, 4.

⁹⁰⁴ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 66.

repairing the old buildings and in cultivating the farm”.⁹⁰⁵ With this in mind, it is likely that Storer’s industrial students were responsible for building the 1.5 and 2-story cottages for residential and rental property. After students demonstrated their mastery of the cottage-type structure, they perhaps worked with larger, gradated building blueprints such as the Curtis Memorial Chapel proves. It is known that [Old] Lincoln Hall was one such early demonstration of student aptitude for building construction. Often “[p]arents who came to Harper's Ferry to educate their children” provided services for the upkeep, “care and management” of surrounding investment properties, buildings and storage facilities, and campus grounds.⁹⁰⁶ When Lincoln Hall was first erected, for example, a large part of the building effort was done by a “young man connected with the school under the direction of a skilful [sic] ex-union soldier,” possibly William Henry Bell.⁹⁰⁷ When Anthony Hall was being built in 1881, Hamilton Hatter was enrolled in the Academic Department although he also served as the “chief assistant of the principal in the construction of the building”.⁹⁰⁸ According to the spring 1895 edition of *The Storer Record*, the school’s farm properties were managed in the same fashion.

In these early days, most female students attending Storer had developed some cooking skills prior to their arrival, but eventually they were exposed to other skills as well. During the 1870 – 1880 decade, Louise Wood Brackett perceived that several “young women had much less knowledge of the use of the needle, than of the art of cooking.” As a result, Mrs. Brackett and some of the other teachers began to offer “instruction in sewing, mending, making button holes and in making over old garments”

⁹⁰⁵ Unknown, Storer Record, 4.

⁹⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁷ Ibid.; Maude Beatrice Bell Plowden, Martinsburg, WV, to Frank Bell, Bailey, VA, March 14, 1937, Personal Memoirs(Unpublished Manuscript Letter), Bell Family Collection.

⁹⁰⁸ Unknown, Storer Record, 4.

ensuring that female students and definitely future teachers would transfer these skills to their own upcoming students.⁹⁰⁹ When the Industrial Department was formally developed, one room was used “exclusively” to teach sewing techniques and accurate cutting methods. Females learning quickly to “do plain sewing and buttonhole work well enough” were then advanced to the more difficult levels of cutting, since precise measurement and accuracy were required as students began working with whole piece garments.

By the 1880’s, however, educational conventions, social demands, and national circumstances likely prevailed upon the administration at Storer College. In 1886, the Board of Trustees approved an expansion of the secondary division to include coursework in domestic sciences, gardening, upholstery, printing, carpentry, and blacksmithing, all of which exposed students to “practical” applications of trade skills. Eventually, in 1893, “Domestic Sciences” became mandatory for female students, and five years later they were given an opportunity to enroll in a formal three-year “Domestic Science” program.⁹¹⁰ In 1897, the Industrial Department was added as a separate, formal division of the school.⁹¹¹

When the Industrial Department was established, it included training in the domestic sciences, carpentry, blacksmithing, and other vocational subjects. The Domestic Sciences component fell under the direction of “[a] graduate of the School of Domestic Science in Boston,” who offered “instruction in cooking and housekeeping to over seventy young women, and lessons in cooking to about twenty young men” enrolled in

⁹⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁹¹⁰ "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic, State Normal, and Industrial Departments,"; Hamer, "Storer College: The Education of the Black American," 7.

⁹¹¹ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 66.

the program.⁹¹² The school's Carpentry Shop had "six benches with tools" while student's taking courses in the print trades worked in the Print Shop on a daily basis.⁹¹³ After 1895, the institution included a blacksmith and shoe division, and it increased the capacity of the carpentry division by purchasing more advanced machinery and new tools. During each week, "five to six days" were invested in instructing and operating the department's carpenter shop and printing establishment. *The Storer Record*, the official organ of the school, was printed by students working in the latter shop.

After the college expanded its programs to include an industrial division, enrollment in that curriculum quickly mounted to 137 students, 55 more students than in the Normal Department, which until then had consistently maintained the largest enrollment in the school's history.⁹¹⁴

Despite Evolution, Students Remain Loyal

Regardless of whatever aesthetic and curricular changes might have occurred during the third phase of its existence, at Storer College foundational philosophies remained consistent. As *The Storer Record* notes in 1895, "[p]erhaps the most marked characteristic of Storer College is its policy of developing self-dependence. Its aim is not to take up young men and women and educate them, but to make it possible for them to educate themselves. Hence among its many graduates there are no drones or dependents. The special pride of the school is the great number of its former pupils who are living "useful lives" by exercising their educational aptitudes."⁹¹⁵ One of the most interesting

⁹¹² Morgan and J. F. Cork, *History of Education in West Virginia*, 187.

⁹¹³ Ibid.

⁹¹⁴ "Annual Catalogue of Storer College: Academic, State Normal, and Industrial Departments".

⁹¹⁵ Unknown, *Storer Record*, 4.

attributes of the college is that it maintained its cross-denominational spirit. Also in 1895, *The Storer Record* asserted that:

“[t]he aims and methods of [the college] have always been broad and catholic. To make religion a life rather than a profession, to magnify the importance of keeping the commandments, rather than cultivating the emotions, has been the steady aim of the management. On the executive committee there have been for years a Presbyterian clergyman, a Methodist and an Episcopal layman, all working in perfect harmony with the chairman and principal of the school. The institution has been honored by being selected at different times by an Episcopal bishop, and by a Presbyterian college president, as a place to fit for college African boys who were under their care”.⁹¹⁶

The tradition of educating native Africans was continued at Storer College for many years. During its last decade before its closing, several African students had arrived in Harper’s Ferry to enroll at the school largely due to recruitment by the administration, clergy and graduates.

Those who graduated from Storer during this period expressed a fondness for their alma mater. In order to maintain an ongoing relationship with the school and former classmates, Storer graduates often submitted personal information to be published in *The Storer Record* including other school endorsed publications.⁹¹⁷ From its 1896 edition, for example, we learn that former student Bertie Reed Scott had lost “her daughter, Rosa, who died March 12th, aged eighteen years”; that Rebecca McArd (or McCord) Johnson ’73 visited with Mrs. Robinson at Storer’s Camp Hill Cottage; and that Mary Franklin Clifford ’72 [1906] and Lucy Scott Brown were attended by Mrs. Franklin.⁹¹⁸ It is likely

⁹¹⁶ Ibid.

⁹¹⁷ See: APPENDIX A: Storer College National Alumni Association (SCNAA).

⁹¹⁸ Ibid.,1; Roper and Toni Hicks, *Storer College Students*, UN.

these and many other “visiting” students returned to Harper’s Ferry for annual meetings.⁹¹⁹ Some did not leave at all. Some former students were often placed in charge of various aspects of college operation, Brown F. McDowell being one such student. An 1879 graduate, McDowell had to juggle several such responsibilities when in 1895 he was selected “to run the Morrell House [for] the coming season” while also recalled to his home in Lexington, Virginia to handle his mother’s estate and final funeral arrangements after her death.⁹²⁰ By 1902, the alumni had formed a solid, formal association, held annual meetings, and began to include “alumni lists . . . in the school’s annual catalog,” as resources for entering students.⁹²¹ In 1907, the Alumni Association organized a \$500 Alumni Scholarship Fund.⁹²²

Just as the alumni remained committed to the Harper’s Ferry school, so did its former principal. In appreciation for their combined years of service to Storer College, the Board of Trustees granted Nathan and Louise Brackett permission to live for the duration of their lives in the house that bore their family name. In 1910, Nathan Brackett died there.⁹²³ In 1911, the Alumni Association “provided the inscription for a marble tablet” commemorating the contributions of their former principal when Lincoln Hall was renamed Brackett Hall in honor of its premiere principal.⁹²⁴ For twenty-six years after her husband’s death, Louise Brackett occupied an apartment on the second floor of the house. She died in 1936. Although the third phase of Storer College’s existence had witnessed many alterations to the school that had begun in a single, war-torn mansion, the death of Principal Brackett and his wife truly marked the end of an era.

⁹¹⁹ Unknown, Storer Record, 1.

⁹²⁰ Ibid.; Roper and Toni Hicks, *Storer College Students*.

⁹²¹ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 106.

⁹²² Ibid.

⁹²³ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical."

⁹²⁴ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 107.

Storer College opened its doors in the aftermath of the Civil War, more a product of the philosophical, ideological, and social debates underpinning that conflict than perhaps can be fathomed by the modern consciousness. It was uniquely shaped by the context of the War Between the States, and its correspondence with a “breakaway” state that had effectively demonstrated by its actions that it eschewed political inequity, economic domination, and institutionalized slavery that had impacted its society. The college was created as an offshoot of the Shenandoah Mission Schools that had been established by the Free Will Baptist denomination. All of these factors determined the public and private personae of Storer College as the nineteenth century progressed into the twentieth, as the second and third phases of the institution’s existence passed into history in exchange for a fourth phase of development.

CHAPTER 8

MOVING TOWARD COLLEGIATE STATUS, AND THE GROWING CRISIS, 1921 - 1955

The fourth and final phase experienced by the school was also, ironically, “baptized in the fire and spirit of war,” as Kelly Miller, in 1933, clearly indicated.⁹²⁵ Although fifty-odd years had passed since the Civil War, when attention was focused squarely on abolition and recognition of slaves as human beings, as Storer’s students and alumni fought for the United States in France, Germany, and other far-flung locales, they were also—still—fighting for recognition and acceptance alongside enduring adversaries: the remnants of “historical perspective and social discernment” in American society.⁹²⁶ They would also wage war at home, during the greatest period of economic hardship the country had ever known, the Great Depression. At Storer, in unprecedented numbers, students would proclaim their interests, needs, and desires by calling persistently for reforms and for a larger stake in the governance of the school they attended. The world was evolving, and the community that was Storer would have to do likewise. Among the changes that occurred there: the election of the school’s first African American president and the addition of more “colored” teachers, the creation of a women’s commission, the origination of a collegiate division, and a raging debate about whether the college should be placed under the control of the state, and the closing of Storer.

⁹²⁵ Kelly Miller, "The Past, Present and Future of the Negro College," *Journal of Negro Education* 2, no. 3 (July 1933): 413.

⁹²⁶ Elmer W. Henderson, "The Elimination of Segregation Through Protest, Propaganda and Education," *Journal of Negro Education* 20, no. 3 (1951): 475-84, 475-84; Charles H. Thompson, "The American Negro in World War I and World War II," 3 (1943), 263-67; See: Richard I. McKinney, *Mordecai: The Man and His Message*; Mordecai Wyatt Johnson’s speech “The Faith of the American Negro” (1921), 247-52, (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1997).

Constancy Amid a Sea of Change: The Physical Campus and the Need for Funding

While the campus community as a whole witnessed myriad changes during the last thirty-some years of its existence, two elements remained virtually constant: the college's physical environment and its need for funding. On the positive side, by the third full decade of the twentieth century, although many of its aged buildings were in constant need of repair, the physical campus had developed admirably. With the acquisition of additional adjacent land and buildings, it had been given the opportunity to expand. On the negative side, Storer's need for financial assistance remained persistent, as notes from McDonald, her third president, clearly indicate.

The Physical Campus

Anyone visiting Storer during the fourth, 1921 – 1954, phase of its development likely would have witnessed few alterations in the school's grounds or in its buildings, with a few notable exceptions, such as Cook Hall. While a few changes did occur, most of them were cosmetic—or even invisible, as with the rededication in purpose or renaming of one hall or another. For example, the long-time women's dorm, Myrtle Hall, became the men's dorm, renamed Mosher Hall in honor of Board of Trustees member and longtime supporter Frances Stewart Mosher.⁹²⁷ By 1941, the venerable Lockwood House had become an apartment house, used primarily by faculty members.⁹²⁸

Among the older buildings, Anthony Memorial Hall still served the campus effectively, but during this period it would take on an even greater role by serving as the

⁹²⁷ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1921-1922, Storer College: A Junior College, 1921-1922, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

⁹²⁸ John Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, National Park Service/University of Maryland Cooperative Project (Harper's Ferry National Historic Park Collection: United States Government, December 1991), 15.

home of new laboratories for the expanded science curriculum. In 1925, however, there was with no flooring in the basement of the Hall, although space was made for a “furnace” room and a “coal bunker” enclosure.⁹²⁹

On October 24, 1927, Anthony Memorial Hall suffered serious damage from a fire, perhaps caused by the installation that same year of sophisticated steam heat and water systems.⁹³⁰ Schematics produced after 1927 illustrate piping along the side of the building, in addition to a 50,000 gallon capacity water tower.⁹³¹ The structural damage was substantial. Major floor and ceiling joists were fractured throughout the first- and second-story levels. Rafters and roof lines were essentially demolished. Weakened walls, floors, and basic framing were such that the weight of the heavy steam radiators previously used to heat the building gave way, crashing through the floorboards from one story to the next.⁹³² Estimates for repairs neared \$60,000 posing an even heavier financial burden.

Before these repairs could be completed, however, in January 1928 high winter winds caused the collapse of one end of the building.⁹³³ Exposed throughout the winter months to heavy snow, sleet, and the excessive winter winds atop Camp Hill, the Hall was in deplorable shape by the time workman began to salvage the building. Seven months later, in August, repairs were frantically underway so that the structure could be ready for incoming September students. During this time, the school’s library facilities

⁹²⁹ Henry Temple McDonald, Harper's Ferry, WV, to Kate J. Anthony, Providence, RI, 23 March, 1925, Storer College Collection: Vertical File: Correspondence, Notes & Reports, Etc.: Brackett, Newcomer, McDonald Collection, Volume I, Storer College Archives; Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 25.

⁹³⁰ Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 81.

⁹³¹ Sanborn Insurance Company, *Storer College Campus*, Physical Building Schematic (Storer College Archives: Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, 1933); Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 73.

⁹³² Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 27.

⁹³³ *Ibid.*, 126-27.

were temporarily relocated for safekeeping.⁹³⁴ According to Barker and Johnson's history, Anthony Memorial Hall experienced two later fires in 1937 and again in 1939.⁹³⁵ Students' classes and activities were continued however by reconstructing classrooms in recitation and sitting rooms in addition to making use of what was by then available laboratory space.⁹³⁶

Another important structure from the nineteenth century, "New Lincoln Hall," was given a new lease on life in the twentieth. "New Lincoln Hall" was renamed Brackett Hall in honor of the school's first principal administrator after Brackett's death in 1910. Eventually, Brackett Hall was modernized for Storer's female students and when completed, could accommodate one hundred, or more.⁹³⁷

After 1936, however, the Brackett House had been rented, at least in part, to generate additional revenue. The death of Louise Wood Brackett, who had been given apartments on the second floor of the building, that same year signified the closure of two aspects of Storer's history: (a) the first-generation Bracketts, and (b) the first-generation Board of Instructors.⁹³⁸ In 1944, a section of the house was rented again, this time to victims of the town's October 1942 flood, for \$25 per month.⁹³⁹ This was perhaps another demonstration of the "founders and fathers" willingness to assist displaced others

⁹³⁴ Ibid., 121, 27.

⁹³⁵ Ibid., 121, 26-28.

⁹³⁶ Ibid., 121, 29.

⁹³⁷ Storer College Collection, Bulletin, 1948-1950, Storer College Bulletin, 1948-1950, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV.

⁹³⁸ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1869, Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Normal Department, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Libby & Co., Printers--Enquirer Office: Dover, NH; Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 19.

⁹³⁹ Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 19.

who because of circumstances beyond their control were forced to depend on the charity of others.⁹⁴⁰

Although the older buildings retained their symbolic value to the Storer community, their aging structures did necessitate the sort of repairs that could often drain the school's small budget. In 1938, new hardwood floors were installed in Brackett Hall, and the wiring was modernized, all to the tune of nearly \$4,000. In 1939, rooms there were "refurbished" to update "kitchen, teacher's sitting room, and superintendent's room".⁹⁴¹ In 1942, after a small fire, electricians determined a 200% overload on the building's electrical system, predicted future electrical maintenance and advanced updating.⁹⁴² In 1944, the slate roof on the Brackett House after many years of effective use began to leak. A metal roof was installed at a cost of \$822.25, a princely expenditure that had to be approved by the school's treasurer, George B. Fraser. During summer 1944, even more repairs were made to the house, including additional wall plastering and much-needed electrical rewiring. In October 1944, the McDonalds relocated from Anthony Hall into the Brackett Hall, and Mrs. McDonald was still living there at the time of the school's closure in 1955.⁹⁴³

The era saw the construction of one more building, Permelia Eastman Cook Hall, in 1940. In 1927, President McDonald had requested that the Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society assist the college with its next major construction project, the

⁹⁴⁰ Kelly Miller, "The Past, Present and Future of the Negro College," *Journal of Negro Education* 2, no. 3 (July 1933): 413.

⁹⁴¹ Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 34.

⁹⁴² Henry Temple McDonald, Anthony Hall, to Elizabeth Bird, Brackett Hall, 23 January, 1943, Storer College Archives: Vertical File Binder: McDonald Correspondence, 1939 - 1944; Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 35.

⁹⁴³ Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 19.

construction of a “Domestic Science Building”.⁹⁴⁴ Society member Permelia Eastman Cook personally donated \$15,000 toward the project with the proviso that the society as a whole shoulder some of the financial burden and responsibility by matching this amount. Two organizations contributed matching funds: the Free Baptist Woman’s Missionary Society and the American Baptist Woman’s Missionary Society.⁹⁴⁵ The cornerstone for Cook Hall was laid, and the building—constructed of stone mined from the college’s nearby limestone quarry—was erected beside the John Brown Fort Museum.⁹⁴⁶ The building was completed in 1940 and housed classrooms, dorm rooms, and, among other facilities, an art collection.⁹⁴⁷ However, the domestic sciences did not prove to be much in demand at Storer, for by the second year of its existence the building was so underutilized that McDonald ordered it “partially closed” to conserve expenses.⁹⁴⁸ In an effort to make it more useful to the college community, the Board of Trustees decided to keep the building open as a dorm for majors in the Home Economics program and female seniors.⁹⁴⁹ Cook Hall did, in the end, have a long life. In 2003, Cook Hall Dormitory “[wa]s still [being] used as a dormitory for Park Service trainees” by the National Park Service where “[a]pproximately 1500 trainees complete one- and two-week courses” as a part of the service’s continuing educational program each year.⁹⁵⁰

⁹⁴⁴ Storer College National Alumni Association, Storer College Record Committee, *Storer College Alumni Record*, Vol. 14, ed. William Pinchback (2001), 1; Gloria Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, National Park Service, Harper’s Ferry National Historical Park (Morgantown, WV, 2002), 182.

⁹⁴⁵ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 182.

⁹⁴⁶ Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 42.

⁹⁴⁷ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 182.

⁹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵⁰ Brad Pierce, "Park Service Campus Planned," *The Journal* (Martinsburg, WV), July 14, 2002, Panhandle: B1: B1; Katrina Fritts, "The National Park Service: Stephen T. Mather Training Center History," <<http://www.nps.gov/training/stmahist.htm>>, 2002.

The Need for Funding Continues

While the continued presence of historically important campus landmarks lent the school an air of establishment, one of the most unfortunate consistencies at Storer was its persistent need for additional funding that ultimately forced the denomination to rejoin the General Baptist Conference, in 1911, after the denomination's self-imposed segregation from its conference in the nineteenth-century over the issue of slaveholders in their midst.⁹⁵¹ During the first decades after 1900, McDonald's administrative activities indicate that he was making routine plans for endowment funding in order to secure scholarships, laboratory equipment, and other facilities.⁹⁵² At the end of World War I, the General Baptist Convention initiated a five-year program (1919 – 1924) designed "to raise a single budget to be divided among its various agencies through a General Board of Promotion and its Administrative Committee".⁹⁵³ This multi-year program, known as the "New World Movement," brought a shift in financial focus that worked to McDonald's advantage. Furthermore, McDonald maintained a good working relationship with his New York administrators, so much so that one of them jokingly threatened him if he failed to visit while traveling north: "if you [McDonald] drive to Maine and do not stop at our house you will be in worse trouble than you are now".⁹⁵⁴

It didn't hurt matters that McDonald possessed a variety of fundraising talents and a relatively keen business sense. He tried a variety of approaches designed to bring more revenue to the school's coffers. Over the years, he maintained the policy of letting rooms

⁹⁵¹ Norman Allen Baxter, *History of the Freewill Baptists* (Rochester, NY: American Baptist Historical Society, 1957), 169-80.

⁹⁵² "Storer College, Has a Brief But Important Message For You," HFD-273, in *Storer College Collection*, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, ND.

⁹⁵³ Robert G. Torbet, *A History of the Baptists* (Philadelphia, PA: The Judson Press, 1993), 392.

⁹⁵⁴ West Virginia & Regional History Archives, Storer College Collection, Box 2, FF 2, 7 July, 1921, File: A&M 2621, Letter to Henry T. McDonald from Henry Bond (Letterhead/Typescript), Wise Library, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

and apartments in college buildings. In 1921, he sought to decrease fuel expenditures and increase available resources by suggesting the purchase of “a coal yard,” an idea approved by Harry S. Myers, Secretary to the General Board of Promotion of the Northern Baptist Convention, who noted that with some satisfaction that “it [the mine] apparently will pay for itself in two years”.⁹⁵⁵ As it turned out, Storer was granted use of coal reserves owned by John Aglionby—the Dittmeyer Coal Shed property—which they then purchased for the sum of \$100 in 1923.⁹⁵⁶

McDonald’s fundraising efforts also included what today might be construed as a marketing campaign designed to “advertise” Storer to the larger world. At some point after 1920, he developed a “welcoming” promotional brochure for the school entitled *Storer College Gives You Welcome*.⁹⁵⁷ The brochure provided students with the early historical background of Harper’s Ferry, John Brown, and the College.⁹⁵⁸ In the brochure, McDonald emphasized that Storer College was established for “fostering education under positive religious influences” while “shaping the lives of several thousand men and women” in order to “giv[e a] better vision of the meaning and possibilities of larger living”.⁹⁵⁹ He also maintained that the College was not only “sending leaders to Africa, [but also] South America and widely over the United States”.⁹⁶⁰ From the school’s inception, it “has been active in cultivating better inter-racial relationships and its sons and daughters have made their mark in all the useful

⁹⁵⁵ "Letter to Henry T. McDonald from Henry Bond (Letterhead/Typescript)".

⁹⁵⁶ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 134-35.

⁹⁵⁷ "Storer College: Gives You Welcome," HFD-273, in *Storer College Collection*, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, ND.

⁹⁵⁸ McDonald, "Storer College: Gives You Welcome."

⁹⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁶⁰ Ibid.

walks of life,” President McDonald claimed.⁹⁶¹ With lingering tones of Victorianism, McDonald concluded his promotional brochure with an invitation to potential students and “friends”: “We bid you linger and feel the inspiration of our rimming mountains and catch the refrain of the lovely Shenandoah, 'Daughter of the Stars'".⁹⁶²

Ever the statesman, McDonald also cultivated close ties with individuals and philanthropic associations that had long supported or could prove favorable to the college’s finances. His April 1, 1925 letter to Dr. James H. Dillard, a representative of the Slater Fund, stands today as an excellent example of a fundraising letter, a request that is as cordial as it is persuasive. “I have read with deep interest the annual report of the work done the past year by the Slater Fund,” McDonald begins his missive. “It is certainly a very fine expression of wisely directed philanthropy”.⁹⁶³ After noting that the Slater Fund was not currently supporting schools in West Virginia, McDonald subtly broaches the topic: “I am wondering whether or not as a result of your knowledge of the work and needs of Storer College, we would not come within the number of worthy schools, which might be included in the scope of those being assisted”.⁹⁶⁴ Subtly again, the request is made: “I need not mention the great increase in the cost of mainatining [sic] such an institution and the changing attitude of those interested in such work as is being done in these schools. You well know of all that. Our need for help is not unique: it is perennial. Accordingly I am writing to ask that Storer be numbered among the schools to be assisted the coming year”.⁹⁶⁵

⁹⁶¹ Ibid.

⁹⁶² Ibid.

⁹⁶³ West Virginia & Regional History Archives, Storer College Collection, Box 2, FF 2, 1 April, 1925, File: A&M 2621, Letter to James H. Dillard from Henry T. McDonald (Typescript), Wise Library, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

⁹⁶⁴ "Letter to James H. Dillard from Henry T. McDonald (Typescript)," ND.

⁹⁶⁵ Ibid.

In a bolder tone, McDonald then spells out specific needs, couching them always in the context of Storer's desire to help students:

“We have not been able to have a manual training teacher since the War, because of the large salary demanded by such teachers. Only at irregular times have we been able to have a domestic science teacher. We are doing Junior College work. The demand for that is increasing. There is a vital need for the doing of such work here, and we are doing it to the best of our ability. But we much need additional laboratory room and equipment. For the fitting up of needed laboratories we need now about \$5000. This year by most rigid economy we have been able to gather and spend between \$800 and \$1000 for new equipment”.⁹⁶⁶

In a similar letter written that same year, McDonald queries Kate Anthony, long a supporter of the school's endeavors, regarding her willingness to support the refurbishing of Anthony Memorial Hall—named in honor of her father—and the addition to its basement of laboratory facilities. Again, his appeal is approached persuasively. The fact that Storer, by 1921, was offering junior college-level work, McDonald indicates, “has made it incumbent upon us to husband all our expenditures with the greatest caution and thus be enabled to buy some needed apparatus for scientific work and thus extend it as we have been able. I am glad to say that we are making modest progress in respect to these things. But now the number of college students is rather rapidly increasing and we need at the first possible moment enlarged laboratories and equipment”.⁹⁶⁷ To a startlingly greater degree than in his letter to Dillard, McDonald makes a frankly emotional appeal:

⁹⁶⁶ Letter to James H. Dillard from Henry T. McDonald (Typescript) ND.

⁹⁶⁷ West Virginia & Regional History Archives, Storer College Collection, Box 2, FF 2, 23 March, 1925, File: A&M 2621, Letter to Kate J. Anthony from Henry T. McDonald (Typescript), Wise Library, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

“[I]t so happens that the basement story of Anthony Memorial Hall is almost unused, save for one furnace and a coal bunker. All the rest of the room is put to practically no worthy purpose. Here are the essential [sic] reasons; the room was used when summer boarders were here. That has passed for ever. Then some of the rooms, practically all, have no floors. One or two rooms have never been wholly excavated. The basement lighting is not adequate. All this can be easily corrected if funds for so doing were available. Here should be our laboratories for physics and biology. There is adequate room for the present and for some time to come. These rooms should be made available because of our overcrowded condition. We need them now. I am wondering whether this particular need together with the fact that a sure solution for it is to be found in making full utilization of Anthony Memorial Hall, might not be one which would appeal to you and commend itself to your interest in Storer College, so long continued and so often helpfully expressed. I shall be glad to furnish you with exact data showing what I have in mind. May I not do this?”⁹⁶⁸

Despite his apparently continuous dedication to the task of seeking additional funding, as with his predecessors and those who would come after him, McDonald faced an uphill battle that would extend into the next decade. In the “General Information” section of the 1937 – 1938 catalogue, for example, at the end of a list of landmark dates, comes an ardent plea: “There are definite and pressing needs. The order of their importance is immaterial, because all are so vital. They are: A fire proof library building and books; a science hall, a domestic arts building, greatly increased working and permanent funds”.⁹⁶⁹ A page later, in a message “To Friends,” the plea is reiterated: “The gifts of those who believe in a college, where Christain [sic] ideals are steadfast, are sought. . . . Dedicated to the training of the best there is in men and women, this institution makes its appeal to men and women of means and vision for aid in enlargement”.⁹⁷⁰ And in a headnote to its

⁹⁶⁸ Letter to Kate J. Anthony from Henry T. McDonald (Typescript), ND.

⁹⁶⁹ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1938-1939, Storer College, 1938-1939, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

⁹⁷⁰ "Storer College, 1938-1939".

“Scholarships and Prizes” section, the catalogue notes that “Storer College can be of much greater service to poor, but worthy, young men and women, if it were enabled by additional scholarships to offer larger opportunities here. We earnestly urge the founding of additional scholarships” to aid students with potential yet with limited means.⁹⁷¹ Then, an appeal is made to altruism: “It is fine to live thus forever in the lives of others”.⁹⁷² By the 1940s, such pleas had disappeared from the school’s catalogue, replaced by the generic information so common to today’s bulletins, but the fact that they existed in earlier versions indicates the degree to which, well into the twentieth century, after seven decades of existence, Storer College still struggled financially. There would be more struggles to face before the college closed its doors in 1955.

Curricular and Social Changes: Collegiate Status, Pre-Medic Coursework, and The Woman’s Commission

As noted in Chapter 7, one of the most interesting and controversial curricular changes at Storer occurred in the nineteenth century in response to the country’s growing need for a skilled industrial workforce. The addition of a formal Industrial Department to supplement the “hands-on” training courses that had always existed in some form at the school meant that Storer was indeed responding to a marked educational trend for African-Americans, one that had its detractors. Although Storer’s curricular focus blended the classical Fisk/Oberlin models with that of the Hampton Model, rather than emphasizing simply the latter, those who did not advocate the latter expressed the concern that by teaching students industrial rather than “higher” skills, the model

⁹⁷¹ Ibid.

⁹⁷² Ibid.

perpetuated their subservience to a class of (generally) white individuals who were possessed of a classical education and thus truly fit for the “professional” careers denied their black brethren.

Almost diametrically opposed in philosophy, intent, and tenor to this curricular change are two developments that occurred at the school in the twentieth century: the school’s assumption of junior college status, in 1921, and an emphasis on scientific study that included a “pre-medic” curriculum. The changes “reflect a conscious effort by the Storer administration to better define the school’s mission and create a stronger niche for the school in the education of African American students” preparing for dental, medical, pharmaceutical, or other professions in addition to chemical and organic research-based careers included under the broad umbrella of science.⁹⁷³

Junior College Status

Obviously, the pre-medic course was not part of a secondary school program, but rather a key element in the school’s relatively new collegiate division, which had begun in 1921 with the establishment of a junior college curriculum.⁹⁷⁴ Spurred by the “original vision of Storer’s founders,” McDonald had begun as early as 1918—most probably to assist returning soldiers—an effort to establish for Storer junior college status.⁹⁷⁵ After a period of inaction by the Board of Trustees, for the 1921 – 1922 school year, the college admitted six freshmen, three of each gender, into its junior college division, although the school’s new status would not be official until 1922, after the Board made clear that for

⁹⁷³ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 138.

⁹⁷⁴ "Storer College: A Junior College, 1921-1922,"; Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 139.

⁹⁷⁵ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 139; Emeline Burlingame-Cheney, *The Story of the Life and Work of Oren B. Cheney, Founder and First President of Bates College* (Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House, 1907), 159-61; "Storer College: A Junior College, 1921-1922,".

the present coursework would be confined to the junior level.⁹⁷⁶ The program included “standard” courses in English, Math, Chemistry, History, Sociology, Psychology, and Ethics, to mention just a few.⁹⁷⁷ Storer’s “Junior College” status was determined based on requirements and regulations according to the state’s Free School System and Board of Education.⁹⁷⁸ As McDonald told Kate Anthony, the college’s curriculum and programs were “recognized as standard by the State of West Virginia,” so that students were graduating from a recognized program.⁹⁷⁹ In 1923, Watson David Hill became the first student to graduate from Storer’s Junior College program, although he did not in fact possess an associate-level degree.⁹⁸⁰

Associates of Arts titles were not granted to students until 1937, after McDonald had managed to convince the Board of Trustees that making such “rewards” possible would assist students “in applying to other colleges and . . . [increase] the prestige of the program” at the same time.⁹⁸¹ Still, though, according to the Board’s mandate, the college could make no reference to the official granting of a “degree”—merely a “title”.⁹⁸²

⁹⁷⁶ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 139.

⁹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 140.

⁹⁷⁸ David Kirby, "The Legal Control of Higher Education in West Virginia," *West Virginia History Journal* 14, no. 1 (1952): 59-71; Roy C. Woods, "A Half Century of Educational Progress in West Virginia: An Historical and Statistical Study," *West Virginia History Journal* 18, no. 3 (April 1957): 173-81, 173-81; William P. Jackmeit, "A Short History of Negro Public Higher Education In West Virginia, 1890-1965," *West Virginia History Journal* 37, no. 4 (1976): 309-24, 309-24; Roy C. Woods, "A Short History of Education in West Virginia," *West Virginia History Journal* 17, no. 4 (1956): 304-28; Roy C. Woods, "The Normal Training School Movement in West Virginia," *West Virginia History Journal* 14, no. 4 (July 1954): 321-32, 321-32.

⁹⁷⁹ Letter to Kate J. Anthony from Henry T. McDonald (Typescript), ND.

⁹⁸⁰ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 140.

⁹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 176; Free Will Baptists, Storer College Archives, A & M 2621, BX 27, FF 2, Storer College Book of Trustee Annual Minutes, 1913-1944, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University.

⁹⁸² Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 176; Free Will Baptists, "Storer College Book of Trustee Annual Minutes, 1913-1944,"

That would change, however, during the 1939 – 1940 academic year, when Storer began what it called a “full college” course of study.⁹⁸³ Although it was still possible for a student to acquire from the college a two-year degree, the four-year program began to offer degrees in Language and Literature, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Education, and Pre-Medic subjects.⁹⁸⁴ Students intent on pursuing the Elementary Collegiate or Standard Normal certificates also could still do so.

Pre-Medic Curriculum

As McDonald notes in a 1925 letter to Kate Anthony requesting funds to create labs in the basement of Anthony Memorial Hall, one of the niches Storer envisioned involved training students for the medical profession. Writes McDonald:

“Students here are asking for courses and science which will meet the Pre-Medic. requirements of the American Medical Association. By being enabled to take such work here, where expenses are minimum, some will be enabled to take medical, dental and pharmaceutical course, who otherwise would never do so. There is the greatest need for such professional men. Among white people already there is a shortage of medical men; much more is it the fact with the colored people.”⁹⁸⁵

By 1936, the “Pre-Medic” program was fully established, that section of the school’s catalogue accompanied by a note suggesting that it had the full blessing of the state of West Virginia: “The State of West Virginia is anxious that students of its colleges be thoroughly prepared for entrance upon medical courses. Most colleges are requiring three

⁹⁸³ Ibid., 177; Free Will Baptists, "Storer College Book of Trustee Annual Minutes, 1913-1944,".

⁹⁸⁴ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 177; Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1939-1940, Catalogue of Storer College, 1867-1940: Arts, Pre-Medical, State Normal, Academic, Musical and Industrial Courses, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

⁹⁸⁵ Letter to Kate J. Anthony from Henry T. McDonald (Typescript).

years of college work for such preparations. To meet this demand Storer College is offering a full pre-medic course” for students interested in this field.⁹⁸⁶ The program involved a specific academic plan that focused on work in biology, zoology, organic chemistry, embryology, histology, and mammalian anatomy, among other courses.⁹⁸⁷

The “Pre-Medic Course” was designed to involve students in three years of coursework with Professors Briscoe and Johnson. Briscoe taught the categorical biology courses while Johnson taught the chemistry courses. During the “Freshman Year,” students had to take eight hours of “General Inorganic Chemistry,” and four-hours each of “General Biology and General Zoology.” The freshman also had to take six hours each of “Mathematics” and “English.” The first year of study involved a total of 28 hours of coursework. As expected, advancing coursework stipulated that students remaining for the “Sophomore Year” had to take: three-hours of “Qualitative Analysis” and three-hours of “Quantitative Analysis,” with another eight-hours of coursework set aside for “Vertebrate Zoology” and “Mammalian Anatomy.” The “Sophomore Year” involved 21 total hours to complete. It was during the “Sophomore Year” that students also studied “Mechanics, Heat and Sound,” and “Light, Electricity, and Magnatism”. Students enrolling for the “Junior Year” in the “Pre-Medical Department” took three elevated sciences: (a) “Organic Chemistry,” (b) “Histology,” and (c) “Embryology”.⁹⁸⁸

Storer’s 1937 catalogue acclaimed on its title page that the school was “A Junior College For colored Youth: *With* [italics added] Pre-Medical...Departments.”⁹⁸⁹ The

⁹⁸⁶ "Storer College, 1938-1939."

⁹⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁸ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1937-1938, Catalogue of Storer College 1867 - 1938: A Junior College For Colored Youth, With Pre-Medical, State Normal, Academic, Musical and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

⁹⁸⁹ Ibid.

title page was even redesigned to give particular emphasis to the “Pre-Medical Department.” The “Pre-Medical” aspect of the college was listed first in the subtitle, whereas in years past, the Academic and State Normal Departments had been given top billing. The catalogue also stated that since “[m]ost colleges are requiring three years of college work for such [medical] preparation. To meet this demand Storer is offering a full pre-medic course” in order to remain competitive and meets demands for new students populations.⁹⁹⁰

Students however enrolling in the “Pre-Medical Department” incurred additional laboratory expenses. The “Laboratory Fee” range was between \$3.00 and \$6.00. For the analysis category classes students paid \$3.00. “Physics” lab work was provided for students at a cost of \$4.00. “Qualitative and Quantitative Analys[es]” lab fees were \$3.00 each while the “Biology and Organic Chemistry” laboratory fees were the most expensive listed at \$6.00.⁹⁹¹

Senior College Status

When the State of West Virginia conferred upon Storer College all the rights and privileges of a state accredited institution, in 1934, the college began to experience the “permanent blessing[s]” of John Storer because it was fulfilling his original, “deeply absorb[ing] plan” to establish a college in the south “to benefit the colored race.”⁹⁹² The school offered students opportunities to enroll as “candidates” in the following degree programs: “Bachelor of Arts and Sciences,” “Bachelor of Science in Home Economics,”

⁹⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹⁹² Emeline Burlingame-Cheney, *The Story of the Life and Work of Oren B. Cheney, Founder and First President of Bates College* (Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House, 1907), 159.

“Associate of Arts in Music,” and “Bachelor of Arts in Education” with an increasingly difficult curriculum to coordinate with the degrees.⁹⁹³

Students enrolled in the “Bachelor of Arts and Sciences” degree took several consecutive hours of: biology, English, mathematics, psychology, social science, ethics, history, and foreign language.⁹⁹⁴ The “Bachelor of Science in Home Economics” degree also incorporated: biology, English, history, physical education, psychology, and economics. However, during the third and fourth years, students rotated toward their concentration and took: bacteriology, organic and physiological chemistry. They also then incorporated: child care and training, family, public speaking with electives in textiles, art, foods, materials and methods, home management, directed teaching, educational psychology, dietetics, and the history of education. An “Associate of Arts in Music” included: sight singing and notation, ear training and oral dictation along with harmony. Music students also took: methods, psychology, aesthetics, English, and foreign languages in order to complete the program. For the “Bachelor of Arts in Education” degree, students took a total of 128 hours to fulfill the degree requirements and graduate. The course requirements, at this juncture, were quite substantial ranging from the general course work i.e. English, literature, history, and economics to the more degree-specific philosophy, sociology, tests and measurement, problems of child adjustment, principles, management, and students also took 90-hours of mandatory observation and directed teaching in the school’s “Nursery” school. Students enrolled in the “Bachelor of Arts in Education” program fulfilled their “Observation and Directed Teaching in the Elementary Subjects” course at the Grand View School located in

⁹⁹³ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1938-1939, Storer College, 1938-1939, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

⁹⁹⁴ "Storer College, 1938-1939".

Bolivar, WV.⁹⁹⁵ The college catalogue stated that “[a]lthough the work of the Junior and Senior years is elective, students must pursue such courses as will complete the requirements in their major and minor fields” of study in order to suffice the degree requirements for these programs of study.⁹⁹⁶ Therefore, the teaching candidates particularly had to fulfill the specified number of hours required for practice teaching in the college’s elementary-level laboratory-type school.

The Woman’s Commission

While curricular changes might have taken center stage during this period, another change—this one more socio-political in nature—also occurred: the creation in 1938 of a Woman’s Commission for female students and faculty members.⁹⁹⁷ Immediately upon its inception, the Storer College Woman’s Commission began to address the needs of young women on campus and, over a period of years, made several general improvements to the girls’ dormitory. In addition, the school turned to the Woman’s Commission was turned to when renovations, repairs, or redesigning of college buildings became pressing. It was largely responsible for voting to paint several rooms in Brackett Hall, so that eventually the commission was responsible for painting almost 40 rooms in compliance with campus wide improvement measures.⁹⁹⁸

The Commission continued to exert a powerful presence on campus. For example, in 1945, the Woman’s Commission was put in charge of renovating the uppermost story of Brackett Hall to make the rooms habitable for the school’s growing

⁹⁹⁵ "Storer College, 1938-1939".

⁹⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁹⁷ "Storer College Bulletin, 1948-1950".

⁹⁹⁸ Storer College Woman's Commission, Storer College Archives, Newcomer Collection, 14 June, 1948, Minutes of the Woman's Commission, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Library & Curatorial Services.

female population. In 1945, the “Minutes of the Woman’s Commission” identified that the commission approved to accept the responsibility for improving the flooring on the third floor, and locating workmen to do the work of sanding, refinishing, and varnishing.⁹⁹⁹

Its educational emphasis shifted from the preparatory and secondary work that preoccupied its efforts during the first six or so decades of its existence. As early as 1919, when McDonald reported his belief that the school’s goal “should be to serve as a good regional high school for black students who wanted to go on to college,” as well as a junior college, efforts were underway to eliminate the Preparatory Department, which was eventually accomplished.¹⁰⁰⁰ Two- and four-year degrees, in addition to extension work offered for a time in such areas as vocational agriculture, became the new focus of the school on Camp Hill.¹⁰⁰¹ Clearly, with a Board of Trustees that can be called “passive” in its own efforts to enact key changes at the school,¹⁰⁰² without McDonald’s vision and active pursuit of these curricular changes, it is unlikely that Storer College would have established itself as a “college” in the modern sense of the term. Nonetheless, McDonald’s tenure at Storer was not without its controversies, the most pronounced of which involved the efforts of some Board of Trustees members to place the school under the control of the State of West Virginia.

⁹⁹⁹ Storer College Woman's Commission, Storer College Archives, Newcomer Collection, 20 October, 1944, Minutes of the Woman's Commission, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Library & Curatorial Services; Storer College Woman's Commission, Storer College Archives, Newcomer Collection, 1 June, 1945, Minutes of the Woman's Commission, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Library & Curatorial Services; Storer College Woman's Commission, Storer College Archives, Newcomer Collection, 19 October, 1945, Minutes of the Woman's Commission, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Library & Curatorial Services; Storer College Woman's Commission, Storer College Archives, Newcomer Collection, 31 May, 1946, Minutes of the Woman's Commission, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Library & Curatorial Services.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 138; Free Will Baptists, "Storer College Book of Trustee Annual Minutes, 1913-1944".

¹⁰⁰¹ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 178.

¹⁰⁰² *Ibid.*, 138.

The “Takeover” Debate Rages

Although the school’s new junior college status was exciting, it did not at first attract a large number of students; in fact, enrollment in the program “remained small throughout the 1920’s,” a number indicative of Storer’s continuing difficulties to make itself economically stable through student numbers alone. Although the school still received support from long-time “friends,” including individuals and philanthropic organizations, as well as funds from Baptist organizations and West Virginia itself, it continued to struggle financially, most acutely as its curriculum expanded. One historical account indicates that although by 1926, the state legislature’s annual contribution had increased to a bit over \$6,000, this sum “did not even cover half the salaries of the faculty and administration”.¹⁰⁰³ The FWB-HMS contributed only about \$2,500 annually, while additional monies from the Woman’s Baptist Home Mission Society were greater—\$3,000—but were to be used only for programs that served female students.¹⁰⁰⁴ The situation had become so dire that at the end of fiscal year 1925, Storer College’s combined contributions from these three main sources totaled \$12,096.58, while its operating expenses totaled \$61,387.62—an astounding deficit of \$49,291.04 that had to be made up through other sources.¹⁰⁰⁵ Boarding fees (\$23,823.48 that year), tuition (\$3,267.05), and income from the school’s farming enterprises, property investments, and donations made up the remainder.¹⁰⁰⁶ One thing remained clear, though: tuition would not be raised to cover expenses. In fact, Storer’s mission was built expressly upon the foundation that it should “keep tuition and expenses low so even poor students could

¹⁰⁰³ Ibid., 150.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Ibid., 151.

attend” and not “debarred from the privileges of study” for lack of funding.¹⁰⁰⁷ This had been the school’s historic position since its formal organization, in 1867, as a higher education facility.

This first hesitant decade of junior college coursework was marked by a conflict between McDonald and select Board of Trustees members, particularly Dr. Alfred Williams Anthony—son of the school’s long-time benefactor Lewis W. Anthony—over the school’s administration.¹⁰⁰⁸ According to reports, Anthony deemed McDonald’s presidency “inefficient” and suggested that “some of the competent and responsible Baptist men [should] become identified with [the school’s] management”.¹⁰⁰⁹ What would become an extended conflict eventually focused on the question of whether the state of West Virginia should assume control of the college.

At the May 1919 annual Board of Trustees meeting, Anthony made his opinions clear to other Board members. Interestingly, though, the matter seemed to die for a time, because no action was taken, and Anthony apparently tried to smooth things over with McDonald, for he wrote the president a letter in which he expressed the fear that his motives had been “misinterpreted,” praised McDonald’s tenure, and “argued that he only meant to point out where work still needed to be done to keep Storer headed in the right direction”.¹⁰¹⁰ McDonald, school treasurer Lura (Brackett) Lightner, and Rhode Island trustee Alice M. Metcalf, however, were among those who most assuredly believed that Anthony’s remarks were critical of the administration.¹⁰¹¹ In a letter to Anthony,

¹⁰⁰⁷ Ibid., 151; "Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Normal Department,".

¹⁰⁰⁸ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 144.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰¹⁰ Ibid., 145.

¹⁰¹¹ "Storer College: A Junior College, 1921-1922".

Lightner notes the logic of his comments, but also commends McDonald's efforts.¹⁰¹²

Lightner had inherited the treasurer's office from her brother, Nathan, when he expired in 1910. This perhaps gave added weight and value to Lightner's opinions and criticisms.

Battle lines were drawn, complicated by the fact that Anthony's assessment of the situation did not—perhaps could not, from his perspective—encompass the full realm of problems confronting Storer. Whereas his comments suggested the problems arose administratively, McDonald, Lightner, and others who worked more with the day-to-day operations of the school could have pointed out additional issues that compromised Storer's complete success, including an aged and continuously aging physical plant, inconsistent funding for expansion and programs and administrators, and faculty being stretched too thinly as a result of constant “multi-tasking,” to use modern-day parlance.¹⁰¹³ Regardless, by the May 1920 Trustees meeting, Anthony expressed feeling “isolated” from other board members and began “to look for allies” among other trustees to likely reinforce his position and strengthen his opinions.¹⁰¹⁴

The reality of the situation indicates that, to some degree, both “sides” were right in maintaining their individual stances. The Anthony-McDonald conflict, if it can be so called, was actually rooted—although neither would have recognized it, perhaps—in the school's 1868 charter, which had contributed three elements to the present problem: it divided administration between a Board of Trustees and a five-member Executive Committee, including members of the board who lived nearby, that oversaw daily operations; it made the president of the school a member of both groups; and it invested

¹⁰¹² Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 145.

¹⁰¹³ *Ibid.*, 144-47.

¹⁰¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 146.

the president with “extensive decision-making powers”.¹⁰¹⁵ The Executive Committee met monthly, while the larger group met annually—but rarely in complete numbers. Since the former group was responsible for day-to-day operations and since some Trustees failed to attend the regular annual meetings, many of them “were not kept abreast of the Executive Committee’s actions”.¹⁰¹⁶ In addition, as historical records indicate, “[e]ven when the Trustees did meet, the Board took a fairly passive role in managing Storer’s affairs”.¹⁰¹⁷ As a result, by the 1920s, the Executive Committee had gained in strength, and McDonald “was making many of the daily decisions . . . essentially on his own” without much critique or input from other members.¹⁰¹⁸ The naming of local individuals to the Executive Committee strengthened McDonald’s administrative position and by 1921, he “was practically assured that his wishes would be followed in the day-to-day administration of the school” after having made a number of appointments.¹⁰¹⁹

The last straw for Anthony came in 1921, when he learned that without consulting the Board, McDonald had undertaken to raise funds for a new gym, a proposal he had often mooted with the Board but about which its members had failed to take action. After announcing the news to students, faculty, and alumni, McDonald—perhaps sensing, as one report suggests that “he had overstepped his bounds”—asked for and received the

¹⁰¹⁵ Ibid., 147; West Virginia Legislature, West Virginia State Archives, Sixth Session: Chapter 117, 106 - 107, 3 March, 1868, File: Storer College, An Act to Incorporate the Storer College, Charleston, WV, Wheeling, WV: John Frew, Public Printer.

¹⁰¹⁶ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 148.

¹⁰¹⁷ Ibid., 148.

¹⁰¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰¹⁹ Ibid., 149; Free Will Baptists, "Storer College Book of Trustee Annual Minutes, 1913-1944,".

Board's blessing at their May meeting, at which, quite interestingly, Anthony was not in attendance.¹⁰²⁰

With tensions regarding the school's administration and precarious financial situation high, by 1925 Anthony and two other Trustees strongly affiliated with the FWB denomination—George Hovey and Charles White—had hit upon a plan they believed would solve everyone's problems, one that would keep the school afloat so it could continue to fulfill its mission of assisting the African American educational endeavor: they would turn control of it over to West Virginia. Apparently, this idea was neither new nor original to these three Trustees; in fact, well aware as they were of its continued problems, the Baptist Convention itself had contemplated reducing or even eliminating its annual endowment to Storer.¹⁰²¹ Still, Anthony, Hovey, and White were not yet poised to do anything about the plan.

In 1926, McDonald joined other presidents of Baptists schools for "colored youth" at an Atlanta conference designed to consider the widespread funding situation. Records indicate that "it was agreed that the best approach would be a united five-year fund-raising drive with a goal of \$5-6,000,000" to collectively unite the denominational enterprises under a single financial authority.¹⁰²² Storer's share of the sum would amount to roughly \$400,000, with \$150,000 of that amount devoted to building initiatives.¹⁰²³ Unfortunately, that plan was quashed by the American Baptist Home Mission Society,

¹⁰²⁰ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 149-50; Free Will Baptists, "Storer College Book of Trustee Annual Minutes, 1913-1944".

¹⁰²¹ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 151-52; Free Will Baptists, "Storer College Book of Trustee Annual Minutes, 1913-1944".

¹⁰²² *Ibid.*, 152.

¹⁰²³ *Ibid.*

the leaders of which expressed the belief that the organization was already overextended.¹⁰²⁴

In 1927, Anthony and the “takeover” faction of the Board began querying state officials about the idea, which made some of McDonald’s supporters—including alumnae Coralie Franklin Cook, then on the faculty of Howard University—marshal their forces, an effort that involved “canvass[ing] for students and contributions to keep the school open”.¹⁰²⁵

Yet, the matter was still to come to a head. When it did, ironically it involved the very building that bore the Anthony family name. After fire destroyed much of Anthony Memorial Hall in fall 1927, the Board disagreed over whether it should be repaired, with Anthony arguing that until they could decide on the hall’s future usage, no money should be expended on it. At Anthony’s insistence, the building “was left to the elements” during the harshest months of the year.¹⁰²⁶ It would take a special meeting of the Board of Trustees, held February 1928, for McDonald to prevail. Anthony Memorial Hall would be rebuilt—and the issue of state takeover, also discussed at the meeting, was tabled temporarily.

At the regular May meeting that year, though, the plan was the central focus and a committee was formed to study the idea. As diligently as Anthony, et al., worked with state officials to negotiate a takeover, did McDonald and others work to improve enrollment, seek additional contributions, and use their own political connections to undo the plan.¹⁰²⁷ When the Trustees next met—at a special meeting in November of that year,

¹⁰²⁴ Ibid.; Free Will Baptists, "Storer College Book of Trustee Annual Minutes, 1913-1944".

¹⁰²⁵ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 153.

¹⁰²⁶ Ibid., 154.

¹⁰²⁷ Ibid., 156; Free Will Baptists, "Storer College Book of Trustee Annual Minutes, 1913-1944,".

called to make a final decision—two reports were submitted, one supporting the plan, the other opposing it.¹⁰²⁸ Among the resolutions proposed by the latter report was a plan to “keep the school’s present Baptist affiliation with such state aid as could be had,” an idea voted down by five to two, with two members (McDonald and J.C. Newcomer, Celeste Brackett’s husband) abstaining.¹⁰²⁹ By the same margin, a second resolution—to place the college under state control—was then passed, and a committee was formed, on which McDonald agreed to serve, to undertake the transfer.¹⁰³⁰ The fate of Storer College seemed determined.

A bill regarding the transfer of the college “made it to a second reading in the House of Delegates by the end of February 1929”; however, McDonald appeared before the Finance Committee on an allegedly unrelated matter, and soon thereafter the decision was announced that the bill would not be passed that year.¹⁰³¹ Although McDonald’s original presentation of the bill to the legislature the previous fall reportedly had been fair-handed, in the end—once possible passage became obvious—did he argue it down? Such an allegation was made, and McDonald refuted it, but the fact remains: the committee’s decision meant that the potential transfer of Storer would be off the books for at least two more years.¹⁰³²

In the end, Anthony discussed with Baptist officials the possibility of removing McDonald, but then resigned from the Board himself as a result of what he called “challenges and attitudes towards me as President of the Board for holding and maintaining these opinions”; Thomas E. Robertson (Mary Brackett’s husband) replaced

¹⁰²⁸ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 157-58.

¹⁰²⁹ *Ibid.*, 158.

¹⁰³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰³¹ *Ibid.*, 160.

¹⁰³² *Ibid.*

him as President and then, upon learning that Anthony planned to use him politically, threw his weight behind McDonald; and McDonald remained President of Storer College. And what of Storer herself? According to reports, “the college would still have to struggle to maintain its existence through the financial hardships of the coming years”.¹⁰³³

The Great Depression: Education Moves Beyond Reach

As indicated by the school’s nearly-continuous endeavors to supplement its students’ tuition monies and provide them with part-time jobs, most of those who attended Storer College did not come from wealthy families. In fact, records indicate that “most of Storer’s students had traditionally come from poor families who even in the best of times could barely afford to send their children to school”.¹⁰³⁴ The effects of the Great Depression on Storer worsened the outlook for students who had already been devastated by the failure of the government to make good on its pre-World War I promise of social improvement. By 1932 – 1933, West Virginia had cut the college’s annual appropriation by a little over a third, reducing it from \$17,500 to \$12,000, which meant that tuition aid would not be forthcoming.¹⁰³⁵ In his annual report of 1933, McDonald reported the situation at Storer to be grim. It was simply difficult to keep students in school when they could not afford to be there. Nonetheless, the school did try to assist its students financially. As the president notes: “We secured some financial assistance from alumni and friends, we made liberal scholarship grants, whenever possible and we created jobs,

¹⁰³³ Ibid., 162.

¹⁰³⁴ Ibid., 171.

¹⁰³⁵ Ibid.

wherever there was the slightest excuse” to help students in need.¹⁰³⁶ McDonald added a line that summed up the state of the country in general but highlighted the trials faced by the least empowered segment of society, blacks: “An impoverished people cannot send their sons and daughters to college”.¹⁰³⁷

Storer’s enrollment dipped, waned, and showed little promise throughout the 1930s, hitting a low during 1938 – 1939, when McDonald reported “the number of students withdrawing for financial reasons had been especially high” when the year’s enrollment dipped to 122.¹⁰³⁸ In an effort to combat the problem, the school financially assisted 102 of its students to the total tune of \$7822.74.¹⁰³⁹ Although concerted efforts on the part of Storer made the goal of education attainable for some students, the sheer fact that the Depression destroyed some families financially argues that others who might have needed or wanted to pursue a degree would have been unable to do so. Storer’s ongoing financial difficulties compounded the problem: even armed with good intentions and a true desire to help as many students as possible improve their educational lots, and therefore their socio-political potential without adequate funding of its own, how could it accomplish even the worthiest of goals?

McDonald: A Paternalist Perspective

On more than one occasion, McDonald revealed the traditional paternalistic perspective that characterized most of his peers. In a 1925 letter to Alfred W. Anthony, the son of

¹⁰³⁶ Ibid., 171-72.

¹⁰³⁷ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 172.

¹⁰³⁸ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1938-1939, Catalogue of Storer College 1867 - 1938: A Junior College For Colored Youth, With Pre-Medical, State Normal, Academic, Musical and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

¹⁰³⁹ Ibid., 172.

Lewis Anthony, McDonald recounts the resignation of one of Storer's teachers, Harriet Church. He suggests that she leaves the school in part because of her sister's illness, but then alludes to the "wear and tear," and the "fray" that seemed to correspond with teaching in a school for colored students. "Colored people with rapidly increasing feelings of self sufficiency and all too manifest self assertion, are not moved by the fine feelings of appreciation which were everywhere, when I came here," McDonald adds.¹⁰⁴⁰ He then moved to what appears to be a suggested solution to the "wear and tear" placed on "white teachers," one he clearly opposes: increasing the number of black teachers. "I want to stress, that white trustees may be conscious of the situation, the idea of not allowing the relative number of colored teachers here to be increased," he writes. "Now better might I have said, that I intend to see that such is to be the case, since my nominations have always been approved. I want to keep the balance of wisdom and action safe. . . . We must have good teachers, and we must pay salaries which will make it possible for white people to teach here".¹⁰⁴¹ In a letter dated as late as 1943, McDonald still holds strong to the paternalistic view of education and "argue[s] that whites should still play a leading role" in the education of blacks.¹⁰⁴² Without question, his views derive from a sense of racial superiority: whites are simply more fit to educate. As he notes in the 1943 letter, "I still think our ancestry, training and larger fitness enable us—white people—to do something for colored students, which they can get no other way".¹⁰⁴³

¹⁰⁴⁰ Henry T. McDonald, "Letter from McDonald to Anthony (Typescript), ND.

¹⁰⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴² Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 193.

¹⁰⁴³ Ibid.

Throughout the 1940s, the Board of Trustees had gradually become more aware of the great power McDonald wielded at Storer, and its members gradually moved to shift such power. In 1941, the Board created a Dean of Instruction which divested McDonald of his role as Dean of Men—and Elizabeth McDonald of hers as Dean of Women.¹⁰⁴⁴ In 1942, McDonald resigned as the school's treasurer; later, he left both the Finance and Executive Committees. By 1943 – 1944, the president “had been relieved of most of his duties,” and at the end of that term, he resigned.¹⁰⁴⁵

McKinney: The Transition to an Ivy League, Negro Administrator

Once more, the Board of Trustees was confronted with locating a suitable administrator to assume the president's duties and responsibilities. In 1944, Richard Ishmael McKinney was selected by the Board of Trustees as McDonald's successor.¹⁰⁴⁶ He was well-qualified for the position, in terms of both education and religious affiliation. He possessed a Bachelor's degree from Morehouse College, a B.D. from Andover Newton Theological School, and a Ph.D. from Yale University. From 1934 – 1935, he served as a Baptist minister, then he accepted a teaching position at Virginia Union University, where in 1942 he became Dean of the School of Religion. For Storer, McKinney was not only the first Negro president in the administrative history of the school but also the first Negro Ph.D. to be considered for the executive position by the Storer College Board of Trustees.¹⁰⁴⁷

¹⁰⁴⁴ Ibid., 192.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Ibid. 192.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Richard I. McKinney, President, Storer College, *Preliminary Research Interview: Richard I. McKinney*, Audiovisual Transcription (Baltimore, MD, December 21, 1999); Linnea Hamer, "Storer College: The Education of the Black American," Harper's Ferry, WV, 1983, HFR-00416, 10.

¹⁰⁴⁷ McKinney, *Preliminary Research Interview: Richard I. McKinney*.

Despite being highly qualified for the position, McKinney's welcome at Harper's Ferry was less than congenial. During a 1999 interview, the former college president recalled his first night in Harper's Ferry, when he was welcomed by a "burning cross" on his front lawn.¹⁰⁴⁸ The "message" was clear, direct, and without misinterpretation, but it did not stop him.¹⁰⁴⁹ Before he accepted the administrative appointment, McKinney knew full well he would be fighting the tide of local sentiment, yet he "began his administration full of optimism and ambitiously set to work to bring [the school] up to the standards of the modern four-year college" when he arrived on campus.¹⁰⁵⁰

Under McKinney, the school re-envisioned itself as a "training ground for young African American men and women who would be leaders in the continuing struggle to achieve equality in society," as they made careful preparation for careers, professions and future work life.¹⁰⁵¹ Together, working cooperatively, McKinney and the faculty devised a new mission statement that stressed "a liberal education in a Christian environment" and impressed upon students that they must be "responsive to the challenge of leadership in the reconstruction of society along lines of the best in the democratic tradition" in order to demonstrate its application.¹⁰⁵² The school's 1949 bulletin articulated the joint vision of McKinney and faculty in a series of ten objectives, which stated, among other things, Storer's goals to address the whole student: intellectually, physically, spiritually, and socially by "foster[ing] a devotion and loyalty to truth...develop[ing] Christian ideals... appreciate[ing] culture...[while] emphasiz[ing] good health practices" and "abilit[ies] for occupational opportunities [through] leadership

¹⁰⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 196.

¹⁰⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵² Ibid., 197.

responsibilities...[continuing] to adjust...to the necessary social, economic, and political changes imposed by [the] dynamic society...[all] to share creatively in the processes of democratic living as well as to contribute constructively toward implementing the ideals of democracy".¹⁰⁵³ As a result, McKinney worked to give students more of a voice at the school: he established a local chapter of the NAACP and helped form a Student Government Association, which guaranteed that students would work cooperatively with faculty to shape the direction of Storer.¹⁰⁵⁴

McKinney also pushed forward with the goal of making Storer a noteworthy four-year institution. In 1947, in response to the fact that "more and more students were asking for pre-medical courses," a Science Building was constructed offering additional and more extended laboratory facilities for scientific application through experimentation, for which several students who later graduated with advanced science degrees were "extremely grateful."¹⁰⁵⁵ He also worked diligently on "[regional] accreditation" in an effort to shape the transition for Storer's four-year modern college transformation.¹⁰⁵⁶ In 1946, West Virginia accredited Storer's B.A. in Elementary Education, as well as the

¹⁰⁵³ "Storer College Bulletin, 1948-1950".

¹⁰⁵⁴ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 199.

¹⁰⁵⁵ McKinney, *Preliminary Research Interview: Richard I. McKinney*; Houston George Brooks, Jr. Preliminary Survey 2000, ed. Dawne Raines Burke (Harper's Ferry, WV, 2000), A preliminary survey was conducted by the researcher in an effort to ascertain the viability of Storer College as an academic subject for study including its potential dimension. Dr. Brooks elected to include the following survey statement: "Only at Storer College, as an undergraduate student, would I have been given permission and allowed complete access to the chemistry laboratory. Wherein, I was able to investigate and study a phenomenon which had intrigued me for several years. I was allowed the opportunity to investigate materials and methods of producing 'cold light' known as *chemiluminescence*. [italics added]. I was allowed the rights and privileges of a 'graduate' student, for which I am eternally appreciative and indebted." After Dr. Brooks left Storer, he received a fellowship to work at the newly constructed, George Washington Carver Research Foundation at Tuskegee in Alabama, where he made application of his Bachelor's Degree in Organic Chemistry that he received from Storer College. Dr. Brooks credits his years in the laboratories at Storer College with his later abilities within the industrial sphere to investigate, develop, and author several foreign and domestic patents to his credit in the fields of chemical and medical science.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Marie Jacob Jones, Phone Conversation with Dawne Raines Burke, Re: Accreditation and Faculty at Storer (July 31 2002).

English, home economics, science and social science sections of its secondary education division.¹⁰⁵⁷

During McKinney's administration, two other important changes occurred: the number of African American teachers on the faculty increased, and via a developing relationship between the new president, McKinney, and one of the school's most famous graduates, Nigerian President, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Storer strengthened its ties between the continental United States and the African continent. As to the first change, the addition of African American faculty seems not only a logical move but one that was long in developing. Of the 18 active faculty members under McKinney, "at least 11 . . . were African American," including the president.¹⁰⁵⁸ With the increased hiring of "colored teachers," Storer truly became an integrated institution. Although this trend reversed the policy of previous administrations, it did not arrive without an accompanying sense of unease. It had always been the intention of the Baptists to "[g]radually" withdraw from the "Southern enterprise" when "the colored students were fitted to become teachers and preachers" so that "they [would take] the places of the northern workers, and the schools and the churches [would thereafter be] supported by the people residing there" throughout the region.¹⁰⁵⁹ However, as the number of black faculty members increased, some white teachers had a problem coping with this aspect of the school's evolution.¹⁰⁶⁰

It is more than likely that tensions were also provoked by the second change that occurred under McKinney, which carried with it far more wide-reaching political (and

¹⁰⁵⁷ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 201.

¹⁰⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 197.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Gideon A. Burgess and John T. Ward, "Storer College," in *Freewill Baptist Cyclopaedia* (Chicago, IL: The Woman's Temperance Publication Association, 1889), 594; Kate J. Anthony, Storer College Archives, Box 16, FF7, 1891, Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Henry T. McDonald, "Letter from McDonald to Anthony (Typescript)".

racial) implications: strengthening of ties with Africa. Regardless of the direction such a connection might have taken under McKinney—particularly given his emphasis on civic awareness—the connection between Storer and the African continent was not a new one, however, but it had been built and furthered much earlier. Under McDonald, students had been recruited from Africa. Several African missions under the direction of various denominations had confidently submitted their Native Africans for scholarship under Storer’s tutelage in America. McDonald, during his tenure, had strengthened and cultivated positive relationships with missionaries working in African regions. Additionally, advanced sciences professor, Madison Spenser Briscoe, who taught at both Storer College and Howard University, had through his laboratory investigations inside the 1930’s and 1940’s decades, “bridged the North American and African continents in an effort to advance public health standards” during a time when public health medicine was not fully recognized as a separate branch of medical science by the medical community at large.¹⁰⁶¹ Both McDonald and Briscoe knew Azikiwe, but it was under McKinney’s administration that the relationship between the African native and the school in Harper’s Ferry took on an entirely new dimension. Azikiwe’s connection with Storer actually began under McDonald’s administration: he had been a student there for two years (1925 – 1927) before financial difficulties forced him to withdraw and enter Howard University (1927 – 1929) where more lucrative job opportunities existed in Washington, D.C. for students working their way through school. By 1929, Azikiwe entered Lincoln University, graduating a year later with a Bachelor’s Degree in Political Science. While at Lincoln, he made the acquaintance of Thurgood Marshall and

¹⁰⁶¹ Dawne Raines Burke, "When We Were Mentors," *The Good News Paper* (Shepherdstown), Winter 2002, 6: 6.

Langston Hughes, both of whom would impact the tide of race relations in the United States—the former as the first African-American Supreme Court Justice; the latter as an esteemed, socio-political leader in the Harlem Renaissance, which was prompted by his numerous consciousness-raising essays and inspirational poetry.¹⁰⁶²

Azikiwe's choice of a major indicates not merely a casual interest but rather a life choice. That choice would be molded further by subsequent studies in journalism at Columbia University, a 1932 M.A. in Religion and Philosophy from Lincoln, masters degrees in Anthropology and Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania (1933), and a Ph.D. at Columbia, which he pursued concurrently with his masters' degrees and which focused on the topic of Liberian diplomacy. Azikiwe's doctoral work eventually resulted in the 1934 publication of his dissertation as *Liberia in World Politics*. At that point, the mid 1930s, with multiple degrees to his name and a strengthening dedication to social and political issues, Azikiwe did what many children of Africa have done over the years: he returned to his native Africa. Immediately, Azikiwe became involved in politics, forming a political party dedicated to liberating Nigeria from colonial rule by Britain. In 1960, Azikiwe would finally see Nigeria become independent and himself become its first indigenous Governor-General and Commander-in Chief.¹⁰⁶³ Although the fruition of Azikiwe's efforts on behalf of Nigeria occurred five years after the closure of Storer, his dedication to justice was long-lived, and the man who worked with McKinney in the 1940's to bring more African students to Storer had by then established a reputation for social activism: he was truly an American product prepared for global politics.

¹⁰⁶² Nnamdi Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), 144-48, 137, 152.

¹⁰⁶³ Burke, "When We Were Mentors," *The Good News Paper* (Shepherdstown), Winter 2002, 6: 6.

Consequently, in 1947, Azikiwe was invited to address Storer students as a commencement speaker and presented a speech that in no uncertain terms can be called a rallying cry to activism through social leadership. Dr. Azikiwe defined democracy challenging students not only in the interest of right living but also to effect that living through strict democratic practice. Azikiwe's primary objective was to prompt students to become more actively engaged not only with their democratic society but also—and perhaps most importantly—to develop within themselves an innate understanding and meaningful connection with the democratic process. After Azikiwe delivered the commencement speech, Storer College conferred upon him “one of only two honorary degrees” bestowed by the institution.¹⁰⁶⁴

Despite the progress he had made in improving faculty and student relations at Storer and in making the student body more cognizant of their civil and politic responsibilities, within a short time after arriving at the school, McKinney faced rising criticism from members of the Board of Trustees. Although the school had never been in stable financial shape, under McKinney the deficit that had begun during the last years of McDonald's tenure grew more pressing with each passing year's economic inflation. Moreover, despite his best efforts, McKinney had been unable to get full accreditation for the school because the criterion for colleges and universities accredited by South Central were beyond the scope of Storer's means at the time. The mandatory endowment alone, over \$100,000, for such colleges restricted Storer's membership. By 1948, Storer's

¹⁰⁶⁴ Richard I. McKinney, Ph.D. Personal Communication. Email transmission. April 22, 2004. Dr. McKinney acknowledges that “at the commencement when he [Dr. Azikiwe] spoke, we conferred upon him one of the only two honorary degrees the College ever gave. (The other one was to a Mr. Ramer, an alumnus of Storer, who had a distinguished career as a school principal in Martinsburg.)”

financial difficulties had created a wedge between its predominantly white executive Board of Directors and its first Negro president and direct administrator.

Was race a factor in the Board's swift criticism? While such cannot be claimed with certainty, it is interesting to note that many Board members who had parted ways with McDonald under less than cordial circumstances now began to contact him for opinions, insight and information-gathering.¹⁰⁶⁵ Additionally, it must be pointed out that the Board did hold a white majority and that McDonald, who remained embittered about his resignation, possibly expressed negative comments about the school's new president that must have counted for something within the community where McDonald had developed strong political ties and social influence.¹⁰⁶⁶

The tensions between McKinney and the school's board would ultimately reach a crisis point.¹⁰⁶⁷ With a chronically historical financial condition and a board that maintained definitive allegiance to its nineteenth-century paternalistic tendencies, McKinney perchance felt that his position was growing more tenuous. McKinney was caught between the board's politics and the school's advancement. McKinney was a true academician: the advancement of his school and his students was his primary objective as he understood it. Traditionally, Storer had worked to keep its tuition rates affordable, so much so that several years passed before approved increases were put into effect. In fact, while in 1949 the Executive Committee voted to increase tuition from \$100 to \$120 per year, at the same time it voted to reduce students' annual fees from \$50 to \$40.¹⁰⁶⁸ This odd inversion of fiscal policy meant that for every 100 students paying full fees, Storer

¹⁰⁶⁵ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 202-03.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 203-04.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 204-06.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 206.

would have lost—virtually given away—a potential \$1,000 dollars from its coffers.

McKinney finally determined that he did not resonate with the board's decisions, nor did he believe that resolution would be a sure outcome under the current climate on campus.

When the Board of Trustees met, in 1949, McKinney offered his resignation, and although the members refused to accept it, they also initially failed to reelect him. The motion that proposed the Board not reelect McKinney was set forth by Judge Thomas Robertson, Chair of the Finance Committee, a long-time critic of the president, and likely a member of the Brackett family.¹⁰⁶⁹ Although the Board subsequently voted to reinstate McKinney, it became clear that McKinney had at least one vocal enemy among its members enough to impugn his authority and undermine respect for the administrative position—and that, most likely, McKinney's days were numbered.

Although the school's financial status wavered over the next year, dipping and rising intermittently, at the April 1950 Board meeting, McKinney again presented his resignation. Apparently, the Board was so eager to rid Storer of McKinney that they not only accepted his resignation but made it effective a month earlier (July 1) than he had originally suggested in order to ensure a comfortable administrative transition.¹⁰⁷⁰ Just a month later, a board of three faculty members was elected to supervise the daily administration of Storer College until a new president could be hired. Unable to wait until July, McKinney left the campus in May, after the close of commencement activities, to assume an administrative appointment at Morgan State College in Baltimore.¹⁰⁷¹ With

¹⁰⁶⁹ Ibid., 204-07.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Ibid., 208. It has been suggested without precise verification that Robertson was married to Celeste Brackett daughter of Nathan Cook Brackett.

¹⁰⁷¹ McKinney, *Preliminary Research Interview: Richard I. McKinney*; Bradley D. Nash, Storer College Archives, HFD-00227, 1964, Presidents of Storer College, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park.

McKinney's departure, the tenure of the black college's first black president came to a resounding close, and placed the school in operational jeopardy.

Storer After McKinney: School's Final Days

For two years after McKinney's resignation, in 1950, Storer College was managed by an Interim Administrative Committee appointed by the Board of Trustees. The commission, chaired by Leroy Dennis Johnson, a faculty member and Dean of Men, remained in operation until May 1952 when Reverend Leonard Earl Terrell was selected to manage the various and varied branches of the school's interests.¹⁰⁷² Terrell was the last principal administrator in the history of the school.

For the two years before Terrell was named president, however, the three-member board—which became known as the Administrative Committee—found itself in full charge of Storer College, which meant handling not just the day-to-day responsibilities expected of a president but also dealing with the “unenviable task[s]” of making crucial decisions about keeping the college open “reduc[ing] its debts and . . . plan[ning] for the future”.¹⁰⁷³ To keep the college afloat financially, the decision was made to sell “surplus lots,” as well as the Co-Op House, and apply monies earned from these sales back into the coffers, which was suffering for two reasons a debt of \$36,800 and uncollected student bills amounting to \$18,000. Despite ongoing financial woes, though, efforts were made to recruit additional students.¹⁰⁷⁴

¹⁰⁷² Nash, "Presidents of Storer College,"; *Storer College Students*, United States Department of the Interior; National Park Service: Storer College Archives, by Guinevere Roper and Toni Hicks, Historians, Harper's Ferry National Monument (Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, 1985?).

¹⁰⁷³ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 209.

¹⁰⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 209-10.

By 1951, a search committee had identified four potential replacements for McKinney, with the frontrunner being Dr. Herbert Miller, presently at the Baptist Educational Center in New York City, who was invited to interview in June. However, on the very day of Miller's scheduled visit, the Executive Committee reported that it had been cancelled, somewhat mysteriously, "in the best interest of the College".¹⁰⁷⁵ The Executive Committee then voted to disband the Administrative Committee and hire Dean Leroy Johnson in a dual role: Vice-President and Dean of the college simultaneously. This duality imposed upon the school's principal administrators—Brackett, McDonald, and McKinney—had been a longstanding, accepted tradition; however, this inherited tradition that is indicative of both administrative and financial justification evolved to become one of the most dysfunctional aspects associated with the school. Consequently, in just a few short months, Johnson requested that the Administrative Committee be reformed because the responsibilities, duties, and obligations were beyond the capabilities of just one man that the board did meet Johnson's request to reinstate a committee.

At this point in time, the financial outlook for the school was, if not splendid, at least improved. The deficit was gone, the potential for a balanced budget positive, and additional buildings—including Lockwood House—were being sold to raise more money. Unfortunately, the air of optimism was short-lived: enrollment declined and the college was forced to borrow additional money. From there, the situation worsened. In 1952, the school's vice president "recommended that a committee be formed to look into the sale of any college property 'not expected to be used in the future development'" and

¹⁰⁷⁵ Ibid., 210-11.

the school's second candidate for president, Dr. Charles Boddie, minister of Mt. Olivet Baptist Church in Rochester, New York, declined to accept the position.¹⁰⁷⁶

At the Board of Trustees' 1952 meeting, the news was announced that the college finally had a president: Reverend L. E. Terrell, who was an African American minister from Florida. As previous historians note, "Rev. Terrell's short-lived administration . . . had little chance to succeed" given the larger issues then at hand.¹⁰⁷⁷ The school entered its 1952-53 academic year with a deficit that amounted to \$11,855. Again, the Board made another odd fiscal decision regarding the raising of student fees: although they discussed raising both tuition and board, they increased only the latter (from \$240 to \$280), leaving the former at its \$180 rate.¹⁰⁷⁸ In the meantime, enrollment continued to decline.

Despite Terrell's enthusiasm and the welcomed addition of a library annex to the campus, "[a]s early as February 1953, the Board of Trustees was already beginning to seriously discuss the future of Storer".¹⁰⁷⁹ The school's situation as a Christian college that had long relied on support from the Free Will and regular Baptist denominations placed its future in financial peril, with little assistance from outside sources. Although at this time of crisis the Board appealed to the American Baptist Convention for financial aid, "little hope" was offered, but the ABC's representative did suggest that the school begin a "Build Storer" campaign that focused on increasing enrollment, raising more funds from alumni, and receiving additional assistance from churches.¹⁰⁸⁰

¹⁰⁷⁶ Ibid., 212-13.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Ibid., 214.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Ibid., 215.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Ibid.

Several factors impeded Storer from making progress on these goals: its regression and lack of continuing effort toward regional accreditation left potential supporters in a dilemma, its library and gymnasium were outdated, and—quite interesting—its tuition rates were higher than those of state schools. Indeed, by late 1953, “[f]igures showed only 50 boarding students and 21 days students, well below the hoped-for enrollment”.¹⁰⁸¹ The deficit for that school year was “9,019, and approximately \$10,000 was due on unpaid bills,” while students “owed the school a total of more than \$2000”.¹⁰⁸² A last-ditch effort was made to raise money by mortgaging the Brackett House.¹⁰⁸³

Although at the end of 1953, a special board was convened to study the college’s potential and began working earnestly toward the future, Storer College’s days were numbered. While some additional funds came in, it was not enough, and the Executive Committee “finally faced the hard reality that Storer College could not continue in its current condition” to maintain operations.¹⁰⁸⁴ Its members recommended to the Board of Trustees that the college suspend operations for 1954 – 1955, but at the Board’s next meeting, members of the Alumni Association convinced them to keep the school open, promising that they would contribute additional funding. The Alumni Association’s “Save Storer” campaign began and met with some initial success: it “raised \$5,000 for scholarships for West Virginia students, and recruited more students than Storer had had for the previous two years”.¹⁰⁸⁵ Financially, however, the school still wavered.

¹⁰⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 217.

¹⁰⁸² *Ibid.*, 217-18.

¹⁰⁸³ *Ibid.*, 218.

¹⁰⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 220.

¹⁰⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 220-21.

The next meeting of the Board of Trustees proved monumental for several reasons. First, although President Terrell had always managed to maintain hope—in October 1954, in fact, he had attempted to “rally” the Board regarding the school’s future—at the April 1955 Board meeting, he tendered his resignation. Second, and more portentous, was news the Board received from the state. The groundbreaking *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* had occurred effectively ending educational segregation. Amid its legislative shockwave, the West Virginia determined that it would no longer support Storer financially since Storer’s students were then accepted under the public school boards. The state believed that in the wake of the court’s decision it could no longer justify neither its appropriations to Storer College nor any longer continue to finance a dual system of education with its taxpayers. With a total debt level of \$35,000—the deficit for the current school year was over \$16,000—Storer College could not go on. The final element that marked this meeting as monumental was the Board’s eventual decision: on the spot, it voted to terminate the operation of the school with the outgoing class of 1955.¹⁰⁸⁶

After nearly ninety years of existence—after surviving local resistance, two world wars, and the Great Depression—Storer College graduated its class of 1955 and closed its doors as an educational institution. It is more than symbolic that its final years were marked by the sale or mortgaging of two of its original buildings—the Lockwood and Brackett houses—as such actions truly articulated the dire straits into which the school had fallen. Although the Board of Trustees met on a regular basis and even attempted to resurrect the school, such was not to be. This did not mean, however, that the school

¹⁰⁸⁶ Nash, "Presidents of Storer College".

would fade into memory. In 1963, the National Park Service took control of the “campus and grounds” under the protective aegis of the Harpers Ferry National Park.

CHAPTER 9

LEGAL CHALLENGES AND THE FEDERAL ACQUISITION, 1955

Storer's Future: Two Decisions, Two Proposals, Two Directions

After the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, the federal court system mandated that the attorney general of each state must implement the decision to desegregate public schools. West Virginia was no exception. When Chief Justice Warren read the decision into the nation's public record, school districts began to implement the decision of the high court "with all deliberate speed" desegregating the nation's schools.¹⁰⁸⁷ Thereafter, the state's legislature, in compliance with the federal mandate, voted to discontinue its annual \$20,000 appropriation to Storer College. Without much debate, Storer's Board of Trustees realized that the school could not make up such a deficit. In a last-ditch effort to keep the school afloat financially, the board and its convention proceeded to circulate requests for proposals designed to solicit aid.¹⁰⁸⁸ Two proposals—the Alderson-Broaddus Proposal and the Zion Proposal—came quickly.

Alderson-Broaddus Proposal

The first proposal—under the auspices of the Phillippi, WV Alderson-Broaddus College—arrived for consideration on September 11, 1958. The Executive Committee of Alderson-Broaddus understood that the "purposes and ideals of Storer College" were to be effected through "some other" institution in order to avoid the additional expense of maintaining a

¹⁰⁸⁷ "Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka et al," 76-80.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Mary P. Dyson and Madison Briscoe Vs. President and Trustees of Storer College and Clarence W. Cranford, 1959 Motion to Dismiss Joint Appendix (United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit) (No. 391-59)

“separate educational institution” specifically for minority students.¹⁰⁸⁹ As such, it recommended that negotiations begin with a collaborative board composed of three members from each college for the express purpose of determining the “possibility and advisability” for the institutional mergers. The Alderson-Broaddus Executive Committee submitted a four-point recommendation: (a) the committee agreed that the name of Storer College should be preserved “in some significant way” on the Phillipi campus; (b) the committee agreed to accept the transfer of “alumni records and the academic implications for the alumni” and all such “fellowship implications”; (c) the members agreed to accept “some trustee representation” on the school’s general “College Board”; and (d) they would accept the “transfer of resources,” reserving a portion for endowing scholarships designed to support the school’s original emphasis on Negro education.¹⁰⁹⁰ Slightly more than a month after the Alderson-Broaddus Proposal was received a second arrived for board members to consider.

The Zion Proposal

On October 28, the Zion Proposal reached Storer College’s Board of Trustees. By arrangement of its “National Officers and the Bishops,” the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (AMEZC) convened its national, ecclesiastical polity for an “all-day conference” in order to consider forming a “tentative proposal” to be offered for consideration by the Storer College Board of Trustees.¹⁰⁹¹ The AMEZC—which could

¹⁰⁸⁹ Mary P. Dyson and Madison Briscoe v. President and Trustees of Storer College and Clarence W. Cranford, No. 15, 305 Argument, at 5-16 (United States Appeals Court For The District of Columbia Circuit Civil Action June 5, 1959)

¹⁰⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹¹ Mary P. Dyson and Madison Briscoe v. President and Trustees of Storer College and Clarence W. Cranford, No. 391-59 Exhibit "B" / Proposal of the A.M.E. Zion Church, at 10-12 (United States District Court Civil Action February 11, 1959)

trace its “beginning” and original “charter” to 1801—had a venerable reputation for routing denominational resolution through active working “committee[s]”.¹⁰⁹² By 1820, the churchmen were, in Hudson’s judgment, soundly “organized” as a denominational body.¹⁰⁹³ According to Woodson’s account, not unlike the Free Will Baptists, during the nineteenth century the “Zionites” had “extended their operations through missionaries”.¹⁰⁹⁴

With its strong missionary background as impetus, the denomination’s conference organized “three meetings” in two different physical locations in order to effect a thorough investigation: (a) Washington, D. C., and (b) Harpers Ferry, WV.¹⁰⁹⁵ The denomination understood from the college’s trustees that proposals were to be submitted for “the purpose of continuing the operation and educational purposes” of Storer College.¹⁰⁹⁶

As such, the AMEZC began by first developing “procedures for negotiations” in order to provide a framework from which the college’s board and the churchmen would work. The AMEZC formed an “ad hoc Negotiations Committee” to act as liaison between the school board and the church polity, as well as to represent the best interests of the denomination in all its dealings. This approach proved to be productive, for the “ad hoc” committee then proceeded to develop an eight-point “proposal” for consideration by Storer’s board. First, the original name of the institution would be

¹⁰⁹² Carter G. Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 5 (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1928), 151.

¹⁰⁹³ Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 151; Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America: An Historical Account of the Development of American Religious Life*, 1965, 3 ed. (NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1981), 225-26.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 152.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Mary P. Dyson and Madison Briscoe v. President and Trustees of Storer College and Clarence W. Cranford, 1959 Complaint, at 2-8 (United States District Court For the District of Columbia) (No. 391-59).

¹⁰⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

“retained.” Second, its physical plant would be “used” and maintained in its “present location.” Third, the AMEZC acknowledged that it would “assume total responsibility” for managing the “reopening, operation, maintenance and perpetuation” of the school. Fourth, a physical building “renovation” schedule was included assuring that the AMEZC would refurbish campus buildings on a fixed schedule over a three-year period, “irrespective of cost.” Fifth, since the denomination could not offer programs for which they had no facilities, it proposed “introduc[ing]” the “placement of programs” at a reasonable pace in order to correspond with the “renovation” plan. Sixth, since the AMEZC indicated its intention to use the campus for “educational purposes,” the denomination proposed relocating several of its current operations to Harpers Ferry, including programs for ministerial preparation, “[m]issionary [e]ducation,” “[l]eadership [e]ducation,” and “Christian [e]ducation.” Seventh, a “new board of Trustees” was conceived; the board’s composition was proposed as: 30% FWB and 60% AMEZC. Finally, if the proposal was “acceptable to all parties,” the details were to be “negotiated” with all “formalities” to transpire and action “undertaken immediately” to quickly bring Storer college back to a state of educational readiness.¹⁰⁹⁷ The Board now had to choose between two roughly equivalent proposals for maintaining Storer College.

Building Accountability for a Board: Two Alumni Bring Suit

Although the majority of the Board of Trustees voted to accept the Alderson-Broadus Proposal and liquidate Storer’s assets, two Board members who also happened to be Storer College graduates—Mary Peyton Dyson and Madison Spenser Briscoe—were not

¹⁰⁹⁷ Ibid.

only decidedly against the liquidation of the school's assets but also against abandoning the physical plant, feeling certain that Storer College's memory was in jeopardy of extinction. For several reasons, Dyson and Briscoe firmly believed the Board should reconsider its opinion because of potential

- liabilities associated with “donors of endowments and contributors” who had invested in the school;
- violations to the school's original 1867 legislative charter;
- breaches to the existing “Act to Incorporate” between the institution and the state government (On September 20, 1955, Clarence W. Cranford, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, had moved the institutional/corporate operations from Harpers Ferry to his district church office, which meant that essentially the President and Board of Trustees had been relocated from the site agreed upon at the time the state granted the “President and Officers” to incorporate under the name of Storer College);
- “acts and resolutions” by Cranford in his capacity as board “President”;
- misappropriations connected with the protection of the \$93,000.00 obtained through endowments and gifts;
- injuries to the area and students since “it has supplied a community need in education together with the educational need of students”;
- violations to the “name and plant” with which trustees had been entrusted, which suggested that the Board would then be in violation of its fiduciary duty; and
- generalized inconsistencies with the school's charter.¹⁰⁹⁸

¹⁰⁹⁸ Mary P. Dyson and Madison Briscoe v. President and Trustees of Storer College and Clarence W. Cranford, 1959 Complaint, at 2-8 (United States District Court For the District of Columbia) (No. 391-59)

So dedicated were Dyson and Briscoe to the belief that the Board should reconsider its decision that they did not stop with forwarding their own opinions. Rather, they carried their objections to the next logical level: litigation.

A Case for Litigation

Barely three months later, on February 11, 1959, a civil suit on behalf of Dyson and Briscoe was filed in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia by Carlisle E. Pratt. Pratt's "Motion for Preliminary Injunction" was meant to prevent a "Special Committee" appointed by Cranford from beginning the process of liquidating Storer's assets.¹⁰⁹⁹ By filing suit, Dyson and Briscoe hoped to prevent any further action by the committee until specific questions involving the college's historical integrity, liquid and fixed assets, and real properties could be fully explored. Beyond this, Dyson and Briscoe's plea suggests they feared that "unlawful act[s]" by the committee would lead to a "breach of trust" for which each trustee could be held "in violation" and therefore be liable.¹¹⁰⁰ Dyson and Briscoe's protection of Storer College was only logical, for between them they had over the years invested much time and energy supporting their alma mater atop Camp Hill.

Litigants and Liabilities

On March 2, 1959, Clarence Cranford was deposed in Washington, D. C. and submitted as part of his deposition an affidavit providing names and addresses for all "persons"

¹⁰⁹⁹ Mary P. Dyson and Madison Briscoe v. President and Trustees of Storer College and Clarence W. Cranford, No. 391-59 Prefatory Statement, at 1-3 (United States Court of Appeals For The District of Columbia Circuit Civil Action 11 February, 1959)

¹¹⁰⁰ Mary P. Dyson and Madison Briscoe v. President and Trustees of Storer College and Clarence W. Cranford.

associated with the “Board of Trustees of Storer College”.¹¹⁰¹ Cranford’s affidavit indicates that, in accordance with the original charter from the state, a total of twenty-four trustees were still retained to form an active college board. The Board included Cranford, who was not only its chairman but also pastor of the district’s Calvary Baptist Church; Dyson, who had taught at Storer and Howard University; Briscoe; Fannie Cobb Carter, 1891 Storer graduate and teacher at Bluefield State Colored Institute; and attorney Jesse W. Lewis.¹¹⁰² As expected, there were several trustees from West Virginia, including seven from three different townships. Each of the towns had been a part of the early 1865 Free Will Baptist mission school network in the valley: Harper’s Ferry, Charles Town, and Shepherdstown. Representing the southern part of the state, Alexander Gregory was selected from Bluefield’s Mount Zion Baptist Church while William H. Nelson was located near the state’s coal fields in Beckley, WV. Along with Briscoe, Gilbert S. Perry, Bradley W. Nash, and John N. Newcomer were living in Harpers Ferry in 1959, while C. Manning Smith, a local postmaster, and James W. Strider, a local banker with the Bank of Charles Town, represented interests from that historic township. Another neighboring community, Shepherdstown, was represented on the board by local attorney Henry W. Morrow. Also on the Board were William D. Johnson and Dr. Houston R. Jackson, both of Baltimore, Maryland; Mrs. Ernest R. Hagen, from Providence, Rhode Island; Mrs. Joseph Harrison, from Brigantine, New Jersey; Dr. Romeyn Rivenberg, of Clifford, Pennsylvania; and doctors John W. Davis, Ronald Wells, and William Rhodes, all of New York.

¹¹⁰¹ Mary P. Dyson and Madison Briscoe v. President and Trustees of Storer College and Clarence W. Cranford, No. 391-59 Prefatory Statement, at 1-3 (United States Court of Appeals For The District of Columbia Circuit Civil Action 11 February, 1959).

¹¹⁰² Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1921-1922, Storer College: A Junior College, 1921-1922, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

To this diverse group, Dyson and Briscoe made their appeal. Their subsequent litigation sets forth the belief that the proposal from the AMEZC “lends hope and restoration...in the future operation of said Storer College,” which of course was their chief goal.¹¹⁰³ The two further insisted that “unless enjoined and restrained by the injunctive power of th[e] Court...[the majority] will convey all of the real property and assets ...to Alderson-Broadus College...[and] the work of more than three-quarters of a century would have been lost” to perpetuity.¹¹⁰⁴ As the minority board members, Dyson and Briscoe wanted the majority board “permanently enjoined” and “restrained” from proceeding with the college and campus liquidation. In addition, they hoped to prevent the majority board from entertaining any plan that “propos[es] less value, interest and benefit to the future” of Storer College and its operations.¹¹⁰⁵

Why did Dyson and Briscoe file suit in Washington when the school was located in West Virginia? Perhaps they simply believed that their best chance to save the school was to have the civil case removed from West Virginia’s jurisdiction altogether because of the “lingering sentiment” which had long plagued the school since its institution as a mission school in 1865. Regardless of the reason, the case soon ended up back in West Virginia. After Washington’s District Court remanded the case back to West Virginia, it was a foregone conclusion that the school would be closed. Furthermore, Dyson and Briscoe were not to recover their legal costs, which were “in excess of \$3,000.00, exclusive of costs” incurred by their legal counsel during the course of legal preparation

¹¹⁰³ Mary P. Dyson and Madison Briscoe v. President and Trustees of Storer College and Clarence W. Cranford, No. 15,305 Argument, at 5-16 (United States Appeals Court For The District of Columbia Circuit Civil Action June 5, 1959).

¹¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 5-16.

and investigation.¹¹⁰⁶ Once the case was moved back to West Virginia, Storer College's future was sealed.

Moving Forward For the Last Time

In 1960, the Storer College Board of Trustees appointed a "Special Committee" to formulate a proposal agreement for the disbursement of funds, which included "a specific proposal for the sale of the property which if consummated [the Storer College Board of Trustees agrees to] make available, along with the existing endowments between \$300,000 and \$450,000 the income from which should be used for the education of youth".¹¹⁰⁷ It was through this committee that Cranford worked to design a plan for the "effective use of funds in keeping with the major interests and concerns which led to the founding of the college and its tenacious struggle throughout the years in serving Negro youth of West Virginia, the District of Columbia, Maryland and Virginia".¹¹⁰⁸ The committee's final proposal recommended "the sale of the property, the liquidation of all indebtedness, [and decreed that] the remaining assets of Storer College [were to] be given in equal portions to Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia and to Alderson-Broadus College, Philippi, West Virginia...[since] all three parties to this contact are Baptist schools which are sponsored by the American Baptist Convention" in the immediate territory.¹¹⁰⁹

¹¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁷ Contract Proposal, [Storer College, Special Committee] Disbursement and Liquidation, 11 (Contract Proposal: Disbursement of Funds, 5 March, 1960)

¹¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 2.

In 1960, Storer College officially merged with Virginia Union University. The terms of the merger addressed most specifically the goal of maintaining Storer's place in history:

"WHEREAS, Storer College, Inc. (formerly The President and Trustees of Storer College), a West Virginia non-stock corporation...has been closed as a school for higher education, and Virginia Union University is able to render a service to the territory formerly served by Storer College similar to that formerly rendered by Storer College; and WHEREAS, it appears that a merger of Storer College, Inc. into Virginia Union University, upon the terms and conditions hereinafter set forth, will enable Virginia Union University to perpetuate the aims, ideals and purpose for which Storer College was founded, and would serve the best interests of both institutions...have agreed upon all provisions, terms and conditions of such merger...shall be effected upon the following terms, provisions, conditions, stipulations, and agreements".¹¹¹⁰

All of the liquid assets—investments, endowments, and interest-bearing accounts—were transferred to Alderson-Broadus. The state's primary educational facility, West Virginia University, received the school's administrative records, including correspondences and financial documents. Although the merger and liquidation of assets effectively closed the earliest chapters on Storer College, the institutional memory of the school was then, and still remains to be promoted by a dedicated alumni association.

The Campus Reverts to Federal Management

The facilities that housed Storer College once belonged to the federal government, so it was perhaps fitting that once the school closed, the campus reverted to its former owners. The reversion of the Storer College campus to federal management, and therefore the decision that led to its inclusion in the "[n]ational monument," after 1955, cannot be fully

¹¹¹⁰ West Virginia. Congress., West Virginia State Archives, 1 February, 1960, File: Storer College, Agreement of Merger, Charleston, WV.

understood, however, without first considering the formation of the “[n]ational monument” of which Storer College was to become part.¹¹¹¹ Dr. Henry McDonald, President of Storer College from 1899 – 1944, played a vital role in the formation and establishment of the “Harper’s Ferry National Monument” erected in Harpers Ferry to commemorate an even more vital aspect of American history: John Brown’s liberating insurrection on the United States Federal Arsenal on October 17, 1859.¹¹¹²

The Harpers Ferry National Monument

In 1936, Harpers Ferry sustained a horrific flood caused by “torrential rains and [then] melting snow” that precipitated an abrupt spring thaw in the West Virginia upper highlands and along the Virginia and Maryland borders.¹¹¹³ Such destructive, natural convergence was not unknown in the natural scheme of West Virginia’s winter-to-spring transition, but this flood proved far more devastating.

After the thirty-six foot water wall gushed through the town’s rivers and out into the open sea, the town’s officials and state representatives were confronted with an extensive assessment and damage report effort. Among the town’s officials was Storer’s President McDonald, an active member of the community since his first arrival in 1899. Representing the state’s assessment team was Jennings Randolph, then West Virginia’s United States Congressman for its Second Congressional District. Both men simultaneously agreed that an appeal should be made to the Department of the Interior

¹¹¹¹ *United States Congress, Storer College and The Harpers Ferry National Monument, H.R.* (1960)

¹¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹¹³ Dennis E. Frye, Storer College National Alumni Association, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, 50th Anniversary: Commemorative Program, 29 June - 3 July, 1994, "Harpers Ferry Park - Yesterday and Today," (3-7), Harper's Ferry National Historical Park.

branch under the United States Congress in order to preserve the “town’s rich and varied history,” according to historian, Dennis Frye.¹¹¹⁴

Over the next several years, the two men collaborated on an integrated design that would: save the town’s physical history while at the same time preserve its social and military history. Finally, they agreed on plans involving the construction of a national highway. One highway was to follow the Potomac River from Washington into Harper’s Ferry with a northerly spur into Pennsylvania. From Harper’s Ferry, another plan involved a highway extending southward to Front Royal, Virginia. If combined, the two proposed designs—from Front Royal northwestward to Sharpsburg, Maryland and, at its furthest northern point, to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania—would have been significant. Although the fundamental objective of the “project” is not clearly stated, when one takes into consideration McDonald’s affection and Randolph’s enthusiasm for Civil War history, at least one deduction is apparent: the proposed highway would have encompassed the military routes of numerous Civil War generals from both sides.¹¹¹⁵

To launch the “project,” local and state representatives approached representatives at the federal level. In 1937, Randolph’s office contacted representatives of the National Park Service. They, in turn, “conducted an extensive inquiry and survey” of the area that included the triangulated-apex of three states’ mountainous heights in: Maryland (Maryland Heights), Virginia (Loudoun Heights), and West Virginia (Bolivar Heights) in

¹¹¹⁴ Frye, “Harpers Ferry Park - Yesterday and Today,” 3-7.

¹¹¹⁵ “The Battle of Antietam,” <<http://www.civilwarhome.com>>, 2004; “The Battle of Gettysburg,” <<http://americancivilwar.com>>, 2004; National Park Service, “Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia,” <<http://www2.cr.nps.gov/>>, 2004; David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War: A Political, Social, and Military History* (NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000), 790-91, 827-38, 2132-35.

order to determine the “desirability [for] inclusion” under federal jurisdiction directed by the National Park Consortium.¹¹¹⁶

The following year, in 1938, the “project” stepped closer to certainty when McDonald and Randolph spearheaded a public forum to discuss the ferry town’s “inclusion” under federal jurisdiction. McDonald and Randolph invited the general public, historians, administrators, and elected officials from the three states whose state boundaries and real properties were implicated in the proposal. According to Chief Historian, Dennis Frye, “over 200 participants” converged in the area to offer input.¹¹¹⁷ The focus of this formative meeting, held on February 17, was not only to involve the public voice but also, and perhaps more importantly, to investigate how each state would assume its share of financial responsibilities and divide real properties in conjunction with a collaborative plan that included the federal government.

While Randolph diligently plumbed the Capitol Hill Complex to solicit political support in Washington for the park, McDonald prepared to retire from his administrative position at Storer College. After McDonald participated in Storer’s “Commencement Exercises” the first weekend in June 1944, he was notified three weeks later, on June 30, 1944, that the historic “monument” was imminent.¹¹¹⁸ This perhaps reinvigorated the emeritus president with a sense of renewed hope and usefulness. When President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed a bill to institute a “[n]ational monument” at Harper’s Ferry, West Virginia, the bill’s stipulations provided only for an official “authorization”

¹¹¹⁶ Frye, “Harpers Ferry Park - Yesterday and Today,” 3-7.

¹¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹¹⁸ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1943-1944, Catalogue of Storer College, 1867-1940: Arts, Pre-Medical, State Normal, Academic, Musical and Industrial Courses, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

for the National Park Service “to accept 1,500 acres of *donated*” state properties in the immediate vicinity with no real federal appropriations allotted to the general project.¹¹¹⁹

By 1948, it became evident in the surrounding region that the ferry town’s outlook as a park remained in jeopardy. Several buildings were in dire need of repair, general clean-up and debris removal. Eventually state agencies, historical societies, and area residents collaborated long enough to keep the project viable until the state’s elected officials took a vested interest in the project’s resurrection.

On March 12, 1951, three West Virginia elected officials reinvigorated the project: (a) Harley O. Staggers, a congressman, garnered support in favor of the park, working as liaison between state and federal appropriators to obtain funding. Then (b), Okey L. Patteson, the state’s governor, prompted the legislature to allocate \$350,000 to purchase another 514 acres to add to the body of the park. And (c), a mayor, Gilbert Perry, the Mayor of Harper’s Ferry, proceeded with “title searches and property acquisition[s],” as though the park’s reality was assured.¹¹²⁰ Finally, on January 16, 1953, Governor Patteson transferred a deed for 400 acres to the Department of Interior to be used expressly for the establishment of the Harper’s Ferry National Monument.¹¹²¹ One year later, in 1954, John T. Willett was commissioned as the park’s first superintendent.

McDonald, did not live long enough to see all his efforts come to fruition.¹¹²² After McDonald retired in 1944, he worked with the incoming administrator, President Richard McKinney, for a period in order to help McKinney acclimate to the campus,

¹¹¹⁹ Frye, “Harpers Ferry Park - Yesterday and Today,” 3-7.

¹¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹¹²¹ Ibid.

¹¹²² Ibid.

town, and student affairs. Having lived a life of continuous activity, however, McDonald never fully retired from activities connected with the school, town, or the many state organizations to which he belonged. He died in November 1951, four years before Storer College graduated its last class and a full nine years before the campus reverted, in 1960, to the ownership of the federal government.

The National Park Service Steps In

On July 14, 1960, Public Law 86-655 placed the campus of Storer College again in the control of federal hands. The process by which this occurred had been several months in the making. On March 1 of that year, in the House of Representatives, West Virginia State Senator Jennings B. Randolph sponsored legislation providing for the federal takeover of the campus, a bill taken to the floor by Senator Harley O. Staggers. The legislation proposed by Randolph "[a]uthorize[d] the acquisition of certain lands including the Storer College site, John Browns Fort site, and the Federal armory, for addition to Harpers Ferry National Monument" [Tabled in favor of S. 2674].¹¹²³ In the United States Senate, the bill was sponsored by long-time West Virginia Senator Robert C. Byrd and was passed in amended form on April 11. On July 2, it was passed to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Finally, it became law.

When the National Parks Service took over control of Storer College, it acquired 30 acres of fixed structures and real estate properties to add to its national inventory of protected and preserved sites. Part of this process involved rehabilitating those structures the agency felt it could save, while demolishing others. In 1962, for example, improvements were made to several campus buildings and others were relocated to

¹¹²³ House of Representatives, *Storer College and The Harpers Ferry National Monument*.

restore historical integrity. Cook Hall, instituted originally as a dormitory for men students, was improved by the DOI for “use by visiting National Park Service personnel.” Other buildings were, however, demolished by the National Park Service that same year, including Mosher (originally Myrtle) Hall, Brackett Hall (formerly Lincoln Hall, the former men’s dormitory), Jackson and Sinclair Cottages, the Kent and Saunders Houses.¹¹²⁴ The DeWolf Industrial Building and the Storer College Gymnasium were likewise razed.¹¹²⁵ Later, the Science Building, originally built in the 1940’s, was also demolished.

Despite the destruction, some of the campus’s most historic buildings were given new leases on life. During the 1960’s the Lockwood House, which in 1865 had housed both the Shenandoah Mission and the Harper’s Ferry Mission School, benefited from a partial restoration project. Two main floor rooms were “restored and the basement [was subsequently] used for artifact storage”.¹¹²⁶ Likewise, the Morrell House, used during Storer’s operation by the Alexander Hatch Morrell family, was refurbished and maintained in its original location to house the executive-level administrator. The park’s superintendent operates from this location on Camp Hill. To correspond with the superintendent’s location the Nathan Cook Brackett House contains historical curators that provide reference services for park personnel and research associates. John Brown’s Fort, which had functioned as an ancillary feature of the college campus since Kate Field

¹¹²⁴ John Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, National Park Service/University of Maryland Cooperative Project (Harper's Ferry National Historic Park Collection: United States Government, December 1991), 35.

¹¹²⁵ Storer College Archives, ND, File: Campus Aerial Schematic, Storer College, 1865 - 1955, Harper's Ferry, WV, National Park Service.

¹¹²⁶ Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 5-55; 1. *The Lockwood House: Birthplace of Storer College*, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, by Anna Coxe Toogood, Park Historian (Harper's Ferry National Historic Park: United States Government, 3 January 1969), Furnishings Study: Historical Data Section, REP-HAFE-11.

had financed its transfer back to West Virginia following the Chicago Exposition, was relocated, in 1968, to Lower Harper's Ferry in order to approximate the fort to its nearest, original site in the township.

Anthony Hall was "rehabilitated," in 1963 and renamed the Mather Training Center, in honor of Stephen T. Mather, "the first director of the National Park Service," who was considered the progenitor of the National Park Service Branch of the Department of Interior. The Mather Center was dedicated, in 1964, as a continuing education facility "designed to emphasize specific programs and policies of the agency," to provide "intensive training in a wide range of communication skills," and to offer "programs in administration and office management, cultural resources, [and] risk management."¹¹²⁷ The Mather Training Center was the first such federal training center established in West Virginia's Eastern Panhandle.¹¹²⁸ Its progressive advancement includes "courses, workshops, and distance learning opportunities" for municipal and federal representatives.¹¹²⁹ Today, the Mather Training Center facility also encompasses two other structures: Wirth Hall, named for Conrad Wirth, which provides access to "classrooms and administrative offices," and Cook Hall Dormitory, which is used as additional office space for park service staff.¹¹³⁰ In 1970, the federal agency opened its "Interpretative Design Center," which is adjacent to the Mather Training Center in Anthony Hall.¹¹³¹ The purpose of the "design center" is to organize, coordinate, and

¹¹²⁷ Storer College National Alumni Association, 1999, News Release: Stephen T. Mather Training Center Celebrates Its 35th Anniversary, Stephen T. Mather Training Center, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park.

¹¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹¹²⁹ Katrina Fritts <<http://nps.gov>>, "Stephen T. Mather Training Center: History," in United States Department of Interior (WEB-Based Sites), National Park Service, <www.nps.gov/training/stmahist.htm>, 2003.

¹¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹¹³¹ "News Release: Stephen T. Mather Training Center Celebrates Its 35th Anniversary".

produce maps, exhibits, and film projects.¹¹³² In an effort to meet instructional demands, the Mather Center coordinates “training and development programs” for administrators, managers, supervisors, coordinators and specialists including a “fast rack, two-year intake trainee program”.¹¹³³

Additionally, the Curtis Free Will Baptist Church, also known as the Curtis Memorial Baptist Chapel, named in honor of Silas Curtis, in 1893, remains a vital structure for the park service. The main auditorium in the building continues to be utilized as a meeting, conference, and congregational structure by municipal, organizational, and federal assemblies. The SCNAA culminates its annual reunion event each year by holding its closing exercises in the Curtis Free Will Baptist Church.

Since 1960, then, the National Park Service has put its own stamp on the campus that once served as the home of Storer College, razing several key structures while maintaining others. Yet, its continued use of the campus as more than simply a national park—as also a training center and as a campus open to public gatherings, including meetings of the SCNAA—indicates the agency’s willingness to further the original mission of the school, and its FWB “founders and fathers.”¹¹³⁴

The Continuing Use of Storer College Campus

Although Storer College concluded its almost 100-year role as a Negro college, in 1955, through its new life as a national park site, the Storer College campus continues to impact the public mind and maintain its place in regional and national history. It has been the site

¹¹³² Ibid.

¹¹³³ Ibid.

¹¹³⁴ Kelly Miller, "The Past, Present and Future of the Negro College," *Journal of Negro Education* 2, no. 3 (July 1933): 413.

of numerous dramatizations, seminars, and programs designed to highlight the history of the college and its town, gives insight into the Civil War and Reconstruction Periods, and conveys the stories of the many individuals associated with its genesis, unfolding, contributions, and demise.

CHAPTER 10

SUMMARY

The purpose of this research study, an institutional narrative by design, was to better understand the genesis, unfolding, contributions, and demise issues associated with Storer College, in Harper's Ferry, West Virginia. The social, economic and political contexts, the post-Civil War philanthropic circumstances and corresponding actions, contributed to an understanding of the school's origin, development, and closure. Collectively, these contributed to new knowledge about the institution. This summary chapter proceeds from this framework to consider the: genesis, unfolding, contributions, and demise issues relative to each of the school's four primary development phases.

Storer's First Phase: 1865 – 1867

When the FWB came into the Shenandoah Valley, in 1865, their intention was to establish a network of mission schools to educate freedmen, former slaves, war refugees, and public indigents. This they did. Between 1865 and 1867, the FWB had organized, instituted, and supervised mission schools in: Harper's Ferry, Charles Town, Martinsburg, and Shepherdstown. Although they had also participated in the establishment of other such schools (i.e. Lexington, Staunton, Berryville, Winchester, etc.) in their association with the AMA, these four primary locations were more fully developed under their denominational aegis. Brackett's reports indicate that these four schools were receiving routine support and aid from the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society and other organized societies within the denominational structure during these years.

As such, the FWB were responsible for each school's monthly expenditures. Under the direct supervision of the Shenandoah Mission and Superintendent Brackett, Brackett paid monthly fees for: blackboards, seats, benches, fuel, lights, rent (where applicable since some space was donated), and boarding expenses for teachers. Brackett also had to pay for any travel expenses (i.e. train fare, stable fees, etc.) associated with his duties and responsibilities as well as those of the teachers shuttling back and forth from the Shenandoah Mission center as needed. Although the monthly collective range for expenditures among the four schools was between \$300 – \$350, there were two separate expenses however that were particular to the Harper's Ferry Mission School.

The first was the "Kitchen Service," as one might expect, full kitchen operations were only available at the Harper's Ferry Mission School. The school and its kitchen were eventually relocated from the Lockwood House to the Anthony House. After certain mission school operations were relocated into the Anthony House, kitchen services were likely expanded largely due to the number of students that began to arrive for elementary "preparatory" classes. "Commissaries," or food supplies, constituted the largest portion of expenses at the ferry school. Each of the other three sites was not equipped to offer much beyond that which could be heated on the stove tops in classrooms. Sarah Jane Foster verifies this since she was cared for—room and board—by the "most excellent Union family named Hoke".¹¹³⁵ Foster's meals were thus prepared for her, so that she could concentrate on students, classrooms, preparation, and safety issues. In Charles Town, Dudley was supplied with food, board, and all sustenance by the "colored" family who had donated space in that township for a mission

¹¹³⁵ Sarah Jane Foster, "Letters from West Virginia, 1865-1866," in *Sarah Jane Foster, Teacher of the Freedmen: A Diary and Letters*, FWB mission teacher diary, ed. Wayne E. Reilly (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 33.

school. By the end of 1865, ten teachers had been allocated by Silas Curtis to the Shenandoah Mission.

During this first phase of development, the mission teachers witnessed several accomplishments. Students attending the mission schools began to learn at a voracious rate. Adults and children alike attended school whenever they could. Several walked to the schools at the end of the day when their fieldwork, domestic jobs, or other employment had been completed. They attended the FWB day and night schools, Sabbath schools, and organized church services. After orienting their students to a formal learning environment with rules, fixed seating arrangement, and appropriate deportment, the mission teachers were able to go about their business of educating although they were intermittently interrupted by persons who still could not accept their presence in the townships, or the purpose of their mission. Brackett's circuit between and among the schools helped to generate good will, build respect, and earn the trust not only among the members of the "colored" community but also among those white persons, societies, and organizations that were having difficulty accepting the Baptists presence and depth of commitment. The teachers during 1865 – 1867 also witnessed an advancing curriculum as students "eagerly" consumed all that the teachers could offer in their classrooms. During this first period, the FWB began to increase their numbers and routinely collaborate with members of the "colored communities" in which they were working. At this time, the Shenandoah Mission workers were directed by Silas Curtis to begin a strenuously detailed system for record keeping that was faithfully executed by its workers.

The primary, and perhaps most important objective during these years was to earn the trust not just of the freedmen, fugitives, and refugees with whom the mission teachers were directly working, but it was perhaps of vital importance to their overarching mission that they earn the trust of the white community. The secondary focus for this first phase of development was: to teach literacy skills and model Christian morality to all those within their means.

Storer's Second Phase: 1867 – 1884

When the second major phase of Storer College began after the state's charter and the Normal Department was opened, in October 1867, in the Lockwood House it began its 90-year history with just 19 students. Since students were early offered access to a State Normal Department because of the state's role and urgency to improve rampant illiteracy, ignorance, and improve the social welfare, the State[-Level] Normal Department was opened first. Brackett and Cheney had been told, in advance, if they wanted the school to receive support from Barnas Sears, director of the Peabody Fund, it was mandatory that students be "instructed" by a "normal-trained" instructor. This they did. They hired Miss Martha W. L. Smith, a teacher trained in normal methods in Maine before coming to West Virginia.¹¹³⁶

The seven acres on which the four buildings stood provided substantial acreage on which to begin a college campus. However Oren Burbank Cheney had the foresight to

¹¹³⁶ Kate J. Anthony, Storer College Archives, Box 16, FF7, 1891, Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House; West Virginia Legislature, West Virginia State Archives, Sixth Session: Chapter 117, 106 - 107, 3 March, 1868, File: Storer College, An Act to Incorporate the Storer College, Charleston, WV, Wheeling, WV: John Frew, Public Printer; Oren B. Cheney, Washington, D.C., Free Will Baptist Correspondence, to N.C. Brackett (Confidential), Harper's Ferry, WV, April 17, 1867, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, Wise Library, West Virginia University: A & M 1322.

purchase additional acreage when he solely purchased the 150-acre Smallwood Farm, which was located a short distance away along the Bolivar Heights summit. If Cheney had not purchased this additional real estate, the school would have been unable to utilize this property for campus expansion, capital banking collateral, or help market the school in general to a wider audience.

On December 3, 1868, fifteen months after the college accepted its first, official entry-level class of 19 students under its charter name, Storer College, on October 2, 1867, Congress granted the denomination the right to provisionally occupy all four government buildings on the original seven acres atop Camp Hill.¹¹³⁷ Then, on December 15, 1868, after the college was incorporated by the state legislature, the War Department estimated that the four physical structures—Lockwood, Brackett, Morrell, and Anthony Houses—and the seven-acre real estate on which they sat were valued at \$30,000 the Baptists acquired the buildings.¹¹³⁸ The Lockwood House was the first “dwelling-house, school, and church.” The Brackett House provided living space for: superintendent and family, students, teachers, and preaching staff. The Morrell House was home not only to the Morrell family, in 1867, but also refugees, students, and teachers. Since Deacon Lewis Williams Anthony, Kate J. Anthony’s father, donated \$5000 for the classroom wing of the Anthony House, the building was thereafter dedicated in his honor on May 30, 1882.¹¹³⁹ The deed, for all four buildings plus acreage, was then recorded by Thomas A. Moore, Clerk of the County Court in the County of

¹¹³⁷ Ibid.; Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1935-1936, Catalogue of Storer College 1867 - 1936: A Junior College For Colored Youth, With Pre-Medical, State Normal, Academic, Musical and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees; Bushong, *A History of Jefferson County West Virginia*, 217.

¹¹³⁸ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College,".

¹¹³⁹ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College;" Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 25.

Jefferson, West Virginia, and recorded in the county's Book of Deeds on December 15, 1869.¹¹⁴⁰ This date, in 1869, was truly a major event for the FWB since they had overcome what appeared to be an insurmountable obstacle to institute their college.

Between 1870 – 1880 decade, Storer's student population truly accelerated and the State Normal Department was "hampered by its cramped condition," so the FWB began several improvement projects.¹¹⁴¹ The Women's Missionary Society, in 1880, launched a "project to raise funds" in order to erect a much needed physical structure for this crucial portion of the school's overall operation.¹¹⁴² With a donation from the FB, in 1868, the college then built a three-story, wooden structure, Lincoln Hall, to be used as a men's dormitory with \$4,000 from the Freedmen's Bureau. During the college's formative years, the FB was instrumental in providing protection and financing the first building project on the college campus just after the FWB acquired the buildings from the government. However, it was never within the scope of the FB to completely underwrite and finance these institutions' continued operation once the various philanthropic organizations assumed responsibility for them. It held 68 students, and the labor for this project was supplied by "a Union veteran," probably later recognized, as William Henry Bell, who supervised Storer's male students during the construction of the building. Conversely, the FWB, in 1873, started the construction of a girl's dormitory with monies donated by Francis Stewart Mosher, as well as those funds solicited and collected, during the summer months of 1873, by Anne Dudley and Martha Stowers. Dudley and Stowers traveled and chaperoned the school's *The Union Chorus* (later to be known as *The Harper's Ferry Singers*). With \$4,000 in receipts attributable to the public performances

¹¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 579-81.

¹¹⁴¹ Anthony, "Brief Historical Sketch: Storer College," 10.

¹¹⁴² Ibid.

of the “Chorus,” \$2,000 from Gerrit Smith, \$1,000 from the Women’s Missionary Society, and another \$600 from the “*Centennial Jubilee Singers*,” the FWB met another mile marker in the genesis and unfolding of the school’s second phase of development. On May 30, 1876, the building was ready, and during that fall 60 females were boarding in the new Myrtle Hall dormitory.

The college catalogue, in 1869, began to state, and routinely state thereafter that the institution “by precept and example, [intended] to inculcate good morals, habits of industry and selfdependence [sic]. It is, in fact, the design to make this a model school in every particular”.¹¹⁴³ Several guest speakers began to interact with Storer’s students during the second phase, so that students began to realize their own potential for “selfdependence” exemplified through, and by those guest speakers. On May 30, 1881, for example, the occasion of Storer’s 14th anniversary, Frederick Douglass delivered a commencement address on the legacy proffered by the actions of John Brown some twenty or more years earlier. Douglass’s very presence served to remind students that the surest route to success was through literacy, perseverance, and the strictest commitment to education. Douglass’ slavery was the surest route to his success because he did not take his freedom, or his citizenship for granted. He made application of it everyday. Douglass was a living example of success through perseverance, and perseverance for success.

In 1869, the general tuition range at Storer was between \$3.00 – \$9.00 for several consecutive years. Students were presented with two different boarding options: (a) to school board, or (b) to self-board. During this second phase, the costs of textbooks

¹¹⁴³ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1869, Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Normal Department, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Libby & Co., Printers--Enquirer Office: Dover, NH.

remained roughly within the same range. Storer's students paid two- to five-dollars for school books.¹¹⁴⁴ The total expenses incurred by students during these years, although fuel expenses were the most fluctuating expenditure, students could expect to pay per month \$7.25 to \$10.00 for everything. Several strict rules and regulations were instituted at this time after the Board of Trustees and particularly the Board of Instructors had assessed the truest nature of the student population they were working with. Discipline problems were not only minimized, they were hardly ever a consideration. The school's operation was subsequently divided into three basic "seasonal" terms: (a) fall, (b) winter, and (c) summer.

During the 1869 term, the "Board of Instructors" was comprised of seven instructors and three examiners, but by 1882, Storer College expanded its "Board of Instructors," so that the board reflected two new educational approaches: (a) a more diversified curriculum; and, (b) the addition of full-time "colored" instructors. Miss Coralie Lee [Cook] Franklin, an 1880 Storer graduate, became the teacher of "elocution," instructing students in the arts of public reading and speaking.¹¹⁴⁵

From 1882 to 1884, there were 166 students enrolled in the school's Preparatory Department, which was delineated by two subdivisions: "Grade A" and "Grade B" classes. The school's State Normal Department provided the most academically advanced education at this time. Sixty-three students were enrolled for the three-year Normal School Training program during these years. Principal Brackett worked with the

¹¹⁴⁴ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1882-1884, Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Morning Star Job Printing House, 29-30.

¹¹⁴⁵ "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments," 1880, 12; *Storer College Students*, United States Department of the Interior; National Park Service: Storer College Archives, by Guinevere Roper and Toni Hicks, Historians, Harper's Ferry National Monument (Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, 1985?), UN.

West Virginia State Superintendent of Schools to advance the curriculum of the Normal Course. Although the primary emphasis of the school was elementary education for a long time, the school did elevate its curriculum as needed.

During the 1880 decade the administration decided to change its qualifying statement, which began to read: “without distinction on account of *race, sex, or religious preference* [italics added]”.¹¹⁴⁶ In 1882, foreign students began to arrive from: Canada, Liberia, Bermuda, and Port Republic.¹¹⁴⁷ One such student, Hamilton Hatter, from Canada, was even “elected to the principalship of Bluefield Colored Institute” by the West Virginia Board of Regents.¹¹⁴⁸ Bluefield was one of two such institutes established in West Virginia as a result of Stephen Morrill’s “Second Act” in 1890.¹¹⁴⁹ The other “colored institute” was in Kanawha County just outside Charleston in Institute, West Virginia, called the West Virginia Colored Institute (now, West Virginia State University). These two “land-grant institutions” established for the state’s “colored” populations received state and federal subsidies. Consequently, Storer could not survive in the shadow of such state and federal sponsorship.

By the end of Storer’s second phase of development, in 1884, the number of students that had graduated from the Normal Department was nearing 500.¹¹⁵⁰ During this second phase, the predominant feature of the school was directed toward urging students toward “selfdependence.”

¹¹⁴⁶ Ibid.,.

¹¹⁴⁷ "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments," 1882, 5-19; Morgan and J. F. Cork, *History of Education in West Virginia*, 187.

¹¹⁴⁸ Ibid.; Emeline Burlingame-Cheney, *The Story of the Life and Work of Oren B. Cheney, Founder and First President of Bates College* (Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing House, 1907), 318; Morgan and J. F. Cork, *History of Education in West Virginia*, 189; Thomas Miller, *The History of Education in West Virginia* (Charleston, WV: The Tribune Printing Company, 1904), 291.

¹¹⁴⁹ "The Second Morrill Act, 1890," <<http://www.cals.ncsu.edu/agexed/ae501/1890law.html>>, 2004.

¹¹⁵⁰ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 61; Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 625-27.

Storer's Third Phase: 1884 – 1921

During Storer's third phase, Secondary Expansion, when the Industrial, Biblical, and Musical departments were developed, between 1884 and 1921, the school was struggled for financial security. Structural changes had been made to the Lockwood property to enhance its value and prepare it as a boarding house, in 1894, and then later, between 1902 – 1907. These changes caused the school's trustees and the FWB-HMS to take on a slightly higher debt load. By 1907, the Lockwood's western portico was extended although it had been operated as a boarding house since 1900, which was a new development and not a characteristic of the second phase. The Board of Trustees, still all white up through this third phase, decided to convert the Lockwood for year-round boarding to generate additional funding for the school's general operation, and to bolster its financial security.

The West Virginia Legislature became inextricably involved with Storer's third phase of development when it began to lend its support through annual appropriations. During the 1882 – 1892 period, the legislature allotted an annual appropriation of \$630 to cover tuition, board, and textbooks for 36 to 50 students depending on other extenuating factors.¹¹⁵¹ In 1897, there remained the carryover enrollment of 63 student in the three-year teacher training program. These students, too, were given state aid when they received tuition and textbooks because it was anticipated that these students would then provide the states "free schools" with "colored" teachers.¹¹⁵² However, by the end of this

¹¹⁵¹ Benjamin S. Morgan and J. F. Cork, *History of Education in West Virginia* (Charleston, WV: Moses W. Donnally, Printer, 1893), 185-89.

¹¹⁵² "Annual Catalogue of Storer College: Academic, State Normal, and Industrial Departments,".

phase, in 1921, over ten other “scholarships and [academic] prizes” became available to students.¹¹⁵³

The third phase of development increased the number of guest lecturers. These were individuals whose “real life” experiences and scholarly insight was perhaps most inspiring. During this period, the school incorporated in the curriculum a place for a “Course of Lectures,” which was to supplement the curriculum while also prompting students thought processes beyond the immediate. Between 1890 and 1895, Normal teacher candidates were performing well on the state’s standardized teacher’s examination.¹¹⁵⁴ During the 1890’s, the college instituted a new academic standard for advanced students at Storer. The “Academic and Senior Normal students” began to meet with faculty members on a weekly basis in order “to read and discuss literary works,” an atmosphere in which the open exchange of ideas was accepted and expected. By this third phase of development, unlike the second phase in which it developed, the Normal Department’s students were required to attend the “Peabody Teacher Institute” between terms. In order to maintain their accreditation, Storer’s former students returned at this time to attend the institute as well. It is likely that much experiential interchange occurred during these institute sessions. Also, in 1895, *The Storer Record* declared that the twenty operating “free schools” in Jefferson County, West Virginia were being taught by graduates from Storer College.¹¹⁵⁵ By this third phase, all the basic departmental divisions at Storer College remained intact, with the Normal Department continuing to receive the greatest attention, publicity, and aid.

¹¹⁵³ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1921-1922, Storer College: A Junior College, 1921-1922, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

¹¹⁵⁴ Unknown, Storer Record, 3.

¹¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

While the Normal Department was the focal point, during this period also, the college expanded its library offerings. Several hundreds of volumes from Baltimore's *Enoch Pratt Library* and Mary P. Smith significantly expanded the school's holdings in 1898. A corresponding action prompted the Board of Trustees to allocate enough physical space to accommodate these increased holdings. Consequently, three additional libraries were instituted around the campus: (a) the Roger Williams Library, in Anthony Hall; (b) the Dexter Library in Myrtle Hall; and, (c), the Wood Library in Lincoln Hall. These increased volumes occurred in time to support the: "The Lincoln Debating Society," "Literary Society," and Woman's League" that became increasingly active during this period. The school, during this period, erected a church: the Harper's Ferry Free Will Baptist Church, renamed the Curtis Memorial Free Will Baptist Chapel in 1892 after the Curtis executors fulfilled the terms of his last testament.

With the intention of increasing its financial base, the Board of Trustees had begun to manage several, real estate, cottage-type properties on the college grounds. They were: the "Shenandoah Cottage, Jackson Cottage, McDaniel, Robinson, Saunders, Sinclair, and McDowell Cottages." The period also witnessed the construction of an official president's home, the "Waterman House".¹¹⁵⁶ The students began to use an old barn in which to play sports, and some space was also used to house livestock. This barn was called, the Robinson Barn. By 1910, New Lincoln Hall was completed after a fire consumed Old Lincoln Hall in 1909. It was later renamed in honor of Storer's first principal, Nathan Cook Brackett.¹¹⁵⁷ Additionally, in 1918, the former boy's dorm was established as a girl's dorm. The college installed a new water source. Work on the new

¹¹⁵⁶ John Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 41.

¹¹⁵⁷ Burgess and Ward, "Free Baptist Cyclopaedia: Historical and Biographical," 64.

water supply line began in 1911; and, the school also acquired a 100-foot deep well, a pump room, and an updated pumping system by 1915, which included a seventy-foot water tower with a 50,000-gallon capacity.¹¹⁵⁸ The physical plant was also increased by the addition of the commemorative “Soldiers’ Gate” and the “Alumni Fence.” In 1891, the DeWolf Industrial Building was erected to serve as the home for the “Industrial Department,” a strong feature instituted by the board in response to the nation’s Industrial Revolution.¹¹⁵⁹ The same year, the Board of Trustees approved the construction of a east-west passageway from the main hall of the Anthony Memorial Hall to connect with the DeWolf Industrial Building. John Brown’s Fort, by 1909, was reconstructed on the campus after its safe return from the Chicago Exhibition, a grand historically significant gesture by Kate Field.

When the end of the century was nearing, in 1898, this third phase of the school’s development had taken its toll on Brackett. After all, Brackett had by that time been in the Shenandoah Valley for 34 years, and only periodically returned to his native state of Maine. A significant circumstance emerged during this period however. In 1896, the Board of Trustees voted to discontinue summer boarding at Lincoln Hall, but they intended to keep other summer facilities operational. Most summer boarders however at Lincoln Hall were “colored.” Whites on the other hand, were guaranteed housing during the summer months in the school’s other white designated facilities. When John “J.R.” Clifford, an 1875 graduate heard this news, he was infuriated. He proceeded to publish in his local Martinsburg newspaper, *The Pioneer Press*, essays and editorials with a tenor of

¹¹⁵⁸ "Campus Improvements," in *The Storer Record*, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, WV, 1912, 4.

¹¹⁵⁹ Storer College Collection, Bulletin, 1948-1950, Storer College Bulletin, 1948-1950, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV.

accusation toward his former principal. It is likely that Clifford held his former principal to an elevated standard that, in Clifford's mind, should have prompted Brackett to countermand the decision of the board to close Lincoln Hall, or at least made the gesture to revoke the decision. After this circumstance developed, Brackett, in 1898, welcomed retirement by this time. Clifford's pressing of the issue "demonstrated that Storer's students and alumni were beginning to step forward to become their own best advocates. Henry Temple McDonald, in 1899, replaced Principal Brackett and took the title President for the first time in the school's history for the next 45 years.¹¹⁶⁰

Among the elements that McDonald apparently thought problematic were a small faculty (seven full-time and four part-time teachers), no courses beyond the high school level, lack of science labs and equipment, and a central library he believed was outdated. Moreover, despite the success of its Normal Department, its enrollment was waning in the shadow of the nation's industrial demands.¹¹⁶¹ By 1895, the dormitories were crowded. McDonald then proceeded: to improve the physical plant and campus, increase the number of faculty, upgrade curriculum offerings, and improve student accommodation.¹¹⁶² In 1904, McDonald was able to convince the West Virginia Legislature to help finance the school's curriculum changes.

One year prior, in 1903, the state was financing "industrial training" in DeWolf.¹¹⁶³ In 1897, the Industrial Department was added as a separate, formal division

¹¹⁶⁰ "Annual Catalogue of Storer College: Academic, State Normal, and Industrial Departments,"; Linnea Hamer, "Storer College: The Education of the Black American," Harper's Ferry, WV, 1983, HFR-00416, 10.

¹¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 71-72.

¹¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 74.

¹¹⁶³ Henry T. McDonald, "Storer College," in *History of Education in West Virginia*, ed. Thomas C. Miller (Charleston, WV: The Tribune Printing Company, 1904), 294.

of the school.¹¹⁶⁴ When the department was formally developed, one room was used “exclusively” in which to teach sewing techniques and cutting methods. By 1893, unlike the first and second phases of the school’s development, the “Domestic Sciences” evolved to become a prerequisite for female students. These courses ultimately formed the basis for a formal three-year program by the third phase for which students received a “Domestic Sciences” endorsement.¹¹⁶⁵ Students then not only enrolled for domestic sciences, but they also enrolled for carpentry, blacksmithing, and other vocational subjects. *The Storer Record*, the official organ of the school, was printed by students working in the print shop. During the third period, the Industrial Department evolved as the dominating department exceeding the Normal Department by 55 students, as the state and the nation proceeded into the Industrial Revolution. This was a school first. With state support, the Industrial Department quickly enhanced the department’s attraction for students. By this time, the school had enrolled 137 students in industrial-type coursework.

During the 1905 – 1906 term, Storer added a Musical Department curriculum since students preparing for teaching, preaching, and missioning needed these skills. Students interested in instrumental lessons worked under the tutelage of Miss Emma F. Johnson study voice and piano. The Bandmaster, John W. McKinney, who also contributed to the education of these students. Noticeably, the number of “colored” instructors continued to increase, which was quite different from the first period of development when all teachers and instructors were white.

¹¹⁶⁴ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 66.

¹¹⁶⁵ "Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic, State Normal, and Industrial Departments,"; Hamer, "Storer College: The Education of the Black American," 7.

The third phase of Storer's overall developmental process indicates that students were preparing for the American industrial work force and therefore stepped forward to become their own best advocates. When John "J.R." Clifford demonstrated that he was not only willing to be an advocate but also—and most importantly—that he could effectively utilize a public medium to do so from an informed legal perspective, this was the first time that a Storer alumnus acted as an individual pro-activist in demand of equity by raising the public awareness regarding social discrimination and civil rights.

Storer's Fourth Phase: 1921 – 1955

During the school's final developmental phase, 1921 – 1955, it underwent various changes as it began to expand the Junior College into a Senior College Program. It was a Junior College from 1921 to 1934, and then from 1934 until its closure it began to offer various several four-year degrees to students. The first four-year class graduated in 1936. When the college then began to expand its curriculum, it also had to increase its faculty to manage the additional course load and monitor their progress. Additional "colored" teachers were hired during the 1930 decade. Briscoe and Johnson designed a Bachelor of Science Degree that incorporated several advanced sciences to launch the school's "Pre-Medical" program, and to serve as a substantial basis upon which the McKinney Administration would extend its offerings after 1944. In 1935, the college catalogue again stressed that "an education under positive Christian influence" predominated the minds of both the administration and its Board of Trustees.¹¹⁶⁶

¹¹⁶⁶ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1935-1936, Catalogue of Storer College 1867 - 1936: A Junior College For Colored Youth, With Pre-Medical, State Normal, Academic, Musical and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

The old, venerable Lockwood House was converted for apartment usage by 1941. In the preceding phase, the Lockwood had been a boarding house, and before that it was the school's antecedent site when it housed the Harper's Ferry Mission School.¹¹⁶⁷ The expanded science curriculum with mandatory laboratory hours was housed in Anthony Hall after the fires of: 1927, 1937, and later in 1939, which seriously damaged its pristine architecture.¹¹⁶⁸ Between 1948 and 1950, Brackett Hall was modernized for Storer's students, and later it accommodated over 100 females by 1950.¹¹⁶⁹ To generate needed finances, the Brackett House had been rented. After the town experienced another flood in 1942, and after Louise Wood Brackett expired the space was rented by flood victims for \$25 per month.¹¹⁷⁰ A metal roof was installed at a cost of \$822.25 in 1944. The McDonalds relocated from Anthony Hall into the Brackett Hall; Elizabeth McDonald was still living there at the time of the school's closure in 1955.¹¹⁷¹ Permelia Eastman Cook Hall was built in 1940 with funds from the Rochester, NY Eastmans. In 1927, President McDonald requested that the Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society assist the college with its next major construction project: a "Domestic Science Building." Two of the denomination's organizations contributed matching funds: the Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society and the American Baptist Woman's Missionary Society.¹¹⁷² The cornerstone for Cook Hall was eventually laid, and the building—constructed of stone mined from the college's nearby stone quarry—was erected beside

¹¹⁶⁷ John Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, National Park Service/University of Maryland Cooperative Project (Harper's Ferry National Historic Park Collection: United States Government, December 1991), 15.

¹¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 121, 26-28.

¹¹⁶⁹ Storer College Collection, *Bulletin, 1948-1950*, Storer College Bulletin, 1948-1950, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV.

¹¹⁷⁰ Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 19.

¹¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷² Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 182.

the John Brown Fort Museum.¹¹⁷³ Cook Hall did, in the end, have a long life. As part of the federal transition, in 2003, the Cook Hall Dormitory was utilized by the Federal Park Service as a part of its overall training facility. The Free Will Baptists, largely due to the school's financial instability, rejoined the General Baptist Conference, in 1911, after the denomination's longstanding segregation from its conference due to its nineteenth-century slavery disposition. Nonetheless, by the next decade, in the 1920's, McDonald began an aggressive marketing campaign to generate additional funds that included among other things: designed brochures and advertisements promoting the international aspects of the student body in order to attract potential students. McDonald maintained that Storer's faculty and administration were "sending leaders to Africa, [and] South America and widely over the United States" in an effort to encourage international and inter-racial relationships.¹¹⁷⁴ McDonald even, in 1925, was still soliciting funds from the Slater Fund for needed laboratory classrooms, lab equipment, and complementary furniture costing \$5000 while the school had already invested \$800 and \$1000 by this time.¹¹⁷⁵ Shortly thereafter Storer College was granted Junior College status, in 1921, and Henry McDonald began to promote the college nationally as such. To do this, McDonald was able to get the annual "Northern District College Conference of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A." on the campus of Storer College January 31 – February 2.¹¹⁷⁶

¹¹⁷³ Barker and Mary Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 42.

¹¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷⁵ Letter to James H. Dillard from Henry T. McDonald (Typescript) ND.

¹¹⁷⁶ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1929 -1930, Catalogue of Storer College 1867 - 1930: A Junior College For Colored Youth, With Academic, State Normal, Musical and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

After reworking the curriculum, Storer was given “Junior College” status, in 1921, under the state’s Free School System and Board of Education.¹¹⁷⁷ The college, too, began its “pre-med” curriculum at the same time since students were looking for advanced science programs for application to medical schools. McDonald worked diligently to provide a concentration in scientific study. By 1923, after having been given state-accreditation, in 1921, to offer the first two-years of a four-year degree, the college graduated its first student from the Junior College Program in 1923.¹¹⁷⁸ The Associates of Arts Degrees did not evolve until 1936 when Storer College graduated its first four-year class, and Storer then began what it termed a “full college” course of study.¹¹⁷⁹ The four-year programs offered degrees in: Language and Literature, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Education, and Pre-Medic subjects.¹¹⁸⁰ Elementary majors worked toward certification as well during those years.

Between 1921 and 1936, the “Pre-Medic” program was fully established. The West Virginia State Legislature and its coordinating state agencies recognized that advanced sciences were mandatory, if students intended to apply to medical schools across the nation. Storer’s “Pre-Medic Department” provided three-year coursework in order to meet demands: biology, zoology, organic chemistry, embryology, histology, and

¹¹⁷⁷ David Kirby, "The Legal Control of Higher Education in West Virginia," *West Virginia History Journal* 14, no. 1 (1952): 59-71, 59-71; Roy C. Woods, "A Half Century of Educational Progress in West Virginia: An Historical and Statistical Study," *West Virginia History Journal* 18, no. 3 (April 1957): 173-81, 173-81; William P. Jackmeit, "A Short History of Negro Public Higher Education In West Virginia, 1890-1965," *West Virginia History Journal* 37, no. 4 (1976): 309-24, 309-24; Roy C. Woods, "A Short History of Education in West Virginia," *West Virginia History Journal* 17, no. 4 (1956): 304-28; Roy C. Woods, "The Normal Training School Movement in West Virginia," *West Virginia History Journal* 14, no. 4 (July 1954): 321-32, 321-32.

¹¹⁷⁸ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 140.

¹¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 177; Free Will Baptists, "Storer College Book of Trustee Annual Minutes, 1913-1944,"

¹¹⁸⁰ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 177; Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1939-1940, Catalogue of Storer College, 1867-1940: Arts, Pre-Medical, State Normal, Academic, Musical and Industrial Courses, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

mammalian anatomy, among other courses were designed and offered.¹¹⁸¹ During this time, students incurred laboratory expenses beyond standard tuitions for the first time. Labs fees were \$3.00 and \$6.00, and qualitative and quantitative analyses were \$3.00 while biology and chemistry were both \$6.00 fees.¹¹⁸²

In 1934, Storer College was elevated to the full four-year accredited status by the State of West Virginia. Programs offered included: “Bachelor of Arts and Sciences,” “Bachelor of Science in Home Economics,” “Associate of Arts in Music,” and “Bachelor of Arts in Education” with an increasingly difficult curriculum to coordinate with the degree programs.¹¹⁸³ These students were called, “candidates.” Storer continued its Normal Teacher’s Department, first implemented in 1867. By the 1930’s however, teacher “candidates” working toward the “Bachelor of Arts in Elementary Education” had to commit to 128 hours of coursework with 90 hours of observation and directed teaching in Storer’s Grand View Nursery School, which was nearby the college campus. During the period, in 1938, Storer College instituted a Woman’s Commission while McDonald continued to battle with his board.¹¹⁸⁴

McDonald’s disagreement with his Board of Trustees continued for a period. Some board members made accusations of “inefficien[cy]” with veiled threats to either transfer the school’s management to the state because of its precarious financial situation, or call for McDonald’s resignation.¹¹⁸⁵ The Board of Trustees, at this time, remained largely under the control of white men with some women serving. During this period, Lura Brackett Lightner, inherited the treasurer’s office from her brother, Nathan, after

¹¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁸² Ibid.

¹¹⁸³ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1938-1939, Storer College, 1938-1939, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

¹¹⁸⁴ "Storer College Bulletin, 1948-1950".

¹¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

1910. By the 1932 – 1933 term, Storer was again under financial scrutiny just like the preceding phases of its development. West Virginia cut its annual appropriation to the college by a little over a third, reducing it from \$17,500 to \$12,000, which meant that additional tuition aid would not be forthcoming.¹¹⁸⁶ In McDonald's 1933 report, he reported that he believed the situation was worsening in the aftermath of the Depression years with enrollment plummeting to 122.¹¹⁸⁷ Some teachers left the campus for financial reasons while still others left because of the changing racial demographics among Storer's faculty. McDonald began to voice this sentiment in his letters to the board during the 1930's when students began to exercise "self sufficiency," self assertion," and "[lack of] fine feelings of appreciation" that, in his mind, has dissipated with the years.¹¹⁸⁸ McDonald also claimed that in order to "make it possible for white people to teach here," the Board of Trustees had to increase salaries to attract "white teachers" since, as McDonald states, that "whites should still play a leading role" in the education of blacks.¹¹⁸⁹

McDonald's long lingering paternalistic predisposition ultimately worked toward the detriment of the school during the early 1940's. By 1943, McDonald had committed this predisposition to paper when he noted, "I still think our ancestry, training and larger fitness enable us—white people—to do something for colored students, which they can get no other way".¹¹⁹⁰ Consequently, in 1942, McDonald began a process of administrative divestment: he resigned as treasurer, resigned from the Finance

¹¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁸⁷ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1938-1939, Catalogue of Storer College 1867 - 1938: A Junior College For Colored Youth, With Pre-Medical, State Normal, Academic, Musical and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

¹¹⁸⁸ Henry T. McDonald, "Letter from McDonald to Anthony (Typescript), ND.

¹¹⁸⁹ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 193.

¹¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

Committee, and resigned from the Executive Committee. McDonald's final resignation was put into effect when the 1944 graduation class left the campus.¹¹⁹¹

When McDonald resigned, in 1944, Richard Ishmael McKinney was selected as McDonald's successor. McKinney was the first African-American President of the school and the first "colored," Ivy League Ph.D. considered for the position. Although McKinney's was greeted to Harper's Ferry, in 1944, with a "burning cross," he nonetheless proceeded to accept the administrative post and begin the necessary work to construct the "modern four-year college" because McKinney believed this was the turning point (and, later, this belief was assuredly vindicated).¹¹⁹² McKinney was not paternalistic. But, he was futuristic: meaning, McKinney from the beginning depended on the cooperation of, and collaboration with his faculty, which in this time frame demonstrates his forward thinking and sense of elevated community. Since McKinney had worked up through the educational ranking system in various positions within the modern college structure, when he arrived at Storer he had been likely exposed to as many administrative variants within the modern college model.

Largely due to his background in philosophy and theology, McKinney then chose a collaborative team model from which to work out his concepts for the modern college. It was time for the school to take a step on its own behalf for its own future. Together, with his faculty, one of the first things that McKinney did was to route the modern college concept through a new mission statement that stressed "a liberal education in a Christian environment" and impressed upon students that they must be "responsive to the

¹¹⁹¹ Ibid. 192.

¹¹⁹² Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 196.

challenge of leadership.” In 1949, the joint vision between McKinney and his faculty articulated several objectives that they, together, had composed.

Student activism was initiated under McKinney. The new president chartered and sponsored a local, student chapter of the NAACP, and instituted a Student Government Association. In 1947, in response to the fact that “more and more students were asking for pre-medical courses,” a Science Building was constructed for students.¹¹⁹³ During the period, McKinney began to devise a plan with his faculty to move the school’s accreditation beyond the state-level; McKinney and his faculty hoped to advance the school into the national and regional ranking systems in an effort to enhance recruitment possibilities in addition to the school’s overall academic prestige.¹¹⁹⁴ He proceeded to work toward this goal with his faculty throughout his tenure. In 1946, West Virginia accredited Storer’s redesigned Bachelor of Arts in Elementary Education including accredited: English, Home Economics, Science and Social Science sections in its secondary education division that were still in operation.¹¹⁹⁵

During the 1944 to 1950 administration, the college’s faculty began a true process of integration. Students continued to arrive from foreign countries. The Nigerian leader, Nnamdi “Zik” Azikiwe, developed a relationship with McKinney. Both men had much in common; they both filled vital leadership roles on two different continents within their respective cultures. Of the 18 active faculty members under McKinney, “at least 11 . . . were African American,” including the president.¹¹⁹⁶ With the increased hiring of “colored teachers,” Storer truly became an integrated institution although due to the

¹¹⁹³ McKinney, *Preliminary Research Interview: Richard I. McKinney*.

¹¹⁹⁴ Marie Jacob Jones, Phone Conversation with Dawne Raines Burke, Re: Accreditation and Faculty at Storer (July 31 2002).

¹¹⁹⁵ Gozdizik and et al., *A Historic Resource Study for Storer College*, 201.

¹¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 197.

increased number of “colored” faculty, some white teachers had a problem coping their own increasingly minority status.

With the opening contexts of the Civil Rights Movement just around the corner, during the 1940 – 1950 decade, McKinney’s administration assumed a posture for civic awareness, politic responsibilities, and improving faculty and student relations. In a short four-year period, by 1948, McKinney faced uncertain criticism from members of his Board of Trustees. From the school’s earliest beginnings, the FWB-HMS and the Storer College Board of Trustees depended most aggressively and heavily on the school’s primary administrators to “solicit funds,” strictly monitor all aspects of finance, and general operations. Nash, who personally knew several instructors, trustees, and primary administrators, confirmed this degree of dependence suggesting that none “could ever separate it [Storer College] from the total embracing atmosphere of the valiant days of the antislavery society” that heavily weighted the school’s passage from paternalism to diversification during a time when it was most needed.¹¹⁹⁷ This practice by the board severely encumbered the otherwise effectiveness of all three of the primary administrators of Storer College. The Board of Trustees throughout the history of the school operated from a remote position with no impetus for proactive involvement until the predominance of critical incidents forced the board into reality. But, this was the abrupt peril of paternalism. Ultimately, during this last phase, the situation between McKinney and the board reached an absolute crisis.¹¹⁹⁸ With McKinney’s resignation the school lost its only Negro principal administrator in the history of the school.

¹¹⁹⁷ Bradley Nash, Storer College Archives, HFR-00430, 1965, *Crusade of Brotherhood: The Part of Storer College in the Education of the Negro, 1865-1955*, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, “Chapter VII,” 1.

¹¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 204-06.

In 1949, the Executive Committee voted to increase tuition from \$100 to \$120 per year while at the same time voting to reduce students' annual fees from \$50 to \$40.¹¹⁹⁹ With the continuing internal frustration, in 1950, McKinney likely realized that his days were numbered, and proceeded to tender his resignation in April. In his letter of resignation however, McKinney suggested that his resignation take effect August 1, 1950. The Board of Trustees accepted his resignation with the understanding that he would leave by July 1, 1950, a full 30 days early.¹²⁰⁰ A supervisory board of three faculty members was elected to administer the daily operations of Storer College until a new administrator could be located. After the school's commencement activities, in May, McKinney did not wait until July, he left Harper's Ferry for Morgan State College, in Baltimore, Maryland where he assumed another administrative role.¹²⁰¹

Storer was managed for a period after McKinney's resignation by a three-member Interim Administrative Committee appointed by the Board of Trustees chaired by longtime faculty member and Dean of Men, Leroy Dennis Johnson. The school's Board of Trustees then appointed Reverend Leonard Earl Terrell, in May 1952, to supervise the day-to-day activities. The school entered its 1952-53 academic year with a deficit that amounted to \$11,855. Although Terrell was a conscientious administrator, he inherited the college's historically significant financial crises. The board sold "surplus lots" and the "Co-Op House."

Terrell continued to be faced with debts amounting to \$36,800 and uncollected student bills amounting to \$18,000. When Terrell finally left, Leroy Johnson filled two

¹¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 206.

¹²⁰⁰ Ibid., 208.

¹²⁰¹ McKinney, *Preliminary Research Interview: Richard I. McKinney*; Bradley D. Nash, Storer College Archives, HFD-00227, 1964, Presidents of Storer College, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park.

vital roles: (a) he was Acting Vice-President, (b) and Dean. This dual role, which was indicative of entrenched paternalism, took its toll on Johnson much as it had done Brackett, McDonald, and McKinney in preceding phases. Johnson asked the board to reinstitute the Administrative Committee. Thereafter, enrollment declined, finances were overwhelming, and the Board of Trustees made pleas for assistance. Several ideas were considered with none accepted by the board. By February 1953, the Board of Trustees appealed to its American Baptist Convention. There was no significant, or timely response. In 1953, there were “only 50 boarding students and 21 days students, well below the hoped-for enrollment” with an existing deficit of “\$ 9,019, and approximately \$10,000 was due on unpaid bills” with accompanying tuitions of student’s left “ow[ing]” the school “more than \$2000”.¹²⁰² Finally, the board decided to mortgage one of its four original government building, the Brackett House, something that no earlier administrator had to consider.¹²⁰³ Then, after the *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* decision on May 17, 1954, the Board of Trustees decided to indefinitely suspend the school’s operations. During its next meeting, the board met with members of the Storer College Alumni Association who pledged support through a fund raising campaign. The alumni raised \$5,000. When the State of West Virginia was directed to desegregate its school systems “with all deliberate speed,” the state determined that it would no longer support Storer financially, or ask its taxpayers to finance a dual system of education with public taxes. With a total debt level of \$35,000—the deficit for the current school year was over \$16,000—Storer College could not go on. The board voted to terminate the operation of the school with the outgoing class of 1955, and began a five-year period of

¹²⁰² Ibid., 217-18.

¹²⁰³ Ibid., 218.

dismantling the college of fixed and real properties in addition to its liquid assets and invested endowments.

At some point after the board's majority voted to close Storer College and tabled the issue, two Storer College alumni, in 1959, filed a legal injunction to cease and desist closure activities hoping to save the school from extinction. Mary Peyton Dyson and Dr. Madison Spenser Briscoe, representing the board's minority opinion, filed an injunction against the board's majority opinion believing that the board should advance slowly in order to survey more lucrative options. After a short period, the board received two proposals from outside the institution. The majority opinion then proceeded to accept the most institutionally incapacitating of the two proposals. The first, a proposal from Alderson-Broadus, would move forward to liquidate the school altogether although keeping the Storer name only through means, or by methods that were not clearly defined. A second proposal, that of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in Washington, D.C., planned to keep the school operational, relocate various branches of AMEZC operations to the Harper's Ferry campus, expand Storer's programs, retain the Storer College name, and refurbish the physical plant of the college by implementing a concrete rehabilitation plan. Dyson and Briscoe lost their civil case when the District Court in Washington, D.C. determined that it had no jurisdiction in the case. The college thereafter underwent a long period of dismantlement, assets liquidated, records dispersed, and finally closed. Later, in 1960, the college campus would be resurrected under a federal curator.¹²⁰⁴

¹²⁰⁴ See: APPENDIX B: The Spirit of Storer Lives On

After formative legislation, in 1960, then in 1963, the former campus of Storer College transitioned into the National Monument Consolidation. To transition into the consolidation under the National Park Service, congressional legislation was mandatory.

On July 14, 1960, Public Law 86-655 placed the campus of Storer College again in the control of federal hands. The Anthony Hall was “rehabilitated” in 1963 Mather Center was dedicated, in 1964, as the first such federal training center established in West Virginia’s Eastern Panhandle.¹²⁰⁵ In 1970, the federal agency opened its “Interpretative Design Center.”

Although Storer College was eventually met with demise, with its fourth phase of development the school had come so close, so far, and for too long.¹²⁰⁶ Even so, during this fourth phase, McDonald’s assessment was correct. The students had begun to exercise “self sufficiency” and “self assertion” by becoming their own best advocates.

¹²⁰⁵ Storer College National Alumni Association, 1999, News Release: Stephen T. Mather Training Center Celebrates Its 35th Anniversary, Stephen T. Mather Training Center, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park.

¹²⁰⁶ See: APPENDIX D: Possible Reasons for Storer’s Demise

CONCLUSIONS

It has been the goal of this study to answer the global questions: What was Storer College? How did it change over time? Storer College was a viable, educational institution that contributed over nine decades to the earliest movements in the nation to educate African-Americans after taking root in one of the nation's most destructive periods. Storer College was among the first college-type institutions supported by the Freedmen's Bureau. For an extended period, Storer College was a higher educational institution of resource since it was the only such facility within a three hundred mile radius to which "colored" students could go following elementary-level education. Storer College was the first West Virginia Normal Department in which "colored" teachers were trained. Storer College was the first state-accredited Normal [Teacher's] Department in West Virginia. Storer College then provided a majority of "colored" teachers throughout West Virginia's Free School System during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Since it was the first of its kind, Storer College was a model school against which other like institutions were organized in the state after The Second Morrill Act (1890). Storer College worked collaboratively with both the West Virginia System of Free Schools, West Virginia State Board of Regents (later, Education), and the West Virginia Legislature in order to provide qualified and certified teachers. Most importantly, the institution of Storer College was both a spiritual and physical manifestation of a denomination's purpose and a nation's promise.

Over a course of 90-years, from 1865 – 1955, Storer College evolved through four primary, phases of development. During its first phase, the institution's mission was to morally develop and literate former slaves, freedmen, war refugees, and public

indigents in order to bring them in under the umbrella of American citizenship. In this manner, the school functioned much as a social change agent directing marginalized populations toward citizenship and social uplift. This phase also witnessed the FWB directly demonstrating their belief in moral obligation, and therefore they were conveying moral leadership expressly through their application of Christian character. A second, phase directed students toward self-dependency in order to encourage full emancipation: the free development of student's intellectual abilities was in direct correspondence with the physical freedom to develop those abilities. The third phase of the school prompted self-advocacy. Students began to assume a process of self-advocacy by confidently expressing opinions, critiques, and ideas through the school's open forum series. By the fourth phase, Storer College, as McDonald recognized, had kindled the fires of "self sufficiency" and "self assertion" in its students. These, complex and configurative characteristics associated with the school's genesis, unfolding, contributions, and demise issues via transition make a larger statement. Storer College functioned as a social change agent in post-Civil War America, as both it and its developmental phases effected—literacy, morality, self-dependency, self-advocacy, self-sufficiency, and self-assertion. Storer College, the institution, definitively contributed to the various trajectories for African-American self-determinism that emerged in the aftermath of the American Civil War.

Epilogue

In closing, Edith Wharton wrote, “There are two ways of spreading light: to be the candle or the mirror that reflects it.”¹²⁰⁷ It has been the chief aim of this study to do, and be both: to illuminate the institution of Storer College in Harper’s Ferry, West Virginia by exploring and assembling, through the historical method, an institutional narrative, and to understand its establishment by reflecting on the inordinate number of individuals, social, economic, and political contexts with corresponding actions that led not only to its founding in post-Civil War America but also its viable role in the birth of an educational movement that educated a segment of the American population formerly denied educational access.

¹²⁰⁷ Edith Wharton, *The Age of Innocence* (New York, 1920).

APPENDIX A

STORER COLLEGE NATIONAL ALUMNI ASSOCIATION (SCNAA)

By 1880, just fifteen years after the antecedent mission school was established, Storer College catalogues indicate that the school had begun to include in a special appendix an annual alumni listing.¹²⁰⁸ Alumni are listed in the catalogues in two different ways: according to their year of graduation and the department from which they graduated. The earliest graduation class that is included in the catalogues begins with the class of 1872. Graduates from the “Academic Department” and “State Normal Department” are first listed in the 1882 – 1884 “catalogue”.¹²⁰⁹ Since the listing routinely uses an asterisk to denote the deaths of former students, it appears that there was some degree of routine, reciprocal communication between the alumni and the institution early in the school’s history.

The dedication of Storer alumni to their alma mater indicates the measure of the school’s influence over the individuals they became. Through Storer, the Free Will Baptists helped to change the way the American public came to view the Negro race, using education as a launch window through which students stepped not only to become members of a contributing citizenship but also and perhaps more importantly to improve themselves. While the denomination worked from without and within to improve social conditions for blacks, the alumni association has endeavored to carry forth this promise. In her study of Storer College, Hamer observed that when alumni were asked about their alma mater, with a singularly collective voice they agreed that “the supportive family

¹²⁰⁸ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1882-1884, Biennial Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Storer College, Academic and State Normal Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Morning Star Job Printing House.

¹²⁰⁹ Ibid.

atmosphere” when combined with “key faculty” members and administrators plus the “small size of the school” worked together to make their experience at Storer College quite special.¹²¹⁰ From all evidence, the alumni hope to regenerate and maintain the sense of community that was first instituted by not only the school’s founding fathers but also by the black community who entrusted its fate to the white northern missionaries. The alumni were predestined by some measure to assume this role because of the legacy of activism played out on their campus in the preceding century indelibly linked them to this moment in time.

Storer’s Graduates: A Look Across the Decades

Since the school’s inception, its alumni have gone out to make an impression on the world as teachers, doctors, lawyers, accountants, and activists. It seems therefore fitting that this chapter should at least touch on the lives of some of the most influential graduates. Such a brief historical glance begins with 1875 graduate John “J.R.” Clifford and ends with Mary Taylor Doakes, whose pursuit of a B.A. in Elementary Education was temporarily interrupted by the closure of the school in 1955.

¹²¹⁰ Hamer, "Storer College: The Education of the Black American," 10.

John "J. R." Clifford (1875)

In 1848, John Robert Clifford was born in the rugged, rural village of Williamsport in what is now Grant County, West Virginia. When the Civil War broke out, Clifford deferred serving as a soldier at first for unknown reasons, but then later enlisted as a member of the 13th United States Heavy Artillery outfit.

With the war's end came new challenges. Clifford left for the new capitol of Wheeling in the state's northernmost panhandle to enroll in a writing school. While there, Clifford started teaching other Negroes, giving lessons in reading and writing. Clifford's initial teaching stint was perhaps providential since he then enrolled in the "State Normal Department" at Storer College, from which he graduated in 1875.¹²¹¹

With teaching certificate in hand, Clifford was prompted to apply for, and accept, a teaching post at a Martinsburg colored elementary school, Sumner School, which had for several years been under the guidance of Anne Dudley after Sarah Jane Foster and Anna A. Wright organized its antecedent: the Martinsburg Mission School in 1865. Clifford was the first "colored" principal of the school which had been named in honor of Senator Charles Sumner.¹²¹² In 1896, Sumner had represented Benjamin Roberts in the *Roberts v. City of Boston, 5 Cush. 198* case in Massachusetts which stipulated that Boston's school committee did have the authority "to make the provision for the instruction of colored children in separate schools established exclusively for them" and that there was "no constitutional reason for abolishing Black schools".¹²¹³ After

¹²¹¹ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1901-02, Biennial Catalogue of Storer College. Academic, State Normal, Biblical, Musical, and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

¹²¹² United States Supreme Court, "Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896)," in Segregation, <http://afroamhistory.about.com/library/blplessy_v_ferguson.htm>, 13 February 2004 1896.

¹²¹³ United States Supreme Court, "Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896);" Supreme Judicial Court Historical Society, "The Roberts Case Goes to Court," <<http://www.sjchs-history.org/roberts.html>>, 2004.

Sumner's "learned and eloquent advoca[cy]," the court ruled in favor of "paternal consideration," maintaining segregated school facilities but at the same time generating a "momentum of public sentiment" and setting a legal precedent. The legal impulse behind Sumner's case was later effected through, and cited in, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).¹²¹⁴

Clifford's work on behalf of African-Americans extends beyond his educational role. While serving as the principal of and teaching at Sumner, in 1882 Clifford established West Virginia's first black newspaper, *The Pioneer Press*, which would become known for its tireless advocacy of Negro rights. As editor, Clifford was not afraid to tackle any instance of perceived racism, even when said activities occurred at his alma mater. *The Pioneer Press* survived until 1917, when federal authorities closed it as a result of Clifford's ongoing criticism of America's involvement in World War I. When it stopped its presses, Clifford's *Pioneer Press* truly had been a pioneer: it was the country's longest consecutively run black newspaper. Clifford's newspaper maintained its run for thirty-five years.¹²¹⁵

Eventually, Clifford's work expanded beyond education and journalism. He left the Sumner School to pursue a legal degree at Shaw University, formerly the Raleigh Institute, in Raleigh, North Carolina. Although Clifford attended law school, he actually "read" the law, and likely served as law clerk, under the supervision of a practicing white

¹²¹⁴ Supreme Judicial Court Historical Society, "The Roberts Case Goes to Court."

¹²¹⁵ West Virginia Archives & History, "J. R. Clifford," in "Biographies of Prominent African Americans in West Virginia," West Virginia Archives & History, <<http://www.wvculture.org/history/clifford.html>>, 2004.

attorney, J. Nelson Wysner, whose practice was located in Martinsburg, West Virginia in Berkeley County.¹²¹⁶

During most of his lifetime, Clifford was a social activist, particularly in the area of civil rights. Two of his most outstanding civil litigation cases were: *Martin v. Board of Education* and *Williams v. Board of Education in Tucker County*. In the first case, the Thomas Martins, a colored family living in Morgan County, West Virginia, made a plea to the local school board that their children be permitted to attend the nearby elementary-level white school. When the local courts denied the request, the Martin family hired Clifford to represent them. In 1896, Clifford appealed the case up to the West Virginia Supreme Court system for review and reconsideration. When the court finally ruled, it determined that discrimination was not a factor in the Morgan County case since the county's sparse colored population was the primary factor in the case. One child from the court's perspective did not warrant either the application, or additional expense for a separate educational facility for the child although she was restricted from attending the white school based again on the "separate but equal" statute. Subsequently, discrimination based on color was successfully challenged by Clifford at the state high court.

Two years later, in 1898, the Supreme Court was perhaps more legally congenial when a colored Tucker County school teacher was denied her wages. Carrie Williams had been hired by the local school board in Tucker County to teach for eight months. When the school's budget was decreased, the board automatically decided to reduce the colored school's term by three months. Consequently, the Tucker County Board of Education was preparing to pay Williams for only five months instead of the eight-month

¹²¹⁶ Ibid.

term for which she had been contracted. Williams hired Clifford, who pursued the case into the court system as *Williams v. Board of Education in Tucker County*. Among West Virginia's legal community, Clifford's *Martin v. Board of Education* and *Williams v. Board of Education in Tucker County* are considered "landmark cases".¹²¹⁷

It was during this most socially active period that Clifford first encountered and quickly developed a friendship with W. E. B. Du Bois. Clifford was one of several men nationwide helping Du Bois construct the foundational framework from which the Niagara Movement was to emanate. These early organizers of the Niagara Movement were outspoken men demanding immediate social change and civil justice on the basis of the "American creed" with all rights and privileges conveyed under that creed.¹²¹⁸

Working closely with Du Bois over the years both proximally and philosophically, Clifford was given primary responsibility of arranging the Second Niagara Conference on the campus of his alma mater: Storer College in 1906.¹²¹⁹

After a period, Clifford fell out of company and philosophical connection with Du Bois. Perhaps he disagreed with the Niagara Movement's developing confrontational practices since he terminated his association when in 1909 its members formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). It has been suggested by archival historians that "[a]mong other disagreements, he objected to the use of the word 'colored' in the organization's title," arguing that by using that word, the

¹²¹⁷ West Virginia Archives & History, "J. R. Clifford."

¹²¹⁸ W.E. B. Du Bois, "The Niagara Movement," in *The Oxford W.E.B. Du Bois Reader*, ed. Eric J. Sundquist (NY: Oxford University Press, 1906), 374; Mordecai Wyatt Johnson, "The Faith of the American Negro," in *Negro Orators and Their Orations*, ed. Carter G. Woodson (New York: Russell & Russell Publishers, 1922), 658-63; Richard I. McKinney, *Mordecai: The Man and His Message* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1997), 247-52.

¹²¹⁹ West Virginia Archives & History, "Booker T. Washington," in "Biographies of Prominent African Americans in West Virginia," West Virginia Archives & History, <<http://www.wvculture.org/history/washington.html>>, 2004.

organization's general appeal was automatically delimited during a time when the organization was encumbered by financial distress.¹²²⁰

In 1933, after a lifetime of social activism, Clifford died and was buried in the colored cemetery, Mount Hope, which was located at the northern end of High Street in Martinsburg, West Virginia, far away from the white cemetery at the street's southern end since the idea of racial separateness endured even in death. Quite fittingly, the same year as the *Brown v. Board of Topeka* decision, Clifford's body was exhumed from the Mount Hope Cemetery, so that his remains could be re-interred in the Arlington National Cemetery, largely in tribute to his participation in the Civil War.¹²²¹

Although much of Clifford's efforts as an educator, newspaper man, and lawyer went unappreciated during his day and his relentless pursuit of social justice was likely begrudged, the West Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals Jurist Larry V. Starcher, recently announced that the court "will focus on the life and achievements of J. R. Clifford, Esq., West Virginia's first African-American lawyer, and one of the Mountain State's true heroes" during a March-April 2004 two-phase tribute. During the first phase of this tribute, a March "seminar" was scheduled to be held at the West Virginia University Law School in Morgantown. Then, in April, a "historical re-enactment" was scheduled for the Martinsburg-Berkeley County Circuit Courthouse where Clifford first made his entry into the legal profession after passing the state's bar exam in 1887. In his memorandum, Justice Starcher further claims that since his relentless pursuit of justice engendered opportunities for changes within the state's legal system, Clifford could be considered the state's "Civil Rights Pioneer." It is possible also to consider Clifford a

¹²²⁰ Ibid.

¹²²¹ Ibid.

national representative for civil rights since his appellant case *Williams v. Board of Education in Tucker County* was won at the state's appellant-level court and was consequently the "first ruling" in favor of the plaintiff where "racial discrimination was [ruled] illegal".¹²²² Finally, a state-level archivist claims that "J. R. Clifford was a trailblazer in many aspects of West Virginia's black history. He broke ground in education, journalism, law, and civil rights."¹²²³

Ella Phillips Stewart (c1910)

On March 6, 1893, Ella Nora (Phillips) Stewart was born in Berryville, Virginia, sixteen miles from Harpers Ferry. At that time, Berryville's colored populations were traditionally restricted to Josephine City. In 1882, the colored population had helped the Quaker sect build a school to educate the city's children.¹²²⁴ The Josephine School, as it was called, taught children through the fifth grade level, and it is now a Virginia Historic Landmark in Clarke County, Virginia.¹²²⁵ After Stewart finished the fifth grade at Josephine in Berryville, the only high school to which she could go was Storer College. Her parents sent her to Storer's secondary division when she was twelve-years old, and she was later listed in the 1907 college catalogue as a member of the "Third Class" (sophomore class in reverse chronology).¹²²⁶

¹²²² Ibid.

¹²²³ Ibid.

¹²²⁴ Kelly Cupp, "Josephine School Now a Museum," in *The Winchester Star*, <http://www.winchesterstar.com/TheWinchesterStar/030714/Area_museum.asp>, 14 July 2003.

¹²²⁵ Ibid.

¹²²⁶ Storer College Catalogue Collection, Catalogue, 1907-08, Catalogue of Storer College Academic, State Normal, Biblical, Musical and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees; Storer College Collection, Bulletin, 1952-1954, Storer College Bulletin, 1952-54, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV.

After leaving Storer, Stewart's life took several different directions. She was married briefly for a period, had a child who died from whooping cough complications, and then applied with support from friends and family to be the bookkeeper for a local pharmacist. While working for the pharmacist Stewart became interested in the profession. She thereafter applied to the University of Pittsburgh's School of Pharmacy for formal study. Not surprisingly, Stewart was "met with discrimination when she was told admissions were closed. She persisted however, and although segregated from other students, she graduated with high marks passing her state exam in 1916".¹²²⁷

According to historians, Stewart's "employment was a breakthrough and helped influence the elimination of discriminatory practices" in medical professions.¹²²⁸ She also remained loyal to Storer. When Stewart forwarded her personal information to the Alumni Association in 1937, the "Storer College Catalogue" indicated that she organized and began to underwrite a scholarship award at the school. A cross-section of "The Ella P. Stewart Biology Award" recipients includes: Marie Jackson (1937) from Martinsburg; Allen Anderson (1938) from Morgantown; Townsend Anderson (1939) from Winchester, Virginia; Elsie Saunders Dodson (1948); and Urquhart Oliver Dixon (1949) from Alexandria, Virginia.¹²²⁹

During her life, Stewart remained socially active. She belonged to the League of Women Voters, the Red Cross, Community Chest, The Toledo Museum of Art, and the

¹²²⁷ Bowling Green State University, "The Ella P. Stewart Collection," in Center for Archival Collections, <<http://www.bgsu.edu/colleges/library/cac/ms0203.html>>, 2004.

¹²²⁸ Ibid.

¹²²⁹ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1937-1938, Catalogue of Storer College 1867 - 1938: A Junior College For Colored Youth, With Pre-Medical, State Normal, Academic, Musical and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees; Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1938-1939, Storer College, 1938-1939, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees; Storer College Collection, Bulletin, 1948-1950, Storer College Bulletin, 1948-1950, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV.

Young Women's Christian Association. Also, she was involved with the Indiana Avenue Day Nursery and the Pan-Pacific and South East Asia Women's Association, was elected President of the National Association of Colored Women after the retirement of Mary McLeod Bethune, and was named to the Women's Advisory Committee on Defense Manpower by the U.S. Department of Labor (1951). Moreover, she was named to the International Conference of Women of the World by the National Council of Women of the U.S.A. Delegate (1952), made a member of the International Education Exchange Service of the State Department of the U. S. (with corresponding Goodwill Tour in the Far East, 1954), and appointed Commissioner for the United States Education Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 1963). In 1978, she was inducted into the Ohio Women's Hall of Fame.¹²³⁰

In 1987, Stewart died in Toledo, Ohio, where she had spent most of her lifetime.

Mary Peyton Dyson (1914)

Mary (Peyton) Dyson was an active alumna who kept in close contact with her alma mater even after leaving the area. A 1914 graduate of the "Normal Department," after earning her degree, Dyson relocated to the District of Columbia, where she was hired by Howard University's administration as an "Assistant Librarian".¹²³¹

In the district, Peyton's perspectives and day-to-day experiences changed in different ways. While there, it is likely that she met her future husband, Walter Dyson, who was teaching at Howard. By 1941, or shortly before, Walter Dyson was "Professor

¹²³⁰ Bowling Green State University, "The Ella P. Stewart Collection."

¹²³¹ "Storer College: A Junior College, 1921-1922."

of History at Howard University”.¹²³² In 1941, he would write *Howard University: The Capstone of Negro Education*, making the book available on the occasion of the school’s seventy-fifth anniversary the following year.¹²³³ Dyson’s Foreword mentions his gratitude “to [his] wife, Mary Peyton Dyson, for helpful assistance in general” while he was compiling the school’s history.¹²³⁴ Perhaps as he began to amass the data collection required for such a historical undertaking, Dyson realized more fully the value of his wife’s librarian skills. Dyson’s institutional history set down important groundwork for subsequent investigations.

As time passed, Mary Dyson became more directly involved with the operation of her own alma mater. During the Great Depression years, in 1928, Dyson shouldered a huge responsibility when she was appointed the “National Organizer [for] Alumni Associations” in the surrounding region.¹²³⁵ In this role, she may have single-handedly assumed much of the responsibility for arranging activities and events, as well as collecting information. Later, she became involved with the “Woman’s Commission,” serving as the organization’s “Treasurer” for several consecutive years.¹²³⁶ She thereafter assumed responsibility as “Leader” of the “Washington, D.C. [Alumni] Club”.¹²³⁷ Consequently, when Dyson’s organizational skills proved valuable it is likely that the trustees viewed her in a different perspective and began to consider her for a

¹²³² Walter Dyson, *Howard University, The Capstone of Negro Education* (Washington, D.C.: Graduate School of Howard University, 1941), i.

¹²³³ Ibid.

¹²³⁴ Ibid., xii.

¹²³⁵ Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1929 -1930, Catalogue of Storer College 1867 - 1930: A Junior College For Colored Youth, With Academic, State Normal, Musical and Industrial Departments, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees.

¹²³⁶ "Storer College, 1938-1939,"; Storer College Collection, Catalogue, 1939-1940, Catalogue of Storer College, 1867-1940: Arts, Pre-Medical, State Normal, Academic, Musical and Industrial Courses, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV, Published by the Board of Trustees; "Storer College Bulletin, 1952-54".

¹²³⁷ "Catalogue of Storer College 1867 - 1938: A Junior College For Colored Youth, With Pre-Medical, State Normal, Academic, Musical and Industrial Departments,"; "Storer College, 1938-1939".

trustee position. She first became a member of the Storer College Board of Trustees in 1937.¹²³⁸

Dyson's involvement with Storer continued to grow. She served on numerous committees throughout the decades. To assist the school's operation, Mary Peyton Dyson served on the "Publicity" and "Faculty Committee[s]".¹²³⁹ Her role on the "Publicity Committee" was vital since she then was able to assist with recruitment. She became a member of the "Faculty Committee" when she returned as an instructor during the 1930's. In 1948, Dyson was entrusted with a serious task as "Chair" of the "Finance Committee".¹²⁴⁰ When the decision was made to close Storer, it is little wonder that Dyson—one of its most ardent supporters over time—joined forces with Madison Briscoe in an attempt to ensure that the school's history did not become overshadowed by financial expediencies.

Donald "The Little Giant of Jazz" Redman (1920)

On July 29, 1900, Donald Matthew Redman was born in Piedmont, West Virginia. Redman, referred to as a "child prodigy," wrote his first musical arrangements as a high school student at Storer College.¹²⁴¹ While at Storer, Redman studied with John Wesley McKinney, a former graduate of Storer College, and managed to master most reed

¹²³⁸ "Catalogue of Storer College 1867 - 1938: A Junior College For Colored Youth, With Pre-Medical, State Normal, Academic, Musical and Industrial Departments,"; Storer College Collection, Bulletin, 1949-1952, Storer College Bulletin, 1949-1952, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, WV.

¹²³⁹ "Storer College, 1938-1939,"; "Catalogue of Storer College, 1867-1940: Arts, Pre-Medical, State Normal, Academic, Musical and Industrial Courses".

¹²⁴⁰ "Storer College Bulletin, 1948-1950".

¹²⁴¹ "Donald 'Don' Redman (1900 -1964)," <<http://www.redhotjazz.com/redman.html>>, 2004.

instruments, although his favorite instrument was to become the saxophone.¹²⁴²

McKinney's intense instruction as "Band Master" and "Orchestra [Leader]" inspired Redman's personal success as a music student.¹²⁴³

Redman graduated in 1920 from the "Academic Department," although in 1921 the Alumni Association lists him as a "Musician [from] Fairmont, West Virginia".¹²⁴⁴ Perhaps Redman's innate gifts and refined music skills naturally drove him northward. By 1921 – 1922, the twenty-year-old Redman was playing on Broadway in New York with "Billy Paige's Broadway Syncopators." One year later, in 1922, William McKinney—possibly a relative of Redman's former Band Master at Storer—formed a group in Springfield, Ohio, known as "McKinney's Cotton Pickers." Redman joined the group. As a group, the "pickers" had a brief recording career together under the RCA Victor label. While Redman was with McKinney's Cotton Pickers, he met orchestra leader Fletcher Henderson. From 1924 – 1927, Redman played with the Fletcher Henderson Orchestra in the Roseland Ballroom, a period when the orchestra customarily accompanied the spiritual-blues vocalist, Ethel Waters.

In 1931, Redman then formed his own band with several former "picker" players. Redman and the "Cotton Pickers" began routinely playing the Harlem night club circuit where the early formation of the "the Harlem Jazz firmament" first came together during the Harlem Renaissance.¹²⁴⁵ By 1946, Redman had formed a new band, which gained such public appeal that it toured the European Continent and thereafter worked almost exclusively in radio and television. Don "The Little Giant of Jazz" Redman was even a

¹²⁴² "Storer College: A Junior College, 1921-1922".

¹²⁴³ Ibid.

¹²⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁴⁵ Rex Harris and Brian Rust, "Recorded Jazz: A Critical Guide," <<http://www.redhotjazz.com/cotton.html>>, 2004.

gyrating guest, baton-swirling band master for the 1932 cartoon “I Heard” starring Miss Betty Boop.¹²⁴⁶ Redman “acted out the scene” set for animation. The “film [wa]s then played back frame-by-frame on the underside of a piece of glass,” and then Boop’s animated cartoon character was superimposed into the scene on film by an animator.¹²⁴⁷ The Boop originator, Max Fleischer and his brother David, had invented the “rotoscope,” in 1915, which created the film illusion that Redman was physically interacting with Betty Boop. Redman’s involvement with Fleischer’s technical invention in the Boop cartoon was, in fact, a cutting edge phenomenon in early animation history.¹²⁴⁸ Later, Redman was hired by the illustrious Pearl Bailey to be her principal collaborator, arranger, and music director.

Jazz historians suggest that Redman was “a pivotal figure” in America both during and after the Harlem Renaissance Period.¹²⁴⁹ Before his death in New York City, on November 20, 1964, Redman had written several orchestra charts and complex music arrangements for: Jimmy Dorsey, Count Basie, Jimmie Lunceford, Harry James, and many others. Since his arrangements innovatively integrated the “big-band sound” in swing with jazz idioms and created opportunities for soloists to display their musical inventiveness, Redman has been called the “first great arranger in jazz history”.¹²⁵⁰

¹²⁴⁶ "Donald 'Don' Redman (1900 -1964): Tribute Page," <<http://members.aol.com/tphbolton/home.htm>>, 2004.

¹²⁴⁷ Digital Media FX, "Follow the Bouncing Ball: The Technical Innovation of Max Fleischer," in Animation History, <<http://www.digitalmediafx.com/>>, 2004.

¹²⁴⁸ University of California, "The History of Animation," Dan McLaughlin, Editor, <<http://animation.filmtv.ucla.edu/>>, 2004; Digital Media FX, "Follow the Bouncing Ball: The Technical Innovation of Max Fleischer."

¹²⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁵⁰ Ibid.

Perhaps Redman's greatest legacy to Storer College was a music composition entitled "Alma Mater," for which he also wrote the lyrics.¹²⁵¹

"Alma Mater"

S-T-O-R-E-R to thee we sing,
S-T-O-R-E-R to thee our praises bring,
You are the ideal we all hold most dear,
Three cheers to our teachers,
Three cheers to our school

May your future days all be success,
We'll always be true,
To our colors and you,
Storer, we love you, we do.¹²⁵²

The sentiment conveyed in Redman's "Alma Mater" anthem indicates the high regard in which alumni and students held the institution, its instructors, and the "ideal[s they] all h[e]ld dear" collectively.¹²⁵³

Madison Spenser Briscoe (1924)

Madison Spenser Briscoe was born in nearby Winchester, Virginia on March 4, 1905.

He graduated from Storer's secondary division in 1922, only a year after the school had been given accreditation as a two-year junior college by the West Virginia

Legislature.¹²⁵⁴ After graduating from Storer, Briscoe enrolled at Lincoln University in Chester County, Pennsylvania, in order to complete a four-year science degree, which he achieved in 1926.

¹²⁵¹ Storer College National Alumni Association, Storer College Publications Committee, *Storer College Alumni Record*, Vol. 2, ed. David Cole (1997), 5; Storer College National Alumni Association, Storer College Publications Committee, *Storer College Record*, Vol. 16, ed. William Pinchback (2002), 1

¹²⁵² Harris and Brian Rust, "Recorded Jazz: A Critical Guide"; Hamer, "Storer College: The Education of the Black American," 14.

¹²⁵³ Harris and Brian Rust, "Recorded Jazz: A Critical Guide."

¹²⁵⁴ "Storer College: A Junior College, 1921-1922".

After attending Lincoln, Briscoe began teaching biology in the Science Department at New Orleans College in Fall 1926. He taught there for three years, and then he entered Columbia University's master's program, from which he graduated in 1930. After receiving his Master of Science Degree, Briscoe returned to his alma mater in Harpers Ferry to teach advanced sciences, although he remained involved with an ongoing project at the University of Michigan's Biological Station.

Briscoe taught at Storer College from 1931 to 1940, until he enrolled in the doctoral program at Catholic University. While he was working on his dissertation—entitled *Some Ecological Aspects of Liberia as Interpreted from the Vegetation on Ground and Aerial Photography with Special Reference to the Distribution of Parasites*—Briscoe was hired by the administration of Howard University to teach bacteriology and parasitology to medical students enrolled in the School of Medicine. At Howard, Briscoe was an instructor from 1941 – 1942 and then was elevated to “Assistant Professor,” a position he held from 1946 – 1950. Finally, in 1950, when Briscoe received his doctorate degree from Catholic University he was given “Full Professor” privileges at Howard.¹²⁵⁵

During his career, Briscoe was a member of several professional organizations: the Helminthological Society of Washington, American Society of Tropical Medicine, Entomological Society of America, Washington Biological Society, and the Sigma Xi Fraternity. He was affiliated also with the National Association of Biology Teachers; American Microscopical Society; Malacological Society of America; and the West

¹²⁵⁵ Madison Spenser Briscoe, "Some Ecological Aspects of Liberia as Interpreted from the Vegetation on Ground and Aerial Photography with Special Reference to the Distribution of Parasites" (Ph. D. Diss., College of Science, Catholic University, 1950).

Virginia Biological Survey. He also conducted research in Malacology for the Smithsonian Institute, a branch of the U.S. National Museums.¹²⁵⁶

Storer students often chuckle when asked about Briscoe because he made “[them] crawl around Harper’s Ferry looking under rocks and along the river banks for snakes, lizards, turtles, roaches, and every other thing” in order to use them in the laboratories with students while Briscoe was continuing to expand his own understanding as well.¹²⁵⁷ Briscoe’s scientific research took him to Senegal, Liberia, Ghana, Burma, Egypt, and Central America. His three-pronged interest—bacteriology, parasitology, and entomology—was perhaps heightened when he “held the rank of Captain and was Commanding Officer of the 16th Malaria Survey Detachment in Liberia, West Africa,” in order to promote healthy tactical environments for military operations then ongoing in tropical regions “in the China-Burma-India theaters of the war”.¹²⁵⁸

As an alumnus, Briscoe still found time to maintain a close relationship with Storer College. Even when he was teaching at Howard University, he was living in Harpers Ferry, a fact that disgruntled his immediate administrators at Howard, who suggested that his persistent commute into the district from Harper’s Ferry was an impediment to his overall efficiency and ability to participate more fully in faculty and academic affairs.¹²⁵⁹ It is interesting to note, considering the implications behind this sort

¹²⁵⁶ Princeton University, "The Faces of Science: African Americans in the Sciences: Madison Spenser Briscoe," <<http://www.princeton.edu/~mcbrown/display/briscoe.html>>; "Catalogue of Storer College, 1867-1940: Arts, Pre-Medical, State Normal, Academic, Musical and Industrial Courses,"; Claire Stuart, "Madison Spenser Briscoe: A Renaissance Man," *The Good News Paper* (Shepherdstown, WV) 2002, Summer, 9.

¹²⁵⁷ George Hancock, Telephone Conversation, RE: SC Collegiate Status (18 July 2002); Stuart, "Madison Spenser Briscoe: A Renaissance Man," 9.

¹²⁵⁸ Stuart, "Madison Spenser Briscoe: A Renaissance Man," 9; Hancock, Telephone Conversation; David Cole, RE: Madison Spenser Briscoe, Storer College: Professor of Biology (September 15 2002).

¹²⁵⁹ Claire Stuart, "Madison Spenser Briscoe: A Renaissance Man," *The Good News Paper* (Shepherdstown, WV) 2002, Summer, 9.

of ongoing friction between Briscoe and his administration, that Briscoe's official obituary does not mention Howard University, nor did Briscoe return to Howard years later after receiving recognition from the school's alumni for his work in public health medicine.¹²⁶⁰

Over the years, since the Briscoes had no children, they continued to support Storer in various ways. For years, they maintained the tradition of mentoring, chaperoning and boarding several Storer students, playing host to faculty, and visiting church representatives. Even today, in Harper's Ferry, the "Briscoe House" on Washington Street continues its legacy of warmth and hospitality as a registered bed and breakfast.¹²⁶¹

In 1938, Briscoe was listed as "President" of the "Storer College Alumni Association".¹²⁶² It is not surprising then that in 1959, when the time came to "enjoin" Storer's Board of Trustees from accepting any offer for the school's campus until all options could be investigated, Briscoe was not reluctant in the least to join Mary Peyton Dyson in representing the board's minority opinion.¹²⁶³

Nnamdi "Zik" Azikiwe (1928)

Nnamdi "Zik" Azikiwe first introduced himself to Storer's President Henry McDonald through written correspondence that traces his appeal for support in order to attend school in America. In 1925, those appeals apparently supported, he left his homeland of Nigeria to enroll at Storer. Prior to his arrival in Harpers Ferry, "Zik" had attended various

¹²⁶⁰ Stuart, "Madison Spenser Briscoe: A Renaissance Man."

¹²⁶¹ "Briscoe House Bed and Breakfast," <http://www.tripadvisor.com/Hotel_Review-g60722-d118387-Reviews-Briscoe_House_Bed_and_Breakfast-Harpers_Ferry_West_Virginia.hwoink_html>, 2004.

¹²⁶² "Storer College, 1938-1939".

¹²⁶³ Mary P. Dyson and Madison Briscoe v. President and Trustees of Storer College and Clarence W. Cranford, 1959 Complaint, at 2-8 (United States District Court For the District of Columbia) (No. 391-59)

Catholic, Anglican, and Methodist elementary and secondary mission schools then in operation in Nigeria. By the time he arrived in America, then, “Zik” was a well-balanced student “excelling in both academics and sports”.¹²⁶⁴

In the fall of 1927, “Zik” was called to President McDonald’s office for a conference. During the conference McDonald told the student that, in his opinion, “Zik” not only had accomplished but also absorbed as much as Storer’s curriculum could offer him at the time. McDonald felt that it would be a waste of both finances and time for “Zik” to remain in Harpers Ferry, and he suggested that the young African pursue advanced studies at Howard University. “Zik” decided to take McDonald’s advice and did enroll at Howard for a brief period before transferring to Lincoln University, where he met and establishing lifelong friendships with Langston Hughes, Thurgood Marshall, W. T. V. Fontaine (first African-American Associate Professor of Philosophy at University of Pennsylvania), and Alonzo Kelly.¹²⁶⁵ In 1931, he received a Political Science degree from the school.

Not unlike his classmates at Lincoln, “Zik” was determined. He was also destined for greater academic achievement. Even as early as his years at Storer, “Zik” had begun taking correspondence courses in American Law from LaSalle Law School in Chicago and had received a certificate in journalism from Columbia University while editing the *Columbia University Summer Session Times*.¹²⁶⁶ After attending Lincoln, “Zik” was awarded a scholarship to the University of Pennsylvania to pursue a Master’s in Science, where his anthropological investigations attracted the attention of Bronislaw Malinowski,

¹²⁶⁴ Kamuzu Banda and Kenneth D. Kaunda, ""ZIK OF AFRICA"," in Great Epic Newsletters, <<http://www.greatpicbooks.com/epics/november98.html>>, 2001.

¹²⁶⁵ Nnamdi Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), 137, 144-48, 152.

¹²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 40,119,141.

an internationally recognized anthropologist, then teaching at the London University. Malinowski tried to recruit “Zik” for doctoral study in London, but “Zik” deferred since persistently on his mind was the ever-tumultuous tribalism and poverty in Nigeria.¹²⁶⁷ His future career as a politician was already becoming established through his educational career. “Liberia in World Politics” was the first publication emanating from his masters-level study.

Finally, the Storer College alumnus was confronted with the choice of staying in America or returning to Africa. Staying in America would mean “liv[ing] in luxury for selfish aggrandizement,” while “retur[ning to African meant he would] live in penury”.¹²⁶⁸ Zik decided on the latter course. Although he was “[s]teeled by [his] experiences in America, [he] was prepared to bear [his] cross alone, hoping that providence and history would ultimately vindicate [his] decision,” which they did.¹²⁶⁹

In 1996, the SCNAA notified its reading audience that one of the institution’s most respected alumni had died. The newsletter states: “In Remembrance: Nnamdi Azikiwe died May 13, 1996 at the age of 91. He was a Chief of the Ibo region of Nigeria and the first President of the Nigerian Republic in 1963”.¹²⁷⁰ It is interesting to note that the students at Storer College first started referring to Nnamdi Azikiwe as “Zik.” This name evolved as his international calling card, for he thereafter was commonly introduced among members of the international community as: “The Great ‘Zik’ of Africa” responsible for Nigeria’s departure from British colonialism and its rise toward

¹²⁶⁷ Ibid., 187; Banda and Kaunda, "Nnamdi Azikiwe."

¹²⁶⁸ Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography*, 171.

¹²⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁰ Storer College National Alumni Association, Storer College Publications Committee, *Storer College Alumni Record*, Vol. 1, ed. David Cole (1996), 7

national and ethnic “self-determinism and cultural sovereignty” through Azikiwe's “[p]olitical [b]lueprint of [d]emocracy”.¹²⁷¹

Later, in life, when “Zik” was writing his autobiography, he made reference to his alma mater in the following manner:

“The year 1927 is an important landmark in my biography...I discovered myself as a self-reliant man...I had made a good academic record at Storer College during my two years of study there after taking one year in the ‘Preparatory Department’ and then enrolling in the ‘Junior College’ curriculum...With a pat on the back, [McDonald] bade me farewell and hoped that when I made my way in the world I would not forget Storer College. I kept faith with this college, for in 1947 I donated a cheque [sic] of one thousand dollars to it in appreciation of the opportunity it gave me in life”.¹²⁷²

Azikiwe’s relationship with Storer College was reciprocal on two accounts: first of all, the college administration never “forgot” his contributions and academic legacy, which ultimately evolved as an academic standard of quality; and, secondly, after “Zik” was elected the President of Federation Nigeria, in 1963, Storer College was entrusted with Nigeria’s most valued treasure: the education of many of her sons and daughters.

David Henry Cole (1949)

Recognized for his abilities as a football player for Storer, in 1945, the World War II veteran David Cole took advantage of the federal G.I. Bill and enrolled at the Camp Hill school, from which he would graduate four years later.¹²⁷³ Cole’s degree in Business

¹²⁷¹ Banda and Kaunda, "Nnamdi Azikiwe."; Joseph A. Umoren, *Democracy and Ethnic Diversity in Nigeria* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Inc., 1996), 106.

¹²⁷² Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography*, 95-96.

¹²⁷³ David Cole, Personal Communication, (February 16, 2004).

Administration occurred most fortuitously at a time when “more lucrative opportunities began to open up for Negroes” in metropolitan areas.¹²⁷⁴

On August 7, 1966, Cole married Juanita D. Saunders, who had trained to be a foreign language teacher at Howard University and had made a name for herself in the field. Saunders and Cole made a good match, for after receiving his degree from Storer, Cole continued to advance his own academic pursuits. The former athlete subsequently enrolled at American University, the District of Columbia’s Teacher’s College, and the District of Columbia Management Training Program. After receiving this additional training, Cole’s first job was as a Revenue Officer with the Department of Finance and Revenue in the District of Columbia. Cole states that his first concrete “exposure to accounting was under the direction of the district’s Department of Finance and Revenue,” with municipal taxation as his primary focus.¹²⁷⁵ Cole held this position from 1956 to 1960, and later he became the city’s principal Deed Recorder. During the 1977 – 1978 school term, Cole enrolled in the nine-month Paralegal Certification Program at Georgetown University. Although due to ill health and family circumstances Cole was ultimately one-course short to qualify for certification. This, however, did not preclude his continued achievement.

Due to his previous background experience, veteran status, and continuing educational pursuits Cole was eventually promoted to a supervisory role. In his capacity as Superintendent of the Corporations Office, Cole was responsible for investigating “corporate violations” by corporations that failed to “properly register” according to city statutes. Regulatory compliance was Cole’s basic concentration. If “corporations failed

¹²⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁵ Ibid.

to comply,” a civil litigation process was automatically enacted.¹²⁷⁶ At that point, Cole’s duties involved drafting preliminary memoranda, collecting records, and documents, so that the city’s attorneys could appeal to the local court system for lawful prosecution and municipal restitution. Cole relates that during his tenure as a city supervisor, several corporations tried to circumvent the regulatory tax obligation under the “commerce clause,” which most corporations begged the courts to consider since they did not maintain a “physical presence within the city’s jurisdiction.”¹²⁷⁷ Cole was the first African-American to serve as Superintendent for the district’s Corporations Office.

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Experiences such as these led Cole to affiliate with the Association of Federal Investigators Society of Public Accountants, as well as with the American Society of Public Accountants Board of Directors. Cole also continued to participate in community services through the Metropolitan Police Boy’s Club and support community outreach programs offered under the auspices of the Tuskegee Airmen’s Association.¹²⁷⁹ In his capacity as SCNAA, Historian, Cole has through regional lectures and pictorial presentations promoted the historical value of Storer College and the Negro College Movement. When asked about his years and memories at Storer College, Cole replied:

“Of the many fond experiences while attending Storer College, I would set forth two of them that will remain indelibly impressed in my memory. The first of those experiences was June 6, 1949, when the graduating class was treated to a most remarkable speech presented by the late Clarence Cranford. After the presentation of that wonderful speech, I, among others of the graduating class, was awarded my B.S. Degree which I will forever cherish, and which has been an inspiration to strive for greater achievements.

¹²⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁹ Ibid.

The other exciting experience occurred on a Saturday afternoon at Cheyney State Teachers College. The occasion was my last football game. Our team was virtually wiped out with injuries from previous games, to the extent that we could field only about 18 players. The thought of defeating Cheyney which was undefeated at the time was ridiculous. When the final gun sounded, our Tornados were the victors. We won the game for Storer 7 to 0. Having intercepted seven passes of the opposition, I will forever cherish that moment and event".¹²⁸⁰

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¹²⁸⁰ Storer College National Alumni Association, *Heritage Days: The Black Perspective*, (Bicentennial Edition), 1976, "Storer College Alumni: Book of Memories," Harper's Ferry, WV, Association for the Study of Afro-American

¹²⁸¹ Storer College National Alumni Association, *Heritage Days: The Black Perspective*, (Bicentennial Edition), 1976, "Storer College Alumni: Book of Memories," Harper's Ferry, WV, Association for the Study of Afro-American Studies.

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The Brooks Brothers: Henry and Houston (1950)

When Alexandria, Virginia natives Henry and Houston Brooks set out for Harpers Ferry in 1946, they did so with their minister father's oft-repeated philosophy—"do something positive in this world and for society"—already ingrained into their beings . The Brooks brothers were not to disappoint their father or society, for both fulfilled their social obligation to "do something positive."

Henry Curtis Brooks

Of the Brooks family's five children, Henry was born second, on May 7, 1929. Growing up in Alexandria, Henry and his older brother, Houston, attended the Lyles Crouch Elementary and Parker-Gray High Schools. When it was time for Henry to go to college, his father settled on Storer College because of its denominational affiliation, consistent with Henry's formative background, and close to the family home. Henry graduated from Storer in 1950, and he was the only college student to ever fulfill the requirements for the Eagle Scout Award while enrolled at Storer. Henry then enrolled in the Andover Newton Theological School, from which in 1954 he received two degrees, a Bachelor of Divinity and a Master of Sacred Theology. In 1963, Henry was conferred with a Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Psychology and Counseling from Boston University.

Henry Brooks made wise application of his instruction. Brooks went on to develop “a unique course” that integrated theory and practice in the 1960’s. The course was designed as a collaborative effort between Andover Newton (theology) and Boston College (psychology). This reciprocal, educational arrangement—the educational alliance between Andover with a history of Protestantism and Boston with its history of Catholicism—was a unique concept for the period in which it was developed. Brooks worked the course from both ends: his theological students at Andover began to conduct studies in real clinical psychology laboratories (as participant-observers) that involved working with real people exhibiting symptoms of altered psychological states consistent with the responses of individuals confronting socio-emotional trauma. This was the preliminary period for what we now know as “spiritual-based counseling and family crisis intervention”.¹²⁸² It was Brooks’ belief that only by making application of both psychology and theology could his students fully comprehend the human condition. This belief perhaps prompted Brooks to publish a number of articles on these subjects. One such example entitled, “C. G. Jung's View of Religion,” was published in 1970.¹²⁸³

Consequently, Henry Brooks became widely recognized for his scholarly contributions and publications, and he became involved with a number of boards and associations. He served on the governing board of the Institute of Pastoral Care, and he was a primary architect for the Association for Clinical Pastoral Education (ACPE). He also was elected to public office, serving in the Massachusetts House of Delegates for a period. Brooks was associated with the National Judiciary Commission, National Standards Commission, National Accreditation Commission, and the National

¹²⁸² Tom Long, "Rev. Henry Brooks, Minister Teacher at Andover Newton," *Boston Globe* (MA: Boston), 22 August 2001, Obituaries.

¹²⁸³ Henry C. Brooks, "C. G. Jung's View of Religion," *Andover Newton Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (1970): 94-99.

Certification Commission for the ACPE. Brooks was elected to the General Board of The American Baptist Churches in 1972 and was elected President of the General Board's Educational Ministries. Thereafter, he was elected to the Board of National Ministries of the American Baptist Churches and the Ministers and Missionaries Benefit Board.¹²⁸⁴

In 2001, during the course of this research project, the Guiles Professor Emeritus of Psychology & Clinical Studies was finally forced to surrender to illness after his protracted struggle with "Shy-Drager" disorder.¹²⁸⁵ Paying tribute to him, Charles Kessler, Chair of the Northeast Region of ACPE, made particular note that "[f]or decades, Henry's courses have been booked solid. They are popular and valuable no doubt because they reflect the intelligent integration of theory and practice which has been the hallmark of Henry's professional work".¹²⁸⁶

Houston George Brooks, Jr.

Two years older than his brother Henry and his father's namesake, Houston George Brooks, Jr., was born just weeks before Christmas on December 11, 1927. Houston began his education at Fisk University before transferring to Storer College. Due to differences between the programs at Fisk and Storer, when Houston transferred to Harpers Ferry, he lost a number of credits so that in effect he entered in the same class as his brother.

¹²⁸⁴ Storer College National Alumni Association, August 17, 2001, "A Service in Celebration of Reverend Henry Curtis Brooks, Ph.D.," Wayne, PA, Central Baptist Church.

¹²⁸⁵ "Rev. Henry Brooks, Baptist Minister," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (PA: Philadelphia), 23 August 2001, In The Region.

¹²⁸⁶ "A Service in Celebration of Reverend Henry Curtis Brooks, Ph.D."

The slight delay with his progress did not deter or discourage Houston. While enrolled at Storer College, Houston was a devoted student who spent at least four hours each day among the dorm, library, and the laboratory preparing for classes.¹²⁸⁷ Although a member of the “Debating Society” and the school’s “Beethoven Chorus,” Houston had found an altogether different calling: a “phenomenon that had intrigued” him, which in the 1940s he began referring to as “cold light.”¹²⁸⁸ Consequently, Houston’s classmates had to ferret him out of the school’s science laboratory for debate strategies and music rehearsals.¹²⁸⁹ Although his team and chorus mates might have been perturbed by the intensity with which Houston pursued his “phenomenon,” he was recruited by his classmates to use his “chemical light” for school-staged productions. This “cold light” phenomenon functioned to fuel Houston’s voracious interest in the chemical applications of science.¹²⁹⁰ When Houston graduated with his brother in 1950, he did so with a Bachelor of Science in Chemistry.

Ultimately, the brothers went their separate ways, at least geographically: Henry went north; Houston, south. Houston enrolled at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, from which he received a Master’s Degree in Chemistry in 1952. While at Tuskegee, Houston had worked primarily in the new George Washington Carver Foundation Building. During the building’s 1952 dedication ceremony, Dr. Henry Gilman, the keynote speaker, became impressed with the young scientist’s abilities: at the time, Houston was responsible for a “project financed by the Frederick Gardner Cottrell Grant of the

¹²⁸⁷ Houston George Brooks, Preliminary Survey 2000, ed. Dawne Raines Burke (Harper's Ferry, WV, 2000). A preliminary survey during the SCNAA Reunion was conducted by the researcher in an effort to ascertain the viability of Storer College as an academic subject for study including its potential dimension .

¹²⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁹⁰ Ibid.

Research Corporation".¹²⁹¹ Six years later, in 1958, Houston received a second master's degree from Iowa State University in organic chemistry under the mentorship of Henry Gilman, and thereafter he continued his research interests, earning in 1961 a Ph. D. in Organic Chemistry, with minors in both Biochemistry and Veterinary Physiology.

Houston's relationship with Gilman at Iowa State University was perhaps providential. Under Gilman's mentorship, Houston co-authored several journal articles with Gilman, and authored several in his own right including a number of international and U.S. Patents to his credit. In 1976, Gilman was selected for "international recognition for scientific excellence" and was inducted as a Fellow into the Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge, the "oldest organization of scientists" in the world.¹²⁹² The pomp and circumstance associated with the induction ceremony included the addition of Gilman's signature to the society's official 316-year membership register, which already bore the names of John Dryden, Captain Cook, Benjamin Franklin, Sir Isaac Newton, Winston Churchill, Michael Faraday, Albert Einstein, and King Charles II.¹²⁹³ Houston thus became philosophically and scientifically linked through Gilman with "a vibrant court culture" that was first engendered by Charles II in 1660.¹²⁹⁴

During a preliminary survey associated with this study, Houston opted to share the following comments:

"Only at Storer college, as an undergraduate student, would I have been given permission and allowed complete access to the chemistry laboratory. Wherein, I was able to investigate and

¹²⁹¹ Tuskegee Institute, *Carver Foundation: Annual Report, 1951 - 1952* (Alabama: Tuskegee Institute, 1951), 3, 8.

¹²⁹² Iowa State University, "Gilman Inducted by Royal Society," *The Iowa Stater*, January 1976, 1.

¹²⁹³ Royal Society of London, "Royal Society of London: A Scientific Academy," <<http://www.royalsoc.ac.uk/royalsoc/rshist.htm>>, 2004.

¹²⁹⁴ Royal Society of London, "Royal Society of London: A Scientific Academy."

study a phenomenon which had intrigued me for several years. I was allowed the opportunity to investigate materials and methods of producing ‘cold light’ known as *chemiluminescence* [italics added]. I was allowed the rights and privileges of a ‘graduate’ student, for which I am eternally appreciative and indebted.”¹²⁹⁵

To be given such exploratory licensure at the undergraduate level while he was attending Storer indicates that Brooks’ scientific aptitude must have been perceived early on by the school’s instructors and principal administrator. In a recent conversation, Brooks credits McKinney for the work he did while president of the college: “I do not believe that Storer College could have reached the academic standing and achievement that it did without Dr. McKinney’s willingness to accept the position at Storer College.”¹²⁹⁶

The Brooks Brothers followed their father’s philosophy to effect social change and “do something positive” on a variety of levels. Thus, they represent two of Storer College’s success stories. However, they also present another facet of life at the school during the tumultuous period of civil rights: the persistent existence of racial prejudice. Houston Brooks recalls an incident with his brother Henry:

“While Henry was playing tennis he jumped the fence to go after a tennis ball; he loved tennis. When he jumped the fence to go back onto the court, he fell this time. His whole body weight came down on a steel picket and it punctured his abdomen...his entire body weight. Someone, I forget who, ran to get the Dean of Men. They took Henry to the [Charles Town] hospital over there in the county. The hospital refused to treat Henry because he was colored. They then put Henry back in the car, and took him to the King’s Daughters Hospital in Martinsburg, which was several miles away. Henry could have died from that injury.”¹²⁹⁷

To the recounting of this story, Dr. Richard McKinney, the Storer College representative examiner for this study, responded: “I often wonder what society might have missed had

¹²⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁹⁷ Ibid.

that young man not received the medical attention he required that day”.¹²⁹⁸ McKinney’s question naturally prompts others: What might society have missed had any of Storer’s graduates not persevered to overcome racial prejudice and make their marks on the world?

Mary Taylor Doakes (1955)

Growing up the only girl among five brothers in Jefferson County, West Virginia, might have made Mary Taylor Doakes used to standing up for herself and to carving out her own niche in life. When Storer closed its doors in 1955, just two years after she arrived, she found her educational process briefly interrupted but did not quit.¹²⁹⁹ Instead, she took her first two years of coursework toward a B.A. in Elementary Education and applied to the nearest teachers’ college: Shepherd College, in Shepherdstown, West Virginia, which had been instituted as the Shepherd Normal Teacher’s College in 1872. The administration at Shepherd “accepted every single one of [her] credits that [she] transferred from Storer College,” according to Doakes.¹³⁰⁰ Far removed from what their titles may have inferred, by modern standards, the first teachers’ colleges in West Virginia “were secondary schools doing essentially the same type of work later done by the Normal Training High School.”¹³⁰¹ By the time Doakes enrolled at Shepherd College, in 1955, however, the state legislature had upgraded the school’s status to a full-

¹²⁹⁸ Richard I. McKinney, Dissertation Committee Meeting: Prospectus Examination for Dawne Raines Burke (Virginia Polytechnic & State University: Northern Virginia Campus, Falls Church, VA, 7 May 2003), RE: Student’s Injury.

¹²⁹⁹ Mary Taylor Doakes, RE: Jefferson County Principalship and Storer College (Personal Communication with Dawne Raines Burke), 16 February 2004.

¹³⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹³⁰¹ Roy C. Woods, "The Normal Training School Movement in West Virginia," *West Virginia History Journal* 14, no. 4 (July 1954): 322, 321-32; Thomas Condit Miller and Hu Maxwell, "Civil War & The Organization of the State of West Virginia," in *West Virginia and Its People* (NY: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1913), 550-89.

collegiate institute with a more elaborate curriculum offered to students. In 1957, Doakes graduated *cum laude* from Shepherd College with a B.A. in Elementary Education.

With her undergraduate degree completed, Doakes realized that more advanced education would be required in order to keep pace with her brothers. After all, her brothers were already teaching with advanced degrees and coaching students in various contexts throughout the region. Since Doakes was the only female in the family, the sibling rivalry perhaps prompted her to relocate to advance her education. During the summers of 1958 and 1959 Doakes began taking the necessary coursework to qualify for an M.A. in Elementary Administration at Michigan State University. She finally completed her degree program through West Virginia University in Morgantown in 1963.¹³⁰²

During the month of February, in 1974, Mary Taylor Doakes received a surprising proposal from local school authorities. After having taught for 14 years in Jefferson County and serving as an Assistant Principal for two years at Charles Town, she was recognized for her dedication. Under the much popularized “junior high school system” reflective of the “junior collegiate system,” Doakes “became the first black woman principal of a Junior High School in W. Va.”¹³⁰³

Like scores of her fellow alumni, Doakes made the most of her education at Storer College and rather naturally continued the processes of personal development and social contributions once she left the school at Harpers Ferry. The social, political, educational, and philosophical contributions made by Clifford, Stewart, Dyson, Redman, Briscoe, Azikiwe, Cole, the Brooks Brothers, and Doakes—herein recounted—give only

¹³⁰² Storer College National Alumni Association, “Storer College Alumni: Book of Memories.”

¹³⁰³ Ibid.

the smallest inkling of the contributions to society made by Storer graduates as a whole. And those graduates did not hesitate to credit Storer College with the development of their social and philosophical sensibilities; on the contrary, several alumni have recognized Storer in a variety of ways.

Storer Alumni Recognize Their Alma Mater

In an effort to retain the institutional memory of Storer College, its alumni have memorialized it through exhibits, commemorative events, public address ceremonies, pictorial displays, general information and publications. Throughout the years, Storer alumni have recognized their alma mater in poetry and in song, through personal reminiscences and official maintenance of alumni “clubs.” Their continued dedication to an institution that closed its doors nearly 50 years ago indicates the measure to which for them Storer became not merely a school but a living entity that survived in and through their memories, efforts, and works.

Among those to honor Storer was a 1910 graduate of the “Academic Department,” Marion E. [Scott] Green, who expressed her gratitude by writing and publishing “Storer.” After leaving Storer College, Green maintained contact with her alma mater through the alumni association.¹³⁰⁴ In her poem, Green captures the school’s inspirational spirit:

“STORER”

I.

“She sits amid the purple hills
Whose silvery stream descending
From rock-ribbed mountain fastness fills

¹³⁰⁴ “Storer College: A Junior College, 1921-1922”.

The vale with joy unending.
Her quiet beauty silvered o'er
With sunset's radiant glory.
Stands ever young and tall before
The mountains old and hoary.

II.

Slow growing through the fight of years
Her mission widens ever.
Till unto none but God appears
Full fruit of her endeavor.
As from the clod at call of spring
Bursts forth the perfect flower.
So does her molding touch e'er bring
Life to its fullest power.

III.

Still may she from her mountain height
New inspiration giving.
Disperse the clouds of error's night
And lead to nobler living.
Till rosy gleams o'er hill and dale
Shall herald the new dawning.
When Christ himself shall lift the veil
And bring the perfect morning".¹³⁰⁵

Green perchance uses the imagery of the “perfect flower” since the “unfolding, and becoming process” associated with “her molding touch” in order to “bring [each student closer to l]ife to its fullest power” of the “perfect flower” has been closely aligned with individual human development. Even in 1999, Dr. Linda Morris at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University described “individual development” as a “perpetual unfolding process,” just like “the individual petals of a rose” when blooming. We “developmentally unfold in much the same manner” in order to “bring Life to its fullest power,” as Green claims regarding Storer, after realizing our own capacities through perseverance and potential.¹³⁰⁶

¹³⁰⁵ “Storer,” by Marion E. Green, in *The Storer Record*, vol. XXX, *Storer College National Alumni Collection*, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, WV, 1916, 1; Linda Morris, Ph.D. “Individual and Organizational Development: Lecture Notes,” September 1999.

In much the same manner, in 1975, Jessie Walker, then Secretary in the Cooperative-Education Division of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, wrote a poem honoring the school in anticipation of the 1976 Bicentennial Celebration, which she would be attending in Harper's Ferry the following year. Like Green, in her ode Walker captures the school's inspirational spirit and lasting effect on its students, although with a more humorous effect:

"Ode to Storer College"

It sits atop the mountain
Resplendent in the sun
Its hallowed halls—now empty
The work of years now done.

Its students, from the cap and gown
Have achieved at different levels
Who would've expected so much success
From Storer's LITTLE DEVILS!

If the walls could only tell us
Of the laughter and each tear
We'd learn the hidden secrets
Of each Storer grad that's here.

Memories ARE to sustain us
As in spirit we are strong
Our love for Storer will endure
As the seasons roll along.

The College doors have long been closed
Perhaps it is for the best
Now Harpers Ferry and ole John Brown
Can finally get some rest!!

Walker's themes of memory regarding her alma mater, interestingly enough, are consistent with those expressed by Du Bois in his autobiographical account, *The Souls of*

¹³⁰⁶ "Storer," by Marion E. Green, in *The Storer Record*, vol. XXX, *Storer College National Alumni Collection*, Library & Curatorial Services, Harper's Ferry National Historic Park, WV, 1916, 1; Linda Morris, Ph.D. "Individual and Organizational Development: Lecture Notes," September 1999.

Black Folk. There, he emphasizes the importance of physical memory and connection with his own alma mater through “joy and pain”:

“The ten years that follow youth, the years when first the realization comes that life is leading somewhere, —these were the years that passed after I left my little school. When they were past, I came by chance once more to the walls of Fisk University, to the halls of the chapel of melody. As I lingered there in the joy and pain of meeting old school-friends, there swept over me a sudden longing to pass again beyond the blue hill, and to see the homes and the school of other days”.¹³⁰⁷

Walker and Du Bois both incorporate the entire emotional spectrum in their educational reminiscences. Walker’s psychological voice uses the words “laughter and tear,” while Du Bois represents his emotive context by using the words “joy and pain.”¹³⁰⁸

Although Storer’s Alumni Association is still active, it proves interesting to choose just a single year from the school’s long history to gauge the activities of its former students on behalf of their school. In 1939, for example, the “Storer College Alumni Association” had twelve alumni “leaders” placed in charge of organizing “clubs” throughout West Virginia, Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia.¹³⁰⁹ “Leaders” operating in Harper’s Ferry, Martinsburg, Charles Town and Bluefield, West Virginia included Professor Henry H. Winters, Queenie Taylor Williams, Mary [possibly Wainwright] Page, and Stella Sims, respectively. An attorney, Tanner R. Moore, was keeping in contact with alumni through the Philadelphia “club.” The Upper Potomac Valley “club” was managed by Isabelle Phillips, while William D. Johnson and Lillian Proctor directed alumni functions in Baltimore and Frederick, Maryland, respectively.

¹³⁰⁷ W.E.Burghardt Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (A.C. McClurg & Company, 1903; reprint, NY: Penguin Books, 1996), 58.

¹³⁰⁸ Storer College National Alumni Association, ""Storer College Alumni: Book of Memories",".

¹³⁰⁹ "Storer College, 1938-1939".

Pocahantas Jackson Cartwright, a 1927 graduate affectionately called “Pokey” by family and close friends, organized the “club” for nearby Winchester, Virginia, where she and her husband owned and operated the Cartwright Funeral Home while Cartwright also taught in the free school system in Clark County, Virginia. The “club” in Atlantic City, New Jersey, was supervised by Howard J. Bird, whose family had been long connected with Storer College.¹³¹⁰

To commemorate their alma mater on the occasion of their “Silver Anniversary Celebration,” SCNAA members from the class of 1950 held their reunion in Washington, D. C. on July 25 – 27, 1975.¹³¹¹ The “Silver” class committee consisted of Freddie Marie Johnson, Chairman; Gwendolyn Bullock Houston, Vice-Chairman; Josephine Jones Mitchell, Secretary; and Lillian Stanton Patterson, Treasurer. There were several activities over the three-day period. Two former administrators returned for the event. Dr. Leroy Johnson (former Dean of Men) visited from Lincoln University to deliver the official “Greetings” to the 1950 class, and the guest speaker for the reunion was Dr. Richard McKinney, who likely returned since the Class of 1950 was the last class that he saw graduate from Storer College before his resigned to take a position with the Department of Philosophy at Morgan State College in Baltimore, Maryland.¹³¹²

¹³¹⁰ "Catalogue of Storer College, 1867-1940: Arts, Pre-Medical, State Normal, Academic, Musical and Industrial Courses,".

¹³¹¹ Storer College National Alumni Association, July 25-27, 1975, Storer College Silver Class Reunion, Gramercy Inn, Washington, D.C.

¹³¹² "Storer College Silver Class Reunion,"; McKinney, *Preliminary Research Interview: Richard I. McKinney*.

APPENDIX B

THE SPIRIT OF STORER COLLEGE LIVES ON

Through its new life as a national park site, the Storer College campus continues to impact the public and maintain its place in regional and national history. It has been the site of numerous dramatizations, seminars, and programs designed to highlight the history of the college and town, give insight into the Civil War and Reconstruction Periods, and recount the stories of the many individuals associated with the campus. Chronologically, a sampling of such programs includes:

- An annual event—“Heritage Days: The Black Perspective”—co-sponsored by the SCNAA and held for the first time June 18-20, 1976. This original program, part of the nation’s Bicentennial Celebration, included such guest speakers, lecturers, and performers as Andrew Young (Congressman from Georgia); Benjamin Quarles (author, and Professor from Morgan State University); Walter Washington (Mayor, District of Columbia); Shirley Chisholm (New York’s Congresswoman); Roy Wilkins (NAACP, Executive Director); and Julian Bond (author, lecturer and a Georgia Legislator).¹³¹³ Then-SCNAA Vice President Kirk Gaskins, Jr. participated in the event by “presiding” over the “First General Session” on Friday, June 14 at noon.¹³¹⁴ The “Naturalists” and the “Rick Henderson Orchestra” played several music selections by Duke Ellington.¹³¹⁵

¹³¹³ Storer College National Alumni Association, 19-20 June, 1976, Heritage Days: The Black Perspective, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park.

¹³¹⁴ "Heritage Days: The Black Perspective".

¹³¹⁵ Ibid.

- A July 31, 1982 collaboration between the SCNAA and the National Park Service dedicating the “Storer College Exhibit” housed in the Master Armorer’s House on Shenandoah Street.¹³¹⁶
- A fall 1994 slate of programs, including a living history program entitled, “Yankees Come to Town: Harpers Ferry Garrisoned”.¹³¹⁷
- A 1996 exhibit entitled “Storer College Room.” The originator of the exhibit, Martha Aiken, Superintendent of the Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, reported that “[t]h[e] room commemorates one of the earliest and most courageous steps in African-American education”.¹³¹⁸ The SCNAA was invited to participate in the dedicatory event.
- A spring 2000, one-act play entitled, “Sword of the Spirit,” presented in the Curtis Freewill Baptist Church in tribute to “John Brown Revisited”.¹³¹⁹
- A 2001 celebration jointly sponsored by the National Park Service, the Harpers Ferry Historical Association, and the SCNAA, to honor Dr. Richard McKinney . This event, entitled “A Celebration of Life,” featured an exhibit on the accomplishments, scholarly achievements, and life of Storer College’s former president.¹³²⁰
- An April 24, 2002 seminar, a joint effort by the Harper’s Ferry National Historical Park and Harper’s Ferry Historical Society, entitled, “Shenandoah and Potomac

¹³¹⁶ Storer College National Alumni Association, 31 July, 1982, Dedication of the Storer College Exhibit, SCNAA Collection.

¹³¹⁷ Storer College National Alumni Association, 26-26 September, 1994, Yankees Come to Town: Harpers Ferry Garrisoned, A Living History Program, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park.

¹³¹⁸ Marc Bailes, "Storer College Room: Historic Exhibit Unveiled," *Martinsburg Journal* (Martinsburg, WV) 1996, A.

¹³¹⁹ Storer College National Alumni Association, May 9, 13, 2000, 2002, John Brown Revisited: Sword of the Spirit, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park.

¹³²⁰ Storer College National Alumni Association, 2001, Dr. Richard I. McKinney "A Celebration of Life," John Brown Museum, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park.

History”.¹³²¹ Since the theme of the seminar was “They Made a Difference—A History of Storer College,” its centerpiece was a “walking tour” of the remaining physical structures of the original college. Participants toured the Lockwood House, Mather Training Center [Anthony Hall], and the Curtis Freewill Baptist Church.¹³²² The keynote speaker for the seminar was Dr. Richard I. McKinney, with supporting presentations from park rangers and specialists: Guinevere Roper, William Banks, John Powell, and Creighton Waters.

- A 2003 African America History Month ceremony jointly sponsored by the NPS and the SCNAA to highlight the achievements of Nnamdi Azikiwe, entitled ““Prepared For Success: A Shining Star of Storer College, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe – Champion of Freedom””.¹³²³
- A June 28, 2003 celebration entitled, “They Passed This Way: A Celebration of Cultural Heritage”.¹³²⁴ The June festivity incorporated living historians and music from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A distinctive feature of the event included a concert by “Snooky Young & Sonny Cohn,” musicians with the Howard Burns Quartet. On the bill were several selections and arrangements by Don Redman, one of Storer’s favorite sons.¹³²⁵

¹³²¹ Storer College National Alumni Association, 24 April, 2002, The Shenandoah and Potomac History Seminar, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park.

¹³²² "The Shenandoah and Potomac History Seminar,".

¹³²³ Storer College National Alumni Association, 2 February, 2003, 2003 African American History Month: Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Champion of Freedom, John Brown Museum, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park.

¹³²⁴ Storer College National Alumni Association, 28 June, 2003, They Passed This Way: A Celebration of Cultural Heritage, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park.

¹³²⁵ "They Passed This Way: A Celebration of Cultural Heritage,".

- An August 2003 speech by McKinney to several eighth grade students at the Curtis Memorial Chapel on the eve of the SCNAA's annual reunion.¹³²⁶
- An August 2, 2003 "Outdoor Exhibit" that "highlight[ed]" the Storer College Campus. The campus' federal curators hoped with this program to present the "story of Storer College" to the public in a uniquely different format. The campus enjoyed a "ribbon cutting ceremony" as visitors, guests, and returning alumni enjoyed the "outdoor" walk through a memory lane that started at the former site of the stone constructed "Alumni Gate" on Filmore Street.¹³²⁷
- A public exhibit entitled, "Coralie Franklin Cook" was presented for public display on Sunday, January 25, 2004 to commemorate the life of a Storer College student and her enduring contributions to society.¹³²⁸

Keeping the Past Alive, But Looking to the Future

In 1994, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park Superintendent Donald Campbell stated that the "mission" of the park was "[t]o conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife there in and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations".¹³²⁹ Although several of the campus's key buildings were demolished soon after the Park Service took control of the facilities, a fact that leaves some historians,

¹³²⁶ Storer College National Alumni Association, 1-3 August, 2003, Community Bulletin: Storer College Reunion, SCNAA Collection.

¹³²⁷ Storer College National Alumni Association, 2003, Ribbon Cutting Ceremony Invitation: Outdoor Exhibit, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park.

¹³²⁸ Storer College National Alumni Association, 25 January, 2004, 2004 African American History Month: Coralie Franklin Cook, John Brown Museum, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park.

¹³²⁹ Donald Campbell, Storer College National Alumni Association, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, 50th Anniversary: Commemorative Program, 29 June - 3 July, 1994, "Welcome," (3), Harper's Ferry National Historical Park.

preservationists, and alumni forever disconcerted, it remains that the NPS has made concerted efforts to retain the pioneering social spirit that led to the creation of Storer College.

Regarding the pioneering spirit of Storer's founders, its administrators, and scores of students, as well as their dedication to a form of personal development that compelled the effecting of social change, another quotation from that same year proves insightful. During a 2003 meeting with this researcher, Houston Brooks (1950) professed that "there are only two things required for learning: an eager student and an earnest teacher." Through the combined, continued efforts of the SCNAA and the National Park Service, such a philosophy can be extended to future generations.

APPENDIX C

RESOURCE CONTRIBUTORS

A research project is most akin to the game of football; the project is only as good as the line of resources that it stands behind. Therefore, the following list of libraries, colleges, universities, seminaries, historical repositories, etc. denote the resources that were willingly made available in support of this research project over a five year period.

A. Pierre Guillermin Library,	Radford University
Averett College	Rice University
Bates College	Samford University
Bob Jones University	Shepherd University, Scarborough Library
California State University	Sojourner Truth Library, New Paltz
College of William & Mary	Southern Baptist Theological Seminary
Columbia University, Teacher's College	State Historical Society of Wisconsin
Eggleston Library, Hampton-Sydney College	SUNY at Binghamton
Eastern Mennonite University	Tennessee State Library
Emory & Henry College	Union Theological Seminary
Emory University	University of Arizona
Fairmont State College	University of California, Los Angeles
George Mason University	University of Central Florida
George Washington University	University of Cincinnati
Hackelmeier Memorial Library	University of Colorado
Hall County Library, Georgia	University of Connecticut
Harvard University	University of Florida
James Madison University	University of Georgia
Library of Virginia, Richmond	University of Memphis
Loyola University of Chicago	University of Richmond
Lynchburg College	University of South Carolina
Martinsburg-Berkeley County Library	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Mary Washington College	University of Wisconsin
Michigan State University	University of Texas, Austin
Morton Library, Richmond	University of Virginia
National Park Service, HF Center	University of Utah
New Bedford Free Public Library	University of Washington
Newman Library, Virginia Tech	Virginia Commonwealth University
Northern Virginia Community College	Washington & Lee University
Pennsylvania State University	Washington County Library
Perkins Library, Duke University	West Virginia University
	Williamson Campus Library