# Organizing Freedom:
# Collaboration Between the Freedmen's Bureau and Church-Supported Charitable Organizations in the Early Years of Reconstruction

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# ACADEMIC ABSTRACT

This case study examines why the Freedmen's Bureau, a Federal agency that existed within the War Department between 1865 and 1872, formed collaborative relationships with church-supported charitable organizations to establish schools during the Civil War Reconstruction Period in Virginia. This project examines the relationships between Freedmen's Bureau officials and the leadership of church-supported charitable organizations. Specifically, this project examines the formation of these relationships, the nature of the relationships that formed, the norms and values that shaped the relationships, and the impact those relationships had on education policy in the South.

The examination of an historical federal agency through archival research methods, generated findings that were consistent with current knowledge of the collaborative process. Preexisting relationships formed during the Civil War served as the foundation for collaborative relationships that formed between the Bureau and church-supported charitable organizations. These relationships were integral to the formation of schools that served formerly enslaved persons as well as other war refugees. Ultimately, political and social pressure facilitated the closing of the Bureau, but the schools remained, forming the foundation for public school systems throughout the South.

Examining an extinct agency which worked alongside church-supported charitable organizations, shows that facets of collaborative governance occurred much earlier than presently identified, especially as it pertains to discreet steps in the collaboration process, specifically antecedent and initial conditions of collaboration, pre-existing relationships, and impacts of collaboration. The project also adds to the study of public administration as a field by extending the timeline of the practice of public administration. This dissertation also adds to the scholarship on the impact of race on policy implementation and administrative practice.

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# PUBLIC ABSTRACT

This case study examines why the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (the Freedmen's Bureau), a controversial federal agency that existed within the War Department between 1865 and 1872, formed collaborative relationships with church-supported charitable organizations to establish schools during the Civil War Reconstruction Period in Virginia. This project will examine the relationships between Freedmen's Bureau officials and the leaders of various church-supported charitable organizations. Specifically, this project will examine the types of relationships that formed, the customs and values that shaped those relationships and the impact of those relationships had on education policy in Virginia.

Relationships between charitable organizations and army officials formed during the Civil War and served as the foundation for relationships that formed between the Bureau and charitable aid organization.

Although not unique for its time the Freedmen's Bureau relied upon nongovernmental actors and entities in performing its functions, especially education. The schools that were established, served formerly enslaved persons as well as other war refugees and served as the foundation for the public school system across the South. Although the Freedmen's Bureau

would be abolished in 1872, the schools that were established with the help of the Bureau, remained.

The fact that organizations were involved in Reconstruction-era schooling is known. That the Freedmen's Bureau helped organizations establish schools throughout the South is known. Less is known about the extent of those relationships, however. Examining a historical and extinct agency which developed relationships with a number of church-supported charitable organizations shows that collaborative relationships occurred much earlier than we once thought.

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# DEDICATION

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To my mother, my first teacher

Joyce Marie Taylor

In Loving Memory

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"We have not only to destroy slavery—we must also organize freedom."
(Lyman Abbott 1864)

"…in regard to the colored people there is always more that is benevolent, I perceive, than just, manifested towards us…. Your doing with us has already played the mischief with us. Do nothing with us!
(Frederick Douglass April 1865)

# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

## Rationale and Research Questions

This dissertation examines a case involving interactions between civil society actors and government agencies. It does so through a historical case study of the Freedmen's Bureau, a Federal agency that existed within the War Department between 1865 and 1872. The Bureau's relationships with church-supported aid organizations resulted in the establishment of schools for former slaves and other persons in Virginia displaced by the Civil War. Specifically, this project examines those relationships and the establishment of schools in Virginia. In the broadest terms, this dissertation asks whether historical models of relationships between civil society actors and government agencies inform modern perspectives on the intersection between civil society and government. More than a few scholars have studied this question (Foley and Hodgkinson, ed. 2003; Post and Rosenblum 2002; Perry and Thomson 2015).

The examination of a nineteenth-century federal agency and its relationships with non-profit organizations is both thought-provoking and significant because it adds to scholarship concerning collaboration by Bryson, Crosby, and Stone (2015) and Thomson and Perry (2006). Further, this project adds to the scholarship by Balogh (2009) and other American Political Development scholars who show that collaboration between governmental and nongovernmental organizations was both typical. Collaborative relationships between governmental and

nongovernmental entities were in operation long before the current faith-based governmental initiative model, and that resource dependency theory and theories of new institutionalism may help explain how the pattern may have evolved toward some forms of present-day partnerships between government and civil society. The dissertation concerns the relationships and the resulting consequences that occurred as the Freedmen's Bureau and church-supported organizations implemented education policy in Virginia.

This investigation is essential to the field of public administration. First, it adds to the scholarship concerning the evolution of the American state, specifically the presence of the administrative state. Also, it adds to research on the study of administrators as street-level bureaucrats, acting during the relatively less-studied period between the Civil War and the Gilded Age (Lipsky 1980). During its most active years, "the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau resembled the work of later Federal welfare agencies" (Donne 1972, 1). Moreover, federal actors crafting New Deal period social policy relied upon the Freedmen's Bureau as a critical precedent (Dauber 2012).

This project will examine the relationships between the Freedmen's Bureau and various church-supported charitable organizations, focusing on the interactions between Bureau leadership (central leadership and regional Bureau officers) and aid society leadership that occurred within the present-day boundaries of the Commonwealth of Virginia as the entities collaborated to craft education opportunities. This project will examine the formation of these relationships, the nature of the relationships that formed, the norms and values that shaped the relationships and the impact of those relationships on education policy in Virginia.

That the Freedmen's Bureau collaborated with civil society actors, specifically church-supported aid organizations, was not novel. However, the Bureau's efforts to create policy in a

range of distinct yet interrelated areas, including labor, social welfare (social assistance and family relations), public health, and education were innovative. Specifically, the dissertation examines the organizational processes that motivated the expansion of education across the south, particularly in Virginia.

Formally named the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, the Freedmen's Bureau was established by the U.S. Congress in March 1865 to administer large-scale labor, land, justice, and social welfare management policies in the former Confederate States and the District of Columbia. From its creation as a temporary agency through its demise in 1872, the Freedmen's Bureau aided tens of thousands of formerly enslaved men, women, and children as well as white refugees in the wake of the destruction caused by the Civil War. In the early months of the Reconstruction, the Bureau provided rations, fuel, and some housing and relocation assistance to black and white refugees. The Bureau also became responsible for facilitating employment through labor contracts. It performed marriages and provided marriage licenses. The Bureau also built hospitals and clinics ("dispensaries"), maintained a court system, and offered protection to voters and educators. It also managed a claims division so that African-American Union veterans could receive their pay as well as pensions. It also built schools.

The Bureau did not do this alone. In order to implement the education and social policy outlined in legislation enacted by the U.S. government, the Bureau collaborated with more than twenty different churches and organizations across the Commonwealth of Virginia. Schools opened to both children and adults. Most schools operated during the day. However, there were also schools that opened at night to accommodate working adults. Sabbath Schools opened their doors on Sundays, offering instruction when church services were not in session. Organizations built high schools and higher education institutions. Aid organizations and churches provided

and supported licensed teachers. The Bureau subsidized transportation, housing, and food for teachers, and provided or helped provide land and school buildings. The Bureau tracked the process and kept copious records. By any measure, the Bureau was a pivotal institution, and it remains a significant public agency to study.

The existing research on the Bureau, much of it produced by historians and sociologists, draws attention to specific aspects of its operations or its personnel (Rose 1964; Cimbala 1999; Butchart 2010; Farmer-Kaiser 2010; Faulkner 2010; Bean 2016). This scholarship paints a mixed picture of the Freedmen's Bureau's efforts to forge a path from a system of chattel slavery to a system supporting free labor (contracted voluntary labor for pay). Conflicting portraits of the Bureau have illustrated it as a "misunderstood and misrepresented" Bureau that was "ahead of its time," yet also compromising (Cox and Cox 1953, 427; Spivey 1978; Trattner 1994; Dauber 2012). Researcher Carmen Donne at the National Archives wrote that the Bureau's operations "resembled the work of later federal welfare agencies" (Donne 1973, 1). Michele Dauber agreed, observing that model of the Freedmen's Bureau was relied upon as a precedent by advocates of the large-scale social programs created during the New Deal period (Dauber 2012). John A. Carpenter (1999) analyzed the work of Freedmen Bureau Commissioner O.O. Howard and concluded that the agency's work was admirable, primarily since it was accomplished under severe conditions.

Other scholars criticized the work of the Bureau. William Dunning, publishing in 1907, asserted that the Bureau was a tool of the Radical Republican Congress determined to punish the southern states with excessive, misguided, and supportive policies aimed toward formerly enslaved people (Dunning 1907). W.E.B. Dubois, writing a few decades later, strongly disagreed with Dunning's assertions about the Bureau and its policies, and white supremacy (DuBois

1935). Dubois felt there was a preoccupation with labor policy, inferring that "in truth the organization became a vast labor bureau" (DuBois 1935).

In his essay, "The Freedmen's Bureau," written years earlier, W.E.B. DuBois had taken a balanced approach in his criticism of the Bureau and its workforce, declaring that Bureau agents ranged from being "unselfish philanthropists" to "narrow-minded busybodies and thieves" (DuBois 1901). To condemn the Bureau, DuBois stated, for all its faults was "neither sensible nor just" (DuBois 1901). Instead, he concluded that "its successes were the result of hard work, supplemented by the aid of philanthropists and the eager striving of black men" (DuBois 1901). He felt that the demise of the Bureau resulted from "bad local agents, inherent difficulties of the work, and national neglect" (DuBois 1901). For decades, DuBois's work went unnoticed, not to be rediscovered by historians until the latter part of the twentieth century (Moore 1961; Foner 1998). Historian Eric Foner, drawing upon the insights of DuBois, also raised questions about the Bureau's arguably unfortunate preoccupation with free labor (paid labor that was voluntary) (Foner 1988; DuBois 1901).

Despite a few notable exceptions, few researchers have conducted studies that assess the Bureau and its operations through an organizational lens. Additionally, few scholars have conducted studies animated by a clear theoretical framework (Cox and Cox 1953; Couto; 1991; Cimbala 1999; Lieberman 1994). There is still room, therefore, for a new study of the Freedmen's Bureau. This dissertation will show how a nineteenth-century federal agency made use of collaborative relationships to implement education policy amidst the racial, economic, and political unrest of the post-Civil War Reconstruction Period in Virginia. The case of the Freedmen's Bureau collaboration provides evidence that collaborative approaches to governance were relied upon in the United States long before public administration scholars examined

"government by proxy" (Kettl 1988; Pierson 2000). Further, this dissertation will explore how race as an institution constrained the formation and implementation of education policy in the South during Reconstruction (King and Smith 2005; Fields and Fields 2012). Studying race is important because, amongst all of the Freedmen's Bureau policy initiatives, the process of education (unlike free labor, land ownership, and voting) was one avenue that was never completely cut off despite financial, political and social opposition.

There is also a need for more study examining partnerships between public organizations and religious entities. Other social science disciplines have not shied away from including the impact of religious matters in their research (Kennedy 2003; Houston, Freeman, Feldman 2008). Unfortunately, public administration scholarship leaves notable religious dimensions of organizational arrangements and governance largely unexplored. As Houston, Freeman, and Feldman observed, the study of public administration is mostly silent on the role and influence of religious belief and relationships with government (if not actively anti-religious or anti-spiritual) (Houston, Freeman, and Feldman 2008). Various scholars have observed that empirical and theoretical public administration scholarship historically has privileged rationality and a scientific perspective divorced from religion, which is often characterized as having a non-professional and non-rational perspective (Lowery 2005, 331-332). In practice, contemporary survey data show that a sizeable number of public servants (teachers, police, social workers, for example) either consider themselves to be religious or to have become public servants because of their belief systems. This project explores the relationships that the Freedmen's Bureau leadership maintained with church-supported aid organizations as they implemented the agency's mission in the areas of education and social policy.

Likewise, scholarship in the field of public administration has attended less to historical analysis (Durant and Rosenbloom 2016, 10-11). As far back as 1930, John M. Gaus asserted that public administration needed "a usable past" that would "acquaint … students with those aspects of achievement in public administration which now lie buried" (Stivers 1995; Durant and Rosenbloom 2016, 10-11). Guy Adams has argued that public administration's lack of historical awareness stems from the desire to be "atemporal," because "human action should be explained through the development of general laws and models independent of time and space" (Adams 1992, 366-367). Raadschelders, Wagenaar, Rutgers, and Overeem, who define administrative history as "the study of structures and processes in and about government as they have existed or have been desired in the past and the actual and ideal place of functionaries therein," observe that administrative histories have been written as early as the nineteenth century, strengthening the knowledge that an administrative state (regardless of capacity) must have existed (2000, 772-91). Extending this argument, Greenwood, Hinings, and Whetten (2010) point out that conducting a historical study allows insight into organizational responses to institutions over time. Moreover, while a great deal is understood about past political events and how specific key individuals or prominent groups interacted with those events, too little is known about the actions of public administrators and their relationships with their communities as policies were implemented. To that end, it is important to understand the institutional patterns of public administrators and policy in that era which appear to have inspired current social policy patterns.

This study of the Freedmen's Bureau and its relationships with organizations centers on the social construction of race in America. Stivers and Alexander point out that research in public administration has included studies on problems associated with practitioner issues concerning race, but less work has been done on the intersection of democratic values and race,

or the placement of race on the policy agenda, policy implementation, and administrative practice (Alexander and Stivers 2010, 578-597). On practitioner issues, Alexander and Stivers (1997, 344) state: "If administrative action must embody the will of the people and racism in an integral, yet largely invisible, component of the customary morality, then administrators have little anchor for justifying actions outside of that context."

This research project examines the Freedmen's Bureau's collaboration with civil society actors, illuminated the features, boundaries, and consequences of that collaborative arrangement. This story of collaborative policy implementation is embedded within a larger story of the expansion of public education, and the eventual inclusion of African-Americans into the American public educational system. Because this story is historical and focuses upon an extinct organization, an organization and its processes can be examined from its beginning to its end.

The primary research question, therefore, is to determine why a federal agency within the War Department forged relationships with church-supported aid organizations to establish schools in Virginia, and also to explore the consequences of this cooperative scheme. Secondary questions asked in the project are:

1. What conditions set the stage for the process of collaboration between the Freedmen's Bureau and potential partners?
2. What factors determined the groups with which the Bureau worked?
3. What consequences resulted from this collaborative scheme?

This dissertation will bring both religion, race, and the actual (not theorized) American state "back in" to public administration research and add to recent scholarship showing that a vibrant American government governed not less, but *less visibly*, foreshadowing later public-private governing schemes (Balogh 2009; Jensen 2003).

The research design for this project will employ "new" archival research methods, which will include textual analysis, as well as more holistic historical research methods (Ventresca and Mohr 2017). The project focuses on the Commonwealth of Virginia as a typical case. However, schooling by charitable organizations appeared to be more active in Virginia as compared to other states, as shown in Bureau education records, which appeared to be substantial as compared to other states.

In Virginia, sixty-nine Bureau offices (districts and sub-districts) operated under the oversight of a state headquarters in Richmond, Virginia. Each district or sub-district office was comprised of one or more counties or a large city and headed by a sub-assistant commissioner or an assistant sub-assistant commissioner. Officers submitted monthly reports on operations, as well as the conditions of freedmen in their jurisdiction. This case study relies on both primary and secondary sources related to education as well as other relevant matters. Primary sources include the archived records of the Freedmen's Bureau, archival records from specified charitable organizations, historical newspapers, and personal letters, manuscripts, and periodicals. The project will make also use of records of the Bureau Commissioner, the Virginia Assistant Commissioner, the Education Division, and the Virginia field office. Bureau records included educational reports, letters between offices, quartermaster reports, employment contract records and letters, reports on labor, rations, occurrences of violence ("mobs and rages") and hospital care as they related to the existence, support, and maintenance of schools. Freedmen's Bureau records have been publicly accessible through a collaboration between the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) and the genealogy organization FamilySearch® thereby providing public access online. Even though millions of records are available, many are incomplete or are unreadable.

In addition to Freedmen's Bureau records, government records used included the Congressional Globe for the 38th- 40th ("the Reconstruction Congress") as well as letters and records of President Lincoln and President Johnson and those of Cabinet Secretaries; these were examined to determine the policy agenda as well as policy directives. Lastly, archived reports and periodicals from various religious organizations including those representing the Society of Friends, the American Missionary Association, the American Freedmen's Union Commission, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and others were examined.

## Organization of the Dissertation

The following chapter includes the literature review of research on cross-sector collaboration, the Freedmen's Bureau, and the Freedmen's Aid Movement. A theoretical framework follows which will draw on the theories of resource dependency theory, the institutional logics framework and theories of race as theoretical lenses for investigating and analyzing the extra organizational arrangements of the Freedmen's Bureau (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978; Oliver 1991; Hillman Withers and Collins 2009; Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012; King and Smith 2005; Fields and Fields 2012; Bryson, Crosby, and Stone 2015; Bryson, Crosby, and Stone 2006; Thomson and Perry 2006).

Chapter 3 explains the research design and methodology for the dissertation. Archival methods and textual analysis were used to analyze historical documents (Ventresca and Mohr 2017; Reay and Jones 2016; Wadhwani and Decker 2018). The units of analysis are the relationships (or lack thereof) between Freedmen's Bureau and church-supported charitable organizations that operated within the state of Virginia.

The remainder of the dissertation is structured as follows. Chapters 4 provides a brief overview regarding slavery and its aftermath, featuring a discussion of refugee camps, called

"contraband" camps, which facilitated emancipation and served as foundations for collaborative relationships with religious organizations. Chapter 4 shows that before the establishment of the Freedman's Bureau, relationships began to form between church-supported aid organizations and the Union Army as they dealt with the humanitarian crisis that developed during the Civil War. Specifically, schools were established at Union Army encampments with the support of church-supported organizations.

Chapter 5 introduces a brief overview of schooling, educators, and religious organizations that supported their efforts. While approximately twenty organizations managed schools in Virginia, a few of the most prominent organizations will be discussed in this chapter. Chapter 6 outlines the legislation of the Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1865 (15 Stat. 507), The Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1866 (14 Stat. 173), and the Freedmen's Bureau Acts of 1868 (15 Stat. 83; 15 Stat. 193), and provides an overview of the structure of function of the Freedmen's Bureau, as well as its work in Virginia. Chapter 7 contains the findings from primary documents regarding the growing relationships between the Freedmen's Bureau and aid organizations that shaped education policy, and the continuance of schools. Bureau education policy was not only shaped by the collaborative relationships it pursued, but also by the law, the Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1865 (15 Stat. 507), the Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1866 (14 Stat. 173), the Freedmen's Bureau Acts of 1868 (15 Stat. 83; 15 Stat. 193), which appropriated funding, authorized the existing relationships between the Bureau and the aid organizations that managed schools in Virginia. The findings in Chapter 7 shed light on the implications of two Freedmen's Bureau Acts of 1868 (15 Stat. 83; 15 Stat. 193) which both allowed the Bureau to increase spending for education, but also provided the scaffolding for the closing of the Bureau. An analysis of the findings in Chapter 7 follows in Chapter 8. The discussion and conclusions follow in Chapter 9.

# CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the collaborative relationships that formed between the Freedmen's Bureau and church-supported charitable organizations and supported school establishment in Virginia for black and white refugees (1861-1870). This project examines the inputs, outputs, and outcomes of these collaborative schemes. The existing literature on the Freedmen's Bureau and its partnering agencies includes general histories, biographies, and investigations conducted through historical and sociological lenses (DuBois 1901; DuBois 1935; Oubre 1978; Butchart 1980; Litwack 1980; Cimbala 1983; Cohen 1984; Richardson 1986; Cimbala 1999; Faulkner 2000; Butchart 2010; Farmer-Kaiser 2010; Bean 2016). The studies that emphasize organizational aspects focus primarily on how implementation successes or failures could be explained as issues of legitimacy and institutional structure (Couto 1991; Lieberman 1994; Thomas, Healey, and Cottingham 2017).

Although collaborative efforts of the Bureau have been noted in several works, collaboration as such has not been the focus of previous scholarship (Richardson 1986, Butchart 1980; Butchart 2010, Farmer-Kaiser 2010). This chapter outlines the theoretical framework for this study, which relies upon theories of resource dependency and institutional logics to explain the initiation, maintenance, and outcomes of Freedmen's Bureau partnerships with church-supported aid organizations. The goal is to offer a framework that balances the mechanical vision of resource dependency with institutional logics and critical perspectives on race.

The Freedmen's Bureau has been extensively researched, generating a wealth of historical and sociological evidence pointing to its legacy as well as its downfall. Early studies suggested that the Freedmen's Bureau was an unsuccessful agency focused on undesirable aims,

created under enormous political pressure. Over time, researchers have tested those claims, often focusing on state and local Bureau offices, as well as individual Bureau officials (Cox and Cox 1953; Carpenter 1964, 1999; Colby 1984; McFeely 1991; Bean 2016;). Recent research has been directed toward the experiences and interactions between the agency and those it served: freed people and refugees more generally, and women more specifically (Farmer-Kaiser 2010; Faulkner 2000). Considerable research attention has also been devoted to religious aid organizations that worked alongside the Bureau (Butchart 1980; Butchart 2010; Faulkner 2004; Foote 2003; Richardson 1986). Most of the research on the Freedmen's Bureau has been conducted by historians, while remarkably few studies have been designed to investigate the Bureau from a management or an organizational point of view (Couto 1991; Lieberman 1994).

## Review of the Literature on Collaboration

This section discusses literature on cross-sector collaboration and collaboration more generally. The literature on collaboration helps define the relationships that developed between the Freedmen's Bureau, an agency of the War Department, and church-supported charitable organizations during the Civil War Reconstruction period. While a contemporary view of cooperation or collaboration cannot be overlaid on historical organizations, there may be similarities that provide ideas about precursors to modern collaborative arrangements.

### *Collaboration: Definitions*

Scholars from public administration, sociology, and management agree on the definition of collaboration with slight variations. Some scholars focus on the inter-organizational relationships involved in collaboration. Gray and Wood (1991, 11) define collaboration as "a process that engages a group of stakeholders interested in a problem or issue in an interactive deliberation using shared rules, norms, and structures to share information and or take

coordinated actions" (Gray and Wood 1991, 11). Thomson and Perry (2006) rely upon Thomson (2001) to define collaboration as

> "a process in which autonomous actors interact through formal and informal negotiation, jointly creating rules and structure governing their relationships and ways to act or decide on the issues that brought them together; it is a process involving shared norms and mutually beneficial interactions." (Thomson and Perry 2006, 23).

Specifically describing collaboration that occurs across sectors, Bryson, Crosby, and Stone define cross-sector collaboration as the "linking and sharing or sharing of information, resources, activities, and capabilities, by organizations in two or more sectors to achieve jointly an outcome that could not be achieved by organizations in one sector separately" (Bryson, Crosby, and Stone 2006, 44). This definition may help to describe the relationships that would have occurred between the Bureau (a government agency within the War Department) and several societies (private, non-profit, sectarian organizations) with which it worked. Further, Bryson, Crosby, and Stone (2006) delineate the framework of cross-sector collaboration as beginning with "initial conditions," and include the process, "structure and governance," "contingencies and constraints," and "outcomes and accountabilities." Bryson, Crosby, and Stone's framework may be a helpful way to imagine the process that led to the relationships between the Bureau and charitable organizations.

***Collaboration as a Continuum***

This project seeks to examine attributes of the relationships that the Bureau, tasked by Congress, formed with aid organizations. Mattessich and Monsey (1992) saw collaboration as one of several types of team approaches and asserted that there a range of relationships that

included cooperation, coordination, and collaboration. Cooperation is informal, without risk or a "commonly defined mission structure, or planning effort;" coordination involves planning, communication, and structure, with some level of risk but also "mutually acknowledged rewards." Members experience mutually determined missions, and shared resources in the most cooperative relationship form, collaboration (Mattessich, and Monsey 1992, 42).

More recent scholars also view inter-organizational activities on a continuum. Crosby and Bryson (2005) consider inter-organizational relations as relationships along a "continuum of organizational sharing" that include the potential for shared authority, power, activities, resources, information, according to a continuum, that include mergers, collaboration, coordination, and communication (Crosby and Bryson 2005, 19). Referring to their continuum concept, Crosby and Bryson state that "particular policy change efforts are likely to involve all of the relationship types along the continuum (2005, 18). These features may be helpful to examine potential cooperative activities that occurred between the Bureau and charitable organizations, 1865-1870, understanding that because of its historical nature, the descriptions are a guide.

Bryson, Crosby, and Stone (2006), drawing on Crosby and Bryson (2005, 17-18), assert that collaboration occurs at the midway point of a continuum ranging from one end, where organizations do not relate to each other, to an endpoint by which organizations have merged into a new identity. Thomson and Perry define cooperation as having less depth of interaction than collaboration "involving reciprocities and exchange of resources (not necessarily symmetrical)" and highlight the fact that not all inter-organizational relations can be defined strictly as collaboration, and that many may fall somewhere in a range between cooperation and collaboration (Thomson and Perry 2006, 391).

***How do Organizations Collaborate?***

A number of scholars have recognized the importance of antecedents that may serve to facilitate or initiate collaboration which include interdependence, resource dependency, preexisting relationships, incentives, complex or "wicked" problems that serve to facilitate or initiate collaboration (Thomson and Perry 2006, 21; Bryson, Crosby and Stone 2015, 651; Ansell and Gash 2008, 550-551). Because the work of the Freedmen's Bureau began (March 1865) as the Civil War was ending (April 1865), it is important to understand any events that facilitated or initiated collaborative activities between the Bureau and aid organizations before that time.

Ansell and Gash (2008, 551) highlight the components involved in the initial conditions that may facilitate or create barriers to participation for cooperative inter-organizational relationships. They determine whether participation (and perhaps success) in a partnership depends upon interdependence, is hampered by a lack of power or resources, or may be subject to previous shared interests or conflict (Ansell and Gash 2008). Thomson and Perry outline a process which also involved resource scarcity, prior collaborative experience, and "complex issues" (Thomson and Perry 2006, 21-22).

Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh (2012, 6-7, 9), who examine collaborative governance, assert that the necessary initial conditions are leadership, consequential incentives, interdependence, and uncertainty. Koschmann, Kuhn, and Pfarrer (2012, 337) explain that communication facilitates and also serves as initial drivers for collaboration through verbal conversation ("observable interactions") as well as through written documents both of which they describe as "the symbolic surface upon and through which conversations develop" and "how organizations identified, described, and represented."

Crosby and Bryson (2010) provide a detailed description of antecedent conditions to collaboration (specifically cross-sector collaboration) by explaining the importance of existing relationships, leadership ("champions"), uncertainty (specifically "turbulence"), and institutional forces, but also an agreement on the problem at hand, and previous sector failure in solving the problem (Crosby and Bryson 2010). Further, Bryson, Crosby, and Stone's (2015) survey of several collaborative governance scholars lists antecedent conditions and initial conditions for collaboration such that issues with resources, the institutional environment, the need to address a public problem constitutes "general antecedent conditions," and leadership, pre-existing relationships, incentives, the nature of the problem, as well as the "agreement on initial aims" constitute "initial conditions, drivers, and linking mechanisms" (Bryson, Crosby, and Stone 2015, 648-652). Determining the initial conditions that lead to the formation of collaborative relationships should prove helpful for examining the working relationships between the Bureau and aid organizations as they instituted educational opportunities for formerly enslaved persons during the Reconstruction period. As the Freedmen's Bureau was instituted in the closing months of the Civil War, understanding of the conditions that were present at Union Army experienced the influx of refugeed enslaved persons and others, helps to understand why cooperative relationships formed.

Each of these frameworks (Bryson, Crosby, and Stone 2015, 648-652; Bryson, Crosby, and Stone 2010; Ansell and Gash (2008, 551; Koschmann, Kuhn, and Pfarrer 2012, 337; Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012, 6-7, 9; Thomson and Perry 2006, 21-22) are valuable for explaining and visualizing the factors affecting both the Union Army and the Freedmen's Bureau's decision to collaborate, and the consequent outcomes of those collaborative relationships.

### *Organizations Collaborate Because of Long-Standing Norms and Values*

Recent empirical research by American Political Development (APD) scholars has shown convincingly that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, various forms of collaborative governance such as public-private collaboration, multi-actor service delivery, and public-private network-like arrangements occurred with regularity as a part of a long-standing pattern of governance, long before today's reliance upon partnerships and networks (Balogh 2009). Balogh (2009) emphasizes that by utilizing unobtrusive civil society actors and private contractors, the purposefully "invisible" national government apparatus (and its agencies) avoided creating a vast, centralized bureaucracy that would worry citizens of the new republic. Yet, it still maintained a limited but active governing capacity.

Collaborating with civil society actors helped the central government of the United States to implement policy effectively (especially in contentious policy areas like social welfare) without attracting much attention of the public which abhorred a strong central government. Throughout the nineteenth century, government officials thought of churches and other faith-based organizations as effective social service agencies. Interests in social reform and social services were funneled as much as possible toward faith-based organizations, often with local government subsidies (Balogh 2009). To solve a humanitarian crisis, the Union Army, during the Civil War, made use of the long-standing precedent of working with faith-based organizations that had expertise in providing social assistance. The Freedmen's Bureau continued and expanded those practices established by Union Army personnel in order to implement social assistance and schooling across the South.

## How Existing Organizational Theories Explain Why Organizations Collaborate

### *Mission Creep and Lack of Capacity*

Mission Creep may explain why some organizations collaborate. Adams and Murray (2014) discuss how the United States armed forces have expanded their mission in response to crises occurring in both peacetime and war. They assert that the first recognition of the term "mission creep" referred to expanded practices by the military in the post-World War II Cold War era (Adams and Murray 2014). As Adams and Murray (2014) explain, the expansion of mission by the military is often warranted because of their availability and expertise in logistics. Looking closely at the work of the Union Army during and after the Civil War reveals substantial mission creep, occurring earlier in American history than the Cold War. Evolving circumstances required the Union Army, though expert in logistics, to modify policies and procedures rapidly, expanding its mission from war-making to conducting a labor and social welfare project even before the South was forced to surrender. The Army was forced to expand its operations in order to cope with the influx of refugees into its encampments. As the war continued and increasing numbers of displaced persons flooded Army camps in search of safety and resources, Army officers, who were usually chaplains, reached out to the churches and charitable organizations with which they were acquainted to obtain much-needed funds and in-kind donations of clothing, household goods, and bibles. Both existing and newly minted auxiliary societies were already positioned to channel funds and material support to refugees. Northern churches (both white and African-American) established funds as well as full-fledged aid societies through which they funneled their congregants' donations in support of those living in refugee camps. Beyond providing funds and material aid, teachers, ministers, missionaries, doctors, and nurses were invited to enter the camps to administer aid in person.

Organizations tend to collaborate when faced with a crisis involving large, complex, intractable issues or "wicked" problems. The literature explains that public-private partnerships and network-like structures generally are created to provide beneficial "collaborative capacity building" features and service delivery expertise for solving "wicked problems" (Weber and Khademian 2008; Xu and Morgan 2012). Once established by Congress, the Freedmen's Bureau faced multiple "wicked problems." The primary issue they faced was how to administer the emancipation process while confronting a hostile public. Secondly, federal legislation provided, for this "Herculean" mission, "no means [with which] to execute it" (Howard 1901). Congress appropriated no funding, rather the Bureau was expected to produce income from leasing and selling confiscated and abandoned lands. Months later, President Andrew Johnson discontinued the program and returned all land to its original owners, leaving the Bureau entirely without a dedicated funding source. The Bureau was also understaffed which limited its capacity to supervise its extensive jurisdiction. Further Bureau personnel (mostly Civil War Union veterans) were not necessarily skilled for the required tasks.

***Organizations may collaborate because of scarce resources***

Resource Dependency Theory (RDT) may help explain why the Freedmen's Bureau participated in inter-organizational relationships with multiple church-supported charitable organizations to obtain access to human and capital resources and implement education policy (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978; Oliver 1990). RDT suggests that external pressures impact the ability of organizations to obtain needed resources needed for optimal operation, as well as the ability to provide resources amidst pressures from the political, economic, and social environments. RDT also suggests that the external pressures that affect the ability of organizations to gain or give access to resources, may cause organizations to seek out the creation of mutual relationships

(Pfeffer and Salancik 1978; Oliver 1990, 245; Casciaro and Piskorski 2005, 167-199; Hillman, Withers, and Collins 2009, 1404-1427). The fact that organizations may form cooperative relationships in order to solve mutual resource dependencies Oliver (1990), may explain why the War Department (Union Army and later the Freedmen's Bureau) formed relationships with religious organizations that included an exchange of resources (expertise and materials).

Leveraging extra-organizational relationships with church-supported aid societies may have lessened the impact of resource shortages (buildings, materials, funds, and human capital) at the Freedmen's Bureau, and helped to buffer the Bureau from some of the external pressures and power imbalances created by its financial dependence upon Congress, the President, and the War Department (Oliver 1990; Oliver 1991). During its brief lifetime, the Bureau was underfunded. Collaborating with various church-supported aid organizations provided the Bureau access to teachers and expertise in managing schools.

***Norms and Values Sustaining Collaborative Relationships***

The institutional logics framework may help to understand the particular civil society partners with which the Bureau collaborated and the norms and values that influenced what they did. Friedland and Alford (1991) sought to establish a theoretical perspective that accommodated analysis of both "material" and symbolic measures of institutionalism at the individual, the organization, and institutional levels. Friedland and Alford's metatheory institutional logics (1991) contributed to the organizational literature by fashioning a robust explanation for the conditions under which institutions form. Scholars have since redefined institutional logics as the "socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality" (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012, 2).

The institutional logics approach (ILA), as a "metatheoretical framework" offers "a way of explaining the interactions between normative societal structures, organizational forms and individual behavior" (Skelcher and Smith 2015, 437).

Of the institutional orders identified by Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012), the institutional orders of state and religion are most useful for this project. The Freedmen's Bureau aligned with the state/market orders (state control), while most of the religious organizations and the teachers associated with them aligned with the religious and community orders (elevation). Typically when collaborating groups operate according to different logics, conflicts may arise because of power imbalances or by deciding on a more widely held logic, leading the predominant logic to become the logic of the partnership, while other logics may be declared less desirable or even illegitimate (Bryson, Crosby, and Stone 2015, 651; Ashraf, Ahmadsimab, and Pinske 2017, 794-799). Newer research has since expanded and detailed the effect of competing or conflicting logics on inter-organizational arrangements and policy implementation within an institutional field such that multiple logics can co-exist and help sustain collaborative relationships (Reay and Hinings 2009, 629-652). A study conducted by Saz-Carranza, Angel, and Francisco Longo (2012) found that public-private joint ventures succeeded despite encountering competing institutional logics, when they involved and communicated with all stakeholders, and created mutual learning spaces; increased interaction and inclusion augmented overall understanding of organizational perspectives (2012, 344-349). Beck Gregory, and Marschollek (2015) and Skelcher and Smith (2009) addressed the concept of competing logics that public-private partnerships may face, and found that partnerships may become subordinate to the dominating logic, integrate elements of a competing logic, blend logics, or maintain coexisting logics within the relationship such that overall goals are supported, and collaboration

is not sacrificed (Skelcher and Smith 2009, 344-448; Beck Gregory, and Marschollek 2015, 24-38; Osei-Amponsah, Van Paassen, and Klerkx 2018). These two entities, despite working from differing logics, were able to co-exist because there were members of each entity that maintained aspects of both logics (state/market and religion/community). In this way, organizations were able to navigate differences in orientation, mission, and practice to partner with the Bureau and succeed in establishing schooling around the South.

Many professionals who went to the southern states to become involved in aid work during the end of the Civil War and Reconstruction were associated with one of many churches, religious communities, or church-supported aid organizations in the northern states (Butchart 1980, Richardson 1986). These organizations were associated with a range of values that included some version of the so-called Protestant work ethic, which firmly aligned with the traditions of the English poor laws and the principles of a traditional, religious (specifically Protestant) education (Richardson 1986; Farmer-Kaiser 2010). Their ideals could be expressed as a blended logic, "elevation" (a blend of the religious/community institutional orders), which combined paternalism, beliefs around poverty and the practice of poor relief, "civic virtue" and social justice (Skelcher and Smith 2015, Jensen 2015, Trattner 1994, Goldberg 2007).

The work of W.E.B. DuBois and more recently, Eric Foner, suggests that the logic motivating the Freedmen's Bureau was characterized by the promotion of "free-labor," (use of one's labor for self-sufficiency) and state-building (Foner 1988; DuBois 1901). The Bureau offered free transportation and wrote labor contracts for people to migrate to plantations and farms where there appeared to be labor-shortages and supported "industrial" schools to support the gain of vocational skills. Throughout its tenure, the Bureau supported industrial education to encourage newly freed people to obtain "new" sets of skills.

## Perspectives on The Freedmen's Bureau

In this section, I review current perspectives on the Freedmen's Bureau. This section is organized into three parts, the first of which details the historiography of the Bureau. The next section examines arguments that scholars have put forth pertaining to the Bureau and the work it pursued. Following that section, I will examine arguments that scholars have made concerning some of the prominent organizations of the Freedmen's Aid Movement that pursued social provision projects in the south. The last section identifies gaps in the literature.

### *The Dunning School*

There have been roughly four schools of thought pertaining to the study of the Freedmen's Bureau and more generally, the Reconstruction Period. William Dunning, chair of the political science department at Columbia University, influenced the earliest interpretations of the Reconstruction Period. Consistent with his own time, Dunning believed that the Bureau and its programs, as devised by the Reconstruction Congress, were intended only to punish southerners, and were not only unconstitutional but also served to breed corruption and mismanagement through its affirmative policies toward black people. The chief architects of the Dunning School were William Dunning, his mentor, John A Burgess, and James Rhodes (Moore 1961). Nearly fifty historians subscribed to the Dunning School or variations of it, and all were patrons of the Southern "lost cause," including a young Woodrow Wilson. [1]

[1] The Southern "lost cause" was a term created by a southern journalist that created an image to bolster the South after they lost the Civil War, by portraying themselves as having a noble cause. Monuments of confederate soldiers were created and placed in many cities across the South. A major symbol of the movement in Stone Mountain, Georgia, remains. Sculptors were commissioned to create a huge sculpture of General Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, and Stonewall Jackson, in the side of Stone Mountain; work was begun in 1912 and finally completed in 1970.

***Revisionist School***

Although not technically placed in the revisionist school, Dr. William Edward Burghardt DuBois, a Harvard trained historian turned professor of sociology, became one of the first to respond to the Dunning interpretation. DuBois would use available public documents to examine the work of the Freedmen's Bureau as well as that of the overall Reconstruction period. He traced the constraints on labor, the failures of land distribution, and the barriers African Americans faced in their attempt to obtain social and political rights. Although he criticized the Bureau's preoccupation with labor, he otherwise called it "…not perfect, indeed, notably defective here and there but on the whole successful beyond the dreams of thoughtful men." DuBois described the agency as a "full-fledged government of men," by which he meant that it "made laws executed them and interpreted them; it laid and collected taxes, defined and punished crimes maintained and used military force, and dictated such measures as it thought necessary and proper" (DuBois 1901).

W.E.B. DuBois recognized the racial tensions that obstructed the work of the Bureau and would continue through the twentieth century. In his essay, "The Freedmen's Bureau," and his book, *Black Reconstruction,* W.E.B. DuBois described the Freedmen's Bureau as "the most extraordinary and far-reaching institution of social uplift that American has even attempted" (DuBois 1935, vii).

Beginning around the 1950s, revisionist scholars upended the views of the Dunning school again by challenging the justifications for segregation, white superiority, and the southern "lost cause." The group of revisionists studying the Reconstruction Period include prominent scholars John and LaWanda Cox (1953), Willie Lee Rose, (1964), John Hope Franklin (1961) 2013, William McFeely, and John A. Carpenter (1999). Willie Lee Rose (1964), a protégé of the

famed historian C. Vann Woodward, responded sharply to the Dunning paradigm in her investigation of the Port Royal Experiment in *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*. In this work, Rose provided new insight into previously unstudied factors that may have motivated Congress and others in the central government to pursue specific policies of Reconstruction and highlighted the effects on African-Americans (1964). Rose too found that the Bureau exercised as much fervor for the cause of African-Americans as was feasible.

In the same year, revisionist John A. Carpenter wrote *Sword and Olive Branch*, analyzing the work of Freedmen's Bureau Commissioner O. O. Howard and concluding that the agency's work was admirable, especially as it was accomplished under difficult conditions (Carpenter 1999). Though the discussion lent a positive cast toward the Bureau, Carpenter's tone toward its work with African-Americans and the ability of Howard to conduct the plan could be described as sympathetic, yet paternal. The work of later scholars, however, would concur with Carpenter's assessment of Howard, politically, pointing to the desire for Howard to have taken a stronger stand against President Johnson to save the work of the Bureau (Stirling 2000). McFeely's study of Commissioner Howard also portrays him as a sympathetic yet paternalistic leader who led his Bureau in that manner. McFeely's opinion on Howard was that although he fell below the mark required for such a job, no one then or since has offered up a better individual for the job (McFeely 1994). His opinion falls in line with other revisionists that the Bureau and its leader lacked the capacity to achieve what amounted to, insurmountable goals.

***Post-Revisionist School and Current Scholarship***

Beginning in 1970, a post-revisionist school of scholars emerged, fueled by the fact that the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) newly had placed over a million Bureau documents on Microfilm. This post-revisionist set of scholars would not portray the

Bureau in a purely positive or purely negative light. Rather, they held the agency responsible for its flaws while recognizing that many problems faced by the Bureau were caused by Congress, President Johnson, and public opinion. Overall, this group of scholars has energized new research of the Bureau and refocused perspectives on the lives of African-Americans, women, and the influence of racism. This cadre of scholars includes Leon Litwack, Louis Gerteis, Eric Foner, Paul Cimbala, Carol Faulkner, Christopher Bean, Mary Farmer-Kaiser, Ira Berlin, Thavolia Glymph, among others. Rather than writing about the Bureau in general terms, many of these works look at areas such as field-level work of Bureau agents, the work of women, Bureau experiences in specific states, and the experiences of African-Americans.

Post-revisionist historians have begun to bring W. E. B. DuBois's work concerning the study of the Freedmen's Bureau "back in." Historian Eric Foner is one of the most well-known scholars of this group. His work concerning the Reconstruction period serves as a good foundation for post-revisionist studies of the Freedmen's Bureau. He furthered DuBois's hypothesis that the Bureau focused its policies on large part on a need to employ freed persons on farms and plantations to save the national agricultural economy. Because the forms of agricultural employment were often onerous and coercive, Bureau policy did not support the ability of freed people to become their own economic agents or to commodify their own labor. Unlike other works that portrayed the Bureau as pursuing agency survival by succumbing to local avarice and capricious behavior, Foner (1988) did not believe that Bureau officials were puppets of the southern "lost cause."

Recent work by Thomas, Healey, and Cottingham (2017, 673-704), also confirms DuBois's suspicions of the Bureau's devotion to free labor principles. The study investigated patterns of migration, especially migration directed by the Bureau by tracking the migration of

workers that sought employment (Thomas, Healey, and Cottingham 2017, 673-704). The Bureau, through its "intelligence offices," arranged employment for hundreds of people, regularly transporting them to a variety of locations and situations that were not always beneficial to them. Most workers were strongly encouraged through "free labor" contracts to work for their former owners, both to alleviate southern labor shortages and to clear the cities of unemployed freed people. What Bureau leaders ignored was that many African-Americans had experienced the process of working for hire during their enslavement, sometimes receiving a minuscule percentage as a "wage" but most often not; some slaves in urban areas like Richmond also were permitted to influence some aspects of their labor contracts (O'Brien 1978). Whether the knowledge and experience of being hired out eased or confounded some efforts of the Bureau to encourage workers to enter into voluntary labor contracts with their previous owners has not been researched for this project.

Research using Bureau records indicate that hundreds of people were transported by train to large cotton plantations throughout the deep South (Harrison 2007; Litwack 1980; Thomas, Healey, and Cottingham 2017, 673-704). The problem that Thomas, Healey, and Cottingham (2017) uncovered was that the drive toward national economic stability through free labor ignored the needs of African-Americans that went far beyond to need to work: the need to reunite families, gain an education, create rights, and pursue economic stability independent of the government or their former owners (see also DuBois 1901; DuBois 1935).

Writing in 1991, Richard Couto argued that the Bureau was a "heroic bureaucracy," a term coined and defined by Levy and Marcus (Couto 1991, 123-129). A "heroic bureaucracy" was defined as having "conducted large scale efforts to devote public resources to a significant social problem in a new manner," that makes available some benefit to groups that presently

have no access to that social benefit. Not only had the agency attempted to deliver "explicit compensation for past inequality… for a subordinate group," but it also served as a prototype that New Deal designers attended to in framing later agencies as in the case of the Farm Security Administration (a New Deal agency that provided aid to sharecroppers and tenant farmers) and later the Office of Health Affairs (Office of Economic Opportunity) (Couto 1991).

Thavolia Glymph, illustrating notions of the "heroic bureaucracy" in her work, framed the Freedmen's Bureau officers as mediators who drew on public resources as a means of keeping the peace between freed people and the southern citizenry who opposed them (Glymph 2008; Couto 1991). She draws parallels between the Bureau (specifically pointing to its function as protector) as a "heroic" mediator and later instances (in Europe) in which a state military served as a barrier between marginalized populations and residents who victimized them (Glymph 2008).

Robert Lieberman's study suggests a connection between the Bureau's organizational structure of the Bureau and institutional forces. In a study of the Bureau's institutional structure, Lieberman found that over time, that structure ultimately affected its effectiveness. Lieberman considered that the second Freedmen's Bureau Act mandated the reduction of military support but increased function and responsibility. In addition to the mandate of the Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1866 (14 Stat. 173-177, section 12-13), Johnson's Reconstruction Plan effectively obliterated the military presence across the southern states, forcing Bureau Commissioner Howard to depend upon civilians to staff the Bureau. As civilians began to replace military personnel, the Bureau's civilian positions became more politicized, allowing patronage in hiring to grow. Lieberman also found that the increase in funds and authority provided by the second Freedmen's Bureau Act was matched with an increase in responsibility, making it hard for the

Bureau to perform its function and hastening its demise (Lieberman 1994). The Bureau was not hampered from protecting civil rights because of a lack of political will, but rather a lack of institutional will and capacity to resist local racialized norms and patterns (Lieberman 1994). Lieberman also demonstrated that the Bureau's ability to facilitate its education policy did not suffer despite organizational changes because it capitalized on the "private capacity" of churches and church-supported aid organizations (Lieberman 1994). This dissertation explores how the implementation of education policy was accomplished through the combined efforts of churches, aid organizations, and the Freedmen's Bureau. According to Lieberman and Lapinski (2001), "a historical-institutionalist approach that focuses on the clash of interests, ideologies, interests, and politicians and on the federal bargains that emerge will better capture the contingency of federal arrangement."

More targeted studies serve to illuminate the overwhelming issues that Bureau personnel faced. William Richter (1992) and Christopher Bean (2008) conducted studies of Bureau agents in Texas. Their research provided a picture of agents attempting to work in one of the most hostile environments as compared to the conditions experienced by agents in other states. Bean noted that the sub-assistant commissioners who were responsible for regions within states worked directly with individuals; they were the face of the agency. From their actions, people concluded the character of the agency. Secondly, the social and political environment in which a Bureau office was located greatly impacted the ability of an agent to implement policy.

Richter (1992) describes the difficulties that arose as agents feared for their lives when enforcing the law. Employers might respond with violence when required to abide by the conditions of a labor contract (which typically would require payment, freedom to travel, and the provision of resources) (Richter 1992). Death threats were common for those participating in or

assisting African-Americans that were attempting to vote (Richter 1992). Some Bureau agents lost their lives in the course of their duties. Although these studies focus solely on Texas, when these studies are placed together with Rose's earlier study on the Sea Islands, Randy Finley's work on the Bureau in Arkansas, and Paul Cimbala's studies of the Georgia Bureau, they create a picture of why Bureau agents may have had difficulty implementing policy and what they did to compensate (Bean 2016; Rose 1964; Finley 1996; Cimbala 1999).

Historian Chandra Manning maintains that a moderate view of the Bureau is best, stating that a perspective that either completely positive or entirely negative, misses the point that Bureau was doing something new with flawed people under challenging conditions (Manning 2017). Paul Cimbala also espouses a more moderate view, presenting the Bureau as an agency constrained by limited funding, limited authority, and a vague policy mandate (Cimbala 1999). The lack of presidential support, inconsistent congressional appropriations, and little or no power to "command a legitimacy" hampered the Bureau's ability to implement its full range tasks (Cimbala 1999). John Bickers summarized the perspective of post-revisionist Bureau scholarship: "The failures of the Freedmen's Bureau to achieve its goals fully and accomplish its duties perfectly do not take away from the extraordinary innovations inherent in its very existence" (Bickers 2006).

*Legal Interpretations of the Bureau*

Bickers (2006) explains from a Constitutional perspective, the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau. Bickers (2006, 81) observed that the different "experiments" which the Army engaged in at different locations (including Port Royal, Davis Bend, and Fort Monroe) caused angst for the organizations that serviced the different needs at different locations. Bickers's contribution is an in-depth discussion of the arguments that occurred in Congress over the constitutionality of

the Bureau. Studying these arguments helped to elucidate the predicament Bureau officers found themselves in as they attempted to implement policy (Bickers 2006). Graber (2016) also weighs in the legal importance of the Freedmen's Bureau. He emphasizes that although the Civil Rights Act of 1866 imbued African-Americans with civil rights, the Freedmen's Bureau Acts (which created the Freedmen's Bureau agency) provided the goods and services associated with civil rights and civil liberties, including education and economic freedom (Graber 2006, 1364). Graber argued that Republicans understood those goods and services to be "land as the good and education as the service that would enable persons of color to avoid dependency and enable them to exercise intelligently the rights of full citizens" (Graber 2006, 1385).

**Perspectives on Church-Supported Organizations that Partnered with the Bureau**

Historians have written a great deal about the lead organizations and churches that characterized the Freedmen's Aid movement (Faulkner 2010; Drake 1963; Montgomery 1993; Richardson 1986; Farmer-Kaiser 2010). In the 1940s and 1950s, historians began to chronicle the work of church-supported aid organizations that participated in the freedmen's aid movement. Oliver Heckman chronicled the development of Quakers with respect to their participation in the anti-slavery movement as well as in the formation of freedmen's aid organizations such the Friends' Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia, which was comprised of a central organization that networked with Friends' women's societies as well as Friends' Societies abroad (Heckman 1946). Historian Huw David found that Friends' Societies existed in Britain and the American colonies and had established a transnational anti-slave trade "advocacy network" in the late 1700s, much earlier than previously noted by Keck and Sikkink (Keck and Sikkink 1999).

Work by historian Richard Drake (1963) provides a look at the freedmen's aid movement from a political and organizational stance. From society publications, Drake inferred reasons for organizational solidarity with the Bureau, as well as why even the staunchest supporters of freed people eventually compromised their missions (Drake 1963). The cross-pollination of government officials into aid society work also helped to increase and support the success of the Bureau-societal collaboration in building schools for freedmen and refugees. Butchart (1980) further argued that because of the size of its operation across the South as well as its close relationships with government officials who attended the Congregational church, the American Missionary Association received the most Freedmen's Bureau funding, owing to the numerous institutions in its charge.

Over time, Drake (1963) argued, aid societies began to fall prey to a number of conditions including donor fatigue, fear of terrorism, becoming weary of the cause, and a desire to conform to southern sensibilities. This situation led most organizations to abandon the cause, pursue other missions, or modify their mission to one that did not oppose southern norms. Churches likewise followed this pattern and also sought to merge with southern branches or modify their missions (Drake 1963).

More recent work by Lorien Foote (2003), chronicling the life of Francis George Shaw, one of the most prominent organization leaders of the time, recognizes the conflicts that frequently occurred between charitable organizations as they worked side by side across the southern states, citing religious differences and differences in vision.

Carol Faulkner (2010) looks at the contributions of women in the freedmen's aid movement. Women, most often serving as the "street-level bureaucrats" (Lipsky 1980) of the movement, served as nurses, aid workers, and teachers. Faulkner features their efforts in the

freedmen's aid movement. Faulkner highlights their need to encourage a national apology for slavery and thus pursue methods for supporting education and material support. This mission differed from that of their male counterparts, who generally sought to secure economic rights, getting people back to work, and earning a living (Faulkner 2010).

Books written by Ronald Butchart (1980, 2010) provide some information about the centrality of teachers in aid society work and their connections to the organizations that sponsored them. In his second work, Butchart (2010) argues that the impact of northern teachers (and therefore, northern organizations) is overstated. Using reports, narratives, and letters, Butchart (2010) constructs a picture where many African-American teachers (46.8%) as white teachers taught. Northern white teachers appeared to remain in the south for shorter tenures than African-American teachers (northern or local) of whom a substantial number taught without organizational support (Butchart 2010). His overall argument illuminates the many contributions of African-American teachers and highlights boundaries that were approached and sometimes crossed between race, religion, class, and politics in Reconstruction-era education in the south. (Butchart 2010). Michael Bernath (2018) examines teachers who had taught in the antebellum south, at plantations or a separate schools and academies. It is important to note about these teachers, is that his data showed that of the 503 teachers that have arrived in the South from 1800-1860, at least 100 remained after the beginning of the war (Bernath 2018).

Butchart's *Schooling the Freed People* (2010), which illustrates the centrality of teachers to the freedmen's aid movement, recognizes that the majority of teachers in the south were African-American and that they often taught in independently run schools. Others worked in conjunction with various churches and aid societies. Butchart (2010) highlighted the fact that African-American teachers found it difficult to obtain accreditation through organizations; most

organizations, especially when some organizations rarely accredited African-American teachers (more on this in Chapter 5). Lorien Foote (2003) provides evidence that one of the prominent organizations in the freedmen's aid movement, the American Freedmen's Union Commission (AFUC), supported as often as possible, African-American teachers such that one-third of teachers employed by the AFUC were African-American (more on this organization in Chapter 4). Rosen (2009) indicates that some African-American teachers experiencing violence and harassment at the hands of local terrorists, found the Bureau indifferent and sometimes complicit in the violence, adding to their distrust of government intervention.

Few studies illuminate the work of black organizations and individuals during the Reconstruction period. Carol Faulkner highlights the work of the African Civilization Society, one of several black organizations which maintained several schools in Virginia and Washington D.C., offered social assistance, and facilitated employment (Faulkner 2000). Faulkner's article on the African Civilization Society is one of the few stories that help create a fuller picture of African-American self-efficacy during Reconstruction (Faulkner 2000).

## Perspectives on Race

King and Smith observe that the field of political science has not described the impact of race across political institutions (King and Smith 2005) adequately. They surmise that there are opposing racial orders, a dominant racial order that is always supported by sets of institutions that undergird its continuance and provide mechanisms for the "taken for grantedness" or normative "feel" (King and Smith 2005). The dominant racial order, therefore, becomes "the default" and serves as a component of the foundational component of authority, legitimacy, and identity of institutional orders (King and Smith 2005).

King and Smith define “racial institutional orders” as institutional orders “in which political actors have adopted (or adapted) racial concepts, commitments, and aims, in order to help bind together their coalitions and structure governing institutions that express and serve the interests of their architects (King and Smith 2005). They infer that order “members” have varied motives for supporting the racial order, which may be economic, power-seeking, social, or ideological (King and Smith 2005).

King and Smith’s argument informs us that the racial institutional orders framework helps explain issues that appear unrelated to race but determine mobilization of “transformative egalitarian orders” which can account for positive institutional, or political change (King and Smith 2005). In this study, King and Smith’s theory may explain, for example, deep-seated views of African-Americans as inferior and therefore destined to occupy a particular caste, that in turn led to ideas about the type of education that they offered as well as who was most qualified to provide the education. Alternatively, the presence of “transformative egalitarian orders” may help explain the actions of leaders and educators (as sponsors, defenders, and collaborators) who supported self-efficacy and independence in education, social, economic, and political arenas.

Karen Fields and Barbara Fields (2012) provide an innovative approach to explaining the construct of race based on the historical construction of race. They trace the impact of social caste systems based on labor, culture, and later color, on social, political, and economic systems in America (Fields and Fields 2012). They provide a compelling case for race to be understood as a socially constructed idea that can be apprehended to serve the interests of policy-makers.

Race, as it is now understood in the Fields’s explanation, can be understood as a mix of fact and fiction that continues to generate great discord in the United States.

## Gaps in the Literature

Bryson Crosby and Stone (2015) reviewed several studies on collaboration and observed four categories of collaboration outcomes that included public value, after-effects, resilience and reassessment, and accountability. This dissertation examines the historical case of an extinct agency and therefore provides an opportunity to survey collaborative arrangements of short-lived organizations from beginning to end. Several studies that concern the Freedmen's Bureau have examined outcomes, but only the outcomes of the Bureau itself or the outcome of its policies such as labor, justice, and land policies. Several have examined education, but those studies usually consider the work of individual organizations, teachers, or the learning community. Few studies have examined the education policy that was shaped by collaborative partnerships (Butchart 1980; Butchart 2010).

### *Resource Dependency*

Oliver's (1991) assertion that organizations that exhibit resource dependencies may increase organizational survival by acquiescing to external environmental pressures and forming extra-organizational arrangements may explain the behavior of the Bureau as well as the complex and uneven behavior of the aid organizations with which it collaborated. Oliver's extended definition of resource dependency theory, however, focuses primarily upon the economic reasons for coordination but is less helpful in explaining social and political motives for collaboration, which surely abound in the case of the Freedmen's Bureau.

### *Institutional Logics*

Although institutional logics theory may explain the norms and values that motivated some of the decision making involved in the Bureau's school policy implementation, it is less helpful in explaining the concept of race that undergirded that decision-making process as well

as the complex educational patterns throughout the south toward the latter years of Reconstruction. Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) seek to address issues of race and gender as they pertain to institutional logics when they suggest that there is "a universal or isomorphic effect of white male domination across institutional orders and societies." Within their institutional orders matrix, they add race as a "source of identity" (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012). Further understanding could help explore cases such as the Freedmen's Bureau that involve race, ethnicity, and regional differences.

***Race and Racial Orders***

A framework built upon institutional logics as described above, however, is incomplete where the social construct of race is concerned. Theories of race and racial identity may be more helpful in this regard. Sociologists Omi and Winant (1986), defining the racialized nature of the American state, argue that racialized groups excluded from the state begin from that excluded place by practicing social, economic, and pseudo-political identities without engaging the state until they achieve political and social capital that provides a position to be able to do so. This process forms a basis for transforming definitions of social, economic, and political citizenship that are not already afforded to them (Omi and Winant 1986).

African-Americans not only sought freedom but independence and political, economic, and social rights. In the process of possessing freedom, independence, and rights, they established separate institutions such as private schools, churches, mutual aid societies, and businesses, and professional organizations, and established ways of knowing that fulfilled what Omi and Winant (1986) define as social, economic, and pseudo-political identities.

For this study, there was a need to determine a theoretical lens from which to interpret race in the age of emancipation in America. Historical context is essential for an understanding

of the societal and political thinking that formed policy. Some of the rhetoric that would have been considered to have moderately racist tones by contemporary standards would have, in that period, reflected radical sympathies toward people of color.

## Framework

Although ample evidence supports the view that the national government used extra-organizational arrangements frequently during the nineteenth century, most research focuses on the earlier and latter part of the nineteenth century (Stivers 1995; Bertelli and Lynn 2006). Because less is understood about the extra-organizational arrangements occurring during the Civil War and the Reconstruction period, more research in this area is needed. Further, it is helpful to examine an extinct agency in which inter-organizational relationships proved successful. It appears that the Freedmen's Bureau sought to collaborate with church-supported aid organizations to obtain, and even perhaps gain control over resources and expand capacity, but the question remains as to why those specific collaborative arrangements developed.

The aim of this study is twofold. First, this research attempts to examine the inter-organizational relationships between the Bureau and church-supported aid organizations. Secondly, the research seeks to explain the consequences of those inter-organizational relationships and the effects on southern education policy implementation. The goal is to offer a framework that explains past extra-organizational relationships and balances the mechanical vision of resource dependency with the new (historical) institutionalist approaches, including institutional logics, and critical perspectives on race.

This project will examine antecedents and initial conditions, how relationships developed, and the consequences of collaborative relationships that were attempted by a controversial agency under the particularly turbulent conditions of the Civil War and its

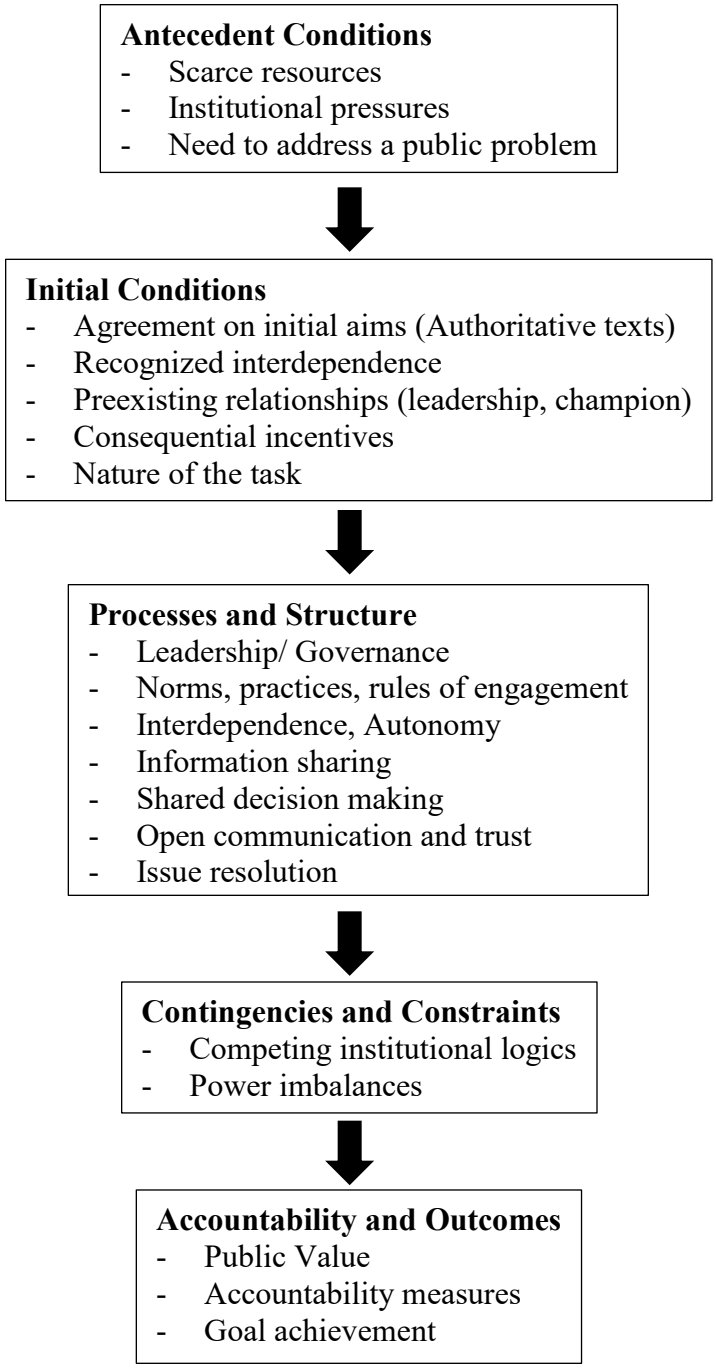
aftermath. Because this is a historical study, the theories provide guidelines and patterns for study. The theory of resource dependency will be drawn upon to explain that organizations enter into inter-organizational relationships in order reduce uncertainty and resolve resource dependencies, both of which were present for the Freedmen's Bureau as they navigated uncharted territory. The institutional logics framework will be drawn upon to explain the factors that influenced particular cooperative relationships between aid organizations and the Bureau.

It is helpful to examine the successful cooperative efforts of an extinct agency, as it provides knowledge about historical collaborations from the initial conditions through to its end. In this case, education policy implemented through the collaborative efforts involving the Bureau has remained the important legacy of the Freedmen's Bureau. The frameworks for cross-sector collaboration (Thomson and Perry 2006; Crosby and Bryson 2010; Bryson, Crosby, and Stone 2015) will be drawn upon to understand the initial conditions that lead to collaborative arrangements. Specifically, the components outlined by the work of Thomson and Perry (2006), and Crosby and Bryson (2010) which includes the investigation of the institutional environment, prior relationships, and problem agreement appear to be most applicable to the model of collaboration that occurred between federal agencies (the War Department and the Treasury Department) and church-supported charitable organizations.

The consequences of the working relationships between the Bureau and aid organizations will draw on the frameworks above (Thomson and Perry 2006; McNamara 2012 and Bryson, Crosby, and Stone 2015). Outcomes will be determined by the indication of accountability measures, the achievement of goals, and the creation of public value. In this case, outcome and accountability would be determined by the data and rhetoric of the public records of the Bureau and its cooperating organizations. Figure 1 on the next page illustrates how the attributes of

collaboration frameworks will be combined for this project (Thomson and Perry 2006; McNamara 2012 and Bryson, Crosby, and Stone 2015).

Figure 1: Interorganizational relationship framework
(based on collaborative process frameworks)
Adapted from Bryson, Crosby, Stone (2015), Thomson and Perry (2006), McNamara



# CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

## Research Design

The purpose of this project is to study the relationships between the Freedmen's Bureau in Virginia and the various church-supported aid organizations as they pursued the implementation of schooling throughout Virginia. The first part of this chapter will outline aspects of the research design and the rationale for taking that approach. The setting for this project and the sources of the data used will also be discussed in this section. In the second part of this chapter, the methods for collecting data (historical documents), coding, and analysis will be outlined. The chapter will end with a discussion of bias and limitations present in this project.

This qualitative project depends upon archival research methods (Ventresca and Mohr 2018) supported by textual analysis (Wadhwani and Decker 2018; Ventresca and Mohr 2017). Wadhwani and Decker (2018) provide a rationale for investigating historical institutional and organization data. The issue of interpretation, they assert, may be answered using narrative analysis involving categorizing text segments by theme and allowing themes to emerge from the textual data which was repeatedly examined (Franczosi 1998). Another rationale for using this research design lay in the work of Giddens (1987), in Ventresca and Mohr (2001, 3), who associated written communication with power in the context of administration; the written word has been essential to the evolution of organizational systems. Written documents originally were invented in response to the need to count, survey, prescribe, and control all activity of others across both time and space (Goody 1986, Latour 1987; Ventresca 1995 in Ventresca and Mohr 2017) and have evolved to become "the most distinctive quality of organizational life" (Ventresca and Mohr 2017, 3).

***Setting***

The study focused on the activities of the Freedmen's Bureau within the Commonwealth of Virginia. Most of the research about the Bureau that already has been conducted is in Georgia, Texas, Florida, South Carolina, and Arkansas, or the District of Columbia. These studies often center on the roles played by prominent individuals or portrayals of the work done by organizations in their effort to help African-Americans (Bean 2008; Carpenter 1999; Cimbala 1999; Rose 1964). Although research has been conducted that examines education in Virginia (Thorp 2017), the existing literature does not focus on public-private collaboration. This dissertation investigates the inter-organizational relationships that facilitated the establishment of schools throughout Virginia before 1870.

Historically, Virginia is important to study because it served as the center of the Confederacy. Richmond was the capital of the Confederacy. In addition, Virginia became the first state to establish a Reconstruction government, and one of the first southern states to institute publicly-funded education. Document examination showed that more organizations established schools in Virginia than in any other state (Number of Schools and List of Patrons as reported by State Superintendents January 31, 1867).[2]

This dissertation surveyed the geographic area that is aligned with the present-day boundaries of the Commonwealth of Virginia. It must be noted that, before 1867, the Freedmen's Bureau District of Columbia district encompassed specific localities within Maryland, West Virginia, and Delaware, as well as the northern Virginia counties of Alexandria, Loudon,

[2] United States Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Record Group 105, Roll 13, "Number of Schools and List of Patrons as reported by State Superintendents, Miscellaneous Unregistered Letters, June 1865 - 1871," Image 351 of 1439, January 31, 1867.

Fairfax, and Arlington. By March of 1867, however, boundaries had changed; Loudon, Fairfax, and Alexandria were transferred to the authority of the Freedmen's Bureau Assistant Commissioner of Virginia.

The administration of the Virginia Bureau was composed of a headquarters in Richmond, Virginia (supervised by the Assistant Commissioner), associated departments, and included ten district offices (managed by sub-assistant commissioners), and fifty-nine sub-district offices (supervised by assistant sub-assistant commissioners, also called agents) ("Mapping the Freedmen's Bureau" n.d.). The Virginia Superintendent of Schools led the Education Division in Virginia, and for a short time in 1865-1866, a State School Inspector. District headquarters were located at the following municipalities: Alexandria, Fort Monroe, Fredericksburg, Gordonsville, Lynchburg, Norfolk, Petersburg, Richmond, Winchester, and Wytheville. Approximately twenty church-supported charitable organizations located in Virginia. Most maintained their headquarters in northern states including New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.

***Data sources***

The units of analyses are the connections or relationships each organization formed with officials of the Freedmen's Bureau. Both primary and secondary sources were used in this project. The primary sources for the project were in the form of archived records that included letters, periodicals, speeches, manuscripts, and reports were examined. Secondary sources included historical databases and interactive historical maps, as well as books and journal articles. Each set of records held by the National Archives included a document that provided a description as well as a guide on where to locate specific records within each set. Most of the descriptive guides, directories, and descriptive listings concerning Bureau records provided by NARA archivists (called finding aids), were written in 1972-1973, the NARA archivists who

compiled and microfilmed the records stated in those findings aids that the “major activities” of the Freedmen’s Bureau in Virginia were similar to those within other states. More recent historical research conducted on state-level Bureau activities in Texas, Arkansas, and Georgia illuminates differences in state and local Bureau practices between states (Cimbala 1999, Bean 2008, Richter 1992). Studies of state and local Bureau practices are useful to determine similarity and differences in policy implementation practices and the effects of Bureau policy implementation. Freedmen’s Bureau records used for this project are listed in Table 1.

Table 1: Freedmen's Bureau records used in project

| Freedmen's Bureau General Records | Indicators of working relationship |
|---|---|
| **Records of the Assistant Commissioner, Virginia, 1865-1872 (M1048)**<br>- Unregulated letters and telegrams received, northern charitable societies, May 1865-Jan 1869, roll 36<br>- Letters sent to General Howard, name index, June 1865-Dec 1868, roll 2<br>- Roll 59, Records relating to murders and outrages, register of outrages committed on freedmen, Jan-Dec 1868<br>- Roll 59, Records relating to murders and outrages, statements relating to abuses of freedmen in Richmond, June 1865 | Letters specifically exchanged between society personnel and Bureau officials<br>- Letters of introductions -communication<br>- Requests for information, resources, and assistance<br>- This record set included some letters exchanged between General Orlando Brown (Assistant Commissioner, Virginia) and Commissioner Howard pertaining to organizations and schools<br>- From this set of records, reports used illustrated some of the difficulties school attendants and managers faced in establishing and maintaining schools, most of the records were not related to school incidents |
| **Records of the Commissioner (1865-1872)**<br>• Registers and Letter Received (M752)<br>- Registers and Indexes, rolls 1-11<br>- Letters Received, rolls 13-74<br>- Letters Sent<br>• Selected Series (M742)<br>- Endorsements and Letters Sent, rolls 1-6<br>- Circulars, Rolls 7 | - From this set of records, letters and circulars used specifically pertained to exchanges between Commissioner Howard and the President, legislators, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, Bureau officials, and aid society personnel and others related with the cause as indicated.<br>- Circulars were delivered to each district or sub-district officer, to their subordinates, meant to read widely throughout the Bureau (depending on the subject), and sometimes to the public (or specifically freedmen) as well. |
| **Virginia, Freedmen's Bureau Field Office Records, 1865-1872. 1865-1872 (M1913).** | These records included letters and other documents pertaining to individual districts/ sub-districts. Some letters specific to education and organizations were written between Bureau agents, and their counterparts in other districts, or their supervisors (state and federal officials). |

This project focused on elementary and secondary education, as well as some higher education programs that trained teachers, comprised of one or two years of education beyond high school. Teacher education programs, that were included in the sample were those that were add-on programs situated within High Schools, called "Normal Departments." Colleges, universities, Normal Schools, Theological Institutes, and Seminaries were not considered for this dissertation. Higher education institutions were omitted because most of them were supported wholly by churches and church-supported charitable organizations (not collaborative efforts) and because these institutions represented education for a small percentage of people. In the vicinity of the Commonwealth of Virginia, two universities, mentioned only briefly, were established as collaborative efforts between the Freedmen's Bureau and charitable organizations, namely Howard University in Washington D.C., and Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia.

The records of the Education Division, headquarters in the District of Columbia, included records about how schools were managed, and by whom, and with what means. The education division set of documents included records of Education Division headquarters, as well as the education division offices associated with each state. Relevant records from both the headquarters office and the Virginia office were analyzed to examined to determine collaborative activity between the Bureau and charitable organizations. The documents that were analyzed, included monthly school reports that had been submitted by teachers, organization personnel, district agents, and state education superintendents. These reports are listed in Table 2 on the next page.

Table 2: Freedmen's Bureau Education Division records used in project

| Bureau Records Related to Education | Indicators |
|---|---|
| **Records of the Superintendent of Education and of the Division of Education (M803)**<br>- Virginia, monthly and other school reports, July 1865-Dec 1870, roll 32<br>- Consolidated Monthly Statistical Reports, Oct 1866-June 1870, roll 33<br>- Miscellaneous Summary reports, Oct 1868-June 1869, roll 35<br>- Synopses of school reports, vol 1-2, Jan 1867-Jan 1870, roll 33<br>- Schedules of schools and rental accounts, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and **Virginia**, Sept 1867-Dec 1870, roll 35<br>- Letters Sent, rolls 1-5<br>- Letters Received, rolls 5-14 | - Sponsoring organization/individual for each school<br>- Tracking of school building ownership<br>- Tracking of number of schools in a Virginia district<br>- Type of school (day, night, sabbath, high school, normal school/dept.)<br>- Indication of organizational autonomy<br>- Form submission indicated receipt of rental payment and presence of funding relationship<br>- Letters related to the management of schools indicated information sharing, decision-making, and resource distribution |
| **Records of the Superintendent of Education and of the Division of Education, Records from Virginia (M1053)**<br>- Teachers Monthly School Report, April 1870-June 1871, roll 20<br>- Inspection Reports of Inspector of Schools, March 1866-April 1866, Roll 13<br>- State Superintendent's Monthly Statistical School Reports, July 1865-June 1870, roll 11<br>- State Superintendent's Monthly School Reports, Apr 1869-June 1870, roll 11<br>- Monthly Statistical School Reports of District Superintendents, July 1865-April 1869, Jan. 1870, roll 12<br>- | - Specific name of school sponsor indicated (to confirm)<br>- Building Ownership (to confirm)<br>- School location (to confirm)<br>- Type of school (day, night, sabbath, high school, normal school/dept.)<br>- Form submission indicated potential funding relationship<br>- Tracking of number of schools in a Virginia district<br>- Sponsoring organization/individual for each school |

An overall narrative report was submitted by the Bureau superintendent to the Commissioner bi-annually. Monthly, each state education superintendent submitted tabulated consolidated school reports to the Bureau Education Superintendent. Data from the monthly tabulated reports were transcribed and compiled into spreadsheets. The "Consolidated Monthly Statistical Reports" contained monthly data on the type of school (day, evening, high/normal, or Sabbath), the location of schools (district and town/city), the number of schools per location, the source of school support, curriculum and educational progress (by school subject such as geometry, arithmetic, reading, etc.), educator and pupil demographics, and pupil attendance. State education superintendents compiled school data from local and district reports into a "State Superintendent's Statistical Monthly School Report" which they submitted to the Bureau's Education Division. In 1865, officials reported a list of schools, teachers, number of students, and location. In 1866, monthly reports were submitted on printed forms. Reports contained data that included the number of schools per district by type; the cost of teacher transportation; the monthly cost for supporting schools (by all parties); the number of schools that supported freedmen (in whole or in part); the number of schools supported by the Freedmen's Bureau; teacher and pupil demographics; enrollments; an estimate of the number of unregulated schools; and the number of pupils involved in various aspects of the curriculum (alphabet, easy or advanced reading, arithmetic, geography, writing, needlework). Monthly school reports from district superintendents (1869) included the same demographic information as the state monthly reports but were often accompanied by a list of teacher names, and surveys. Organization personnel and state superintendents were asked to submit paperwork that accounted for school funding and support.

First, I wanted to know what organizations were listed as school supporters. On a line in the Superintendent's Monthly School Report, organizations that supported schools were listed by name; another column listed whether the Bureau or African-Americans provided or built the school. Besides education records, the other primary source materials I used to detect the presence of collaborative activity included agency reports, letters, manuscripts, archival church records, archived periodicals from specified charitable organizations, historical newspapers, and personal journals. Letters and manuscripts were drawn from various manuscript collections including the letter collections of President Lincoln, Edward Pierce, John Eaton, Major General Oliver Howard, and leaders of the various charitable organizations. I also obtained data by examining newsletters and journals published by organizations and churches.

Additionally, relevant papers and letters from political elites were surveyed, including those of Major General Oliver Howard (Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau), Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, President Abraham Lincoln, and President Andrew Johnson. Records from the *Congressional Globe* for the 38th to 40th Congresses ("the Reconstruction Congress") also were examined to determine the policy agenda and directives. As much as possible, evidence was triangulated to improve accuracy.

Microfilm of Freedmen's Bureau records has been publicly accessible since 1979 at the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). To increase accessibility, NARA has collaborated with the genealogy organization *FamilySearch* (2009) and, more recently, with the National Museum of African American History and Culture (June 20, 2016) to provide online access to an increasing number of scanned files of Freedmen's Bureau records. Even though there are millions of documents available, the entire record of the Freedmen's Bureau is incomplete. Some records were lost during the transport from each local Bureau office to the

Adjutant General's office. Despite the loss of records, over two million records remain in the collection. To understand the rationale for the communication that took place, not only were primary records from the Freedmen's Bureau collection of records utilized but also periodicals and reports written by organizations were examined. These records included reports articles, periodicals, meeting minutes, and letters, both private and public. Coding (explained in the following section) helped determine if rhetorical patterns were present that pointed to the presence of collaborative relationships.

## Methods

### *Data Collection*

The data for this project were historical documents including letters, reports, official military communications, manuscripts from speeches, meeting minutes, and archived periodicals. Document collection began with obtaining document images, hard-copy documents, and Microfilmed documents. Documents were gathered, organized, and categorized by date, sender, receiver, and document content using Microsoft File Explorer, Excel, and the software Atlas -Ti8. The software, Atlas-Ti8 facilitated categorization of documents by theme in order to understand as well as visualize connections between organizations and individuals, and recurrences of keywords and phrases related to school location, number of schools, and school support.

Documents obtained from online databases and depositories, and on Microfilm were transcribed into Word or Excel files. Most of the primary documents had been hand-written, but not all were original. The Freedmen's Bureau collection was composed of either endorsed originals, "fair-copies," or "press-copies." A "fair copy" is a transcribed document, whereas a "press-copy" was created by dampening an original document and pressing it onto another piece

of paper or parchment (often resulting in an unreadable document). Depending upon the level of readability, documents were transcribed, retained for the metadata, or omitted from the sample if entirely unreadable. Where necessary, metadata was taken from collection indexes, as not all indexed letters (where indexes were available) were present in the collection. When possible, I used this information as an initial coding exercise to determine whether to include the letter in the sample. Relevant documents were downloaded if immediate transcription was not feasible. Where immediate transcription was possible, the document was transcribed and filed. The archived records of the Freedmen's Bureau helped determine the organizational processes within the Bureau. Because the focus of the project was to determine whether the Bureau collaborated with religious organizations, organizational documents (reports and articles from organization periodicals of the AFUC, the AMA, the Friends, and other organizations) were used along with organization correspondence with Bureau officials, found in Bureau records, as well as in individual collections.

***Operational Definitions***

The units of analysis are the relationships that formed between officials at the state headquarters of the Bureau in Richmond, sub-assistant commissioners who managed the ten Virginia Bureau regional headquarters, and sixty-nine Bureau agents (assistant sub-assistant commissioners), some twenty church-supported charitable organizations, as well as individual activities where applicable. In order to examine the presence of relationship attributes in the communications between Bureau officials and organization personnel, I used the description of collaboration continuum (lack of relationship, cooperation, coordination, and collaboration discussed in Chapter 2 (Bryson, Crosby, and Stone 2006; Thomson and Perry 2006; Keast, Brown and Mandell 2007; McNamara 2012; Crosby and Bryson 2010; Bryson, Crosby, and

Stone 2015). In order to examine whether a process of collaboration occurred, I used a framework (Figure 1) based on the work of Bryson, Crosby, and Stone (2006), Thomson and Perry (2006), Keast, Brown and Mandell (2007), McNamara (2012, Crosby and Bryson (2010), and Bryson, Crosby, and Stone (2015). The frameworks proposed by the scholars mentioned above will be used to ascertain whether the Bureau and its contributing partners engaged in like activities.

***Coding***

Through memos, letters, reports, periodicals, and other textual communication, much can be learned about organizational culture, practice, structure, and locus of power (Ventresca and Mohr 2017). Because this investigation involved exploring the connections made between individuals from church-supported charitable organizations and individuals in the Freedmen's Bureau, it relied upon metadata associated with the letters and the letters writers, including dates, and locations. Use of metadata supplied social and geographic information that supported a basic understanding of the communications that occurred between Freedmen's Bureau officials and organization officials, as well as intra-organizational communication (Edelstein, Findlen, Ceserani, Winterer, and Coleman, 2017).

Atlas-Ti-8 was used to visualize partnership connections between the various non-profit organizations and the Freedmen's Bureau, as well as between non-profit organizations (Edelstein, Findlen, Ceserani, Winterer, and Coleman 2017). Information that was gained by textual analysis is used in fashioning the narrative according to Wadhwani and Decker's (2018) method. They recommend a method for historical organization research that includes: reportage (criticizing and triangulating the source), explanation (contextualization, periodization, narrative construction), understanding (understanding the actor and actions), and evaluation for

understanding (Wadhwani and Decker 2018). Reading documents written by people from various perspectives allowed some indication of the appropriate use of terms during the period. Using pattern deduction helped to target specific types of vocabulary. Many terms (racial, gender, class) are considered inappropriate for modern ears, but indicated a passion for equality for the period. Where letters were concerned, particular issues were paid attention such as power relationships involved between letter writer and letter receiver or perspectives and tone that were present because often the letter writer was often a clerk or subordinate transcribing a letter (Wadhwani and Decker 2018). The narrative will house the "data" and results of the study, using Wadhwani and Decker's model of describing and analyzing the evidence (2018).

*General Coding Schemes*

Initially, I categorized documents according to type (letter, report, education report, article, mission statements, speech, government communication, or manuscript, date, source, and content, sender and receiver, then categorized according to organization association or by Bureau official, if relevant. Documents were then coded according to content as shown in Table 3, below, by whether it was a request, whether information or resources were shared, or whether it involved a discussion of a problem. Lastly, documents, especially recurrent letters between individuals were examined, over time, to detect whether cooperation had developed between writers and their respective organizations.

Table 3: General coding scheme

| Codes | |
|---|---|
| **Codes / Code Categories** | **Code Indicators** |
| Cooperation | Codes indicating inter-organizational relationship actions |
| Requests/needs | This code group indicates needs and resolutions |
| Decisions | This code is associated with dialogs on issues and resolutions |
| Providing support | Indicates that request was resolved |
| Mission/Vision/beliefs | Code group: uplift, elevation, free labor, state control |
| Organization officials | This code group includes codes for the names of organization officials (ex. Whipple, Shaw, Cheney, McKim, Garrett, Rhoads, Abbott, Warner, Stevenson, Shearman) |
| Bureau officials | This code group includes codes for the names of Bureau /Government officials (ex. Howard, Manly, Brown, Alvord) |
| Other key individuals | Codes include names of African-American leaders, church leaders (ex. Douglass, Garnet, Truth, Cope, H. Wilson, |
| Key Government officials | Codes: Lincoln, Johnson, Stanton, Chase |

***Analysis***

Reay and Jones (2016) offer a method of textual analysis in which a range of coding techniques reveal the presence of institutional logics through symbols, practices, values, and norms (Reay and Jones 2016). Ocasio, Loewenstein, and Nigam (2015) provide the rationale for textual analysis in organizational studies. They investigate how communication can solidify or change institutional logics with a theoretical framework that proposes that various streams of communication are the primary means by which the material practices, as well as cultural symbols (institutional logics), are formed, extended, or even changed (Ocasio, Loewenstein, and Nigam 2015).

By providing a means to measure institutional logics, Reay and Jones (2016) call specific attention to the contextual nature of institutional logics. To determine the presence of content analysis of the documents involved two of the three textual data capturing techniques: both top-down (pattern deducing) and ground-up (pattern inducing) methods aimed at assessing evident

institutional logics within organizations and the organizational environment (Reay and Jones 2016; Krippendorf 2004). The pattern deducing coding process allows for a higher level of objectivity as words, practices, names, concepts become categorical items; allowing for the identification of relevant versus irrelevant data. Software (Atlas TI-8) was also used to detect patterns associated with education, organization, funding patterns, and collaboration. I searched documents for each writer's choice of word forms in each document set, and indicated collaboration (cooperate, support); funding and other resources (rent, repair, sum, appropriation, building, materials); organization and structure (organize, systematize, meeting, obtain a situation or position); education (education, curricular terms, school, skills, teaching).

Although documents had been categorized with a code "vision/mission/beliefs" (pattern deducing) to generally detect terms related to institutions and logics, I found that pattern deducing was not helpful to detect institutional logics. Information in narrative reports and letters could not easily be distilled into codes. In lieu of pattern deducing, pattern inducing was used to detect patterns of institutional logics. Understanding that institutional logics are demonstrated through "vocabularies of motives, scripts, and frames" and narratives, text, data, and narratives were examined in context by detecting text and text segments across several samples, with the object of detecting patterns across the texts (Friedland and Alford 1991; McPherson and Sauder 2013). Atlas TI-8 was used to signify and categorize text segments (quotations and memos). This method inherently may have lent itself to bias, privileging the researcher; however, for this exercise, the categorizations were text segments ("quotations") that included phrases sentences, and paragraphs that explained some aspect of institutions or logics such as schooling, labor, church policy, poverty, and race (Reay and Jones 2016). The pieces of text were compared to

each other and with documentation from historical studies so that institutional logics could emerge (Reay and Jones 2016).

Neither pattern deducing nor pattern inducing resolved "the problem of interpretation," however (Czarniawska 2004; Wadhwani and Decker 2018). As Czarniawska has observed, "counted text is a new text that must be interpreted" (Czarniawska 2004). The recognition by Wadhwani and Deck that the historical data must be managed differently and contend that "historical research practices cannot be reduced to computational methods designed to remove objectively the researcher from the interpretation." Although this discussion of the "researcher as interpreter" places this method dangerously close to issues of bias, the requirement of interpretation, according to Wadhwani and Decker (2018), positions the researcher into having a dialogue with historical documents and allowing preconceptions to change as a result of that interaction.

In order to interpret the text in this manner, part of the interpretation began with organizing the data. Because the data was located in a number of unconnected files, each document was carefully read and then associated in different ways with other documents to create a picture. Documents were categorized chronologically and by theme in order to determine if a pattern emerged concerning the actions taken by various officials and others. The contents of each document were read for relevance and pertinent information. This task was iterative, for information that may have been relevant early on, sometimes became irrelevant later, and vice-versa. The contents of documents were examined and juxtaposed against events and situation occurring during the same period, and against the perspectives of various groups of people who lived during the same period. This process was conducted by using the work of

historians as well as manuscripts of political elites, notable professionals, and others whose words helped determine the historical context (Kipping, Wadhwani and Bucheli 2013). Information from relevant documents was pieced together to construct a chronological narrative with particular attention paid to text in which a pattern relevant to organization and collaboration could be observed.

## Bias and Limitations

This use of historical data in this project requires the addition of specific considerations and methodology. Methods must be engaged that facilitate the dependability and confirmability of the data. Lustick (1996, 605-515) approaches this issue in a discussion of inferences from secondary sources, stating that "…fixed rules for conducting a triangulation of secondary sources do not exist" (1996, 610). Inferences made from documents are based upon the researcher's behavior, so that "one must be careful to note an unavoidably intrusive point of view," and be "cognizant of generalizations, concepts, models, theories, and in the construction of evidence." This case is situated within a turbulent period of social, political, and economic change. Therefore, context was considered as much as possible.

Because this study relied upon both primary and secondary sources, selection bias may be inevitable due to a lack of historical research experience, as well as personal biases (Skocpol 1995). In a 2008 article, Spicer reflected on the study of government, especially historical studies, stating that "… no matter how hard we try to be neutral, whenever we think about human action in a government setting, such thinking is likely to reflect some sort of vision of politics, ethics, and humanity" (Spicer 2008, 57). Skocpol recognized the helpfulness of using previously conducted research by experienced historians that would help combat the potential for poorly conducted research (1995). For this study, scholarly peer-reviewed historical research that

was conducted by respected experts in the fields of public administration, American history, political history, political science, and sociology, was frequently consulted (Ventresca and Mohr 2016).

Referring again to Lustick's observation that there are no fixed rules of triangulation for secondary sources, selection bias remains a critical issue in collecting and analyzing historical data. Lustick's advice is to practice self-consciousness about the selection of source material and therefore, the narrative that is eventually created (Lustick 1996, 214). In this study, much of the data comes from the records of the Freedmen's Bureau, as well as letters, articles, and reports from historical organizational periodicals and letters by individuals (mainly teachers, ministers, political leaders, and organization leaders) served to provide triangulation.

Sampling errors associated with the methodological approach included the data coverage, readability, temporal concerns associated with the period studied; and accuracy of the data available for use. As described in Weber, Patel, and Heinze (2006, 362-363) include organizational coverage, temporal coverage, precision in timing, and informational accuracy can threaten the viability of the data. Further, questions should and were raised about why certain types of information were initially collected, and others were not (Kipping, Wadhwani, and Buchell 2013). Other errors arose when tracing records containing letters. In the Freedmen's Bureau records, conversations were difficult to trace because letters were organized in chronological or "unregistered" sets of "letters sent" and "letters received" within sets divided by state, district, or office.

# CHAPTER 4: BACKGROUND: SLAVERY AND FREEDOM

The story of Freedmen's Bureau collaborative relationships requires a discussion of the parties involved: African-Americans, churches and church-supported charitable organizations, the Union Army, and the national government. This chapter provides an overview of slavery and the pursuit of freedom and independence. Organizations, both black and white, came to the freedmen's aid movement from different perspectives. The Union Army became the pivotal player as it was compelled to face questions of personhood, citizenship, and displacement, and answer those questions that were advanced by African-Americans, charitable organizations, and the Army.

This dissertation focuses primarily upon collaboration in support of education during and after the Civil War but placing the story in context is important to understanding how particular developments evolved. This chapter explains how various collaborative efforts unfolded during the beginning of the Civil War.

Since ancient times, some form of "unfree" or involuntary labor has been practiced on every continent (Steinfeld 2001; Kolchin 2009, 14-18). Historically, most forms of "unfree" or involuntary labor developed as a means of labor commodification that typically was associated with debt, war, and even criminality (Steinfeld 2001; Kolchin 2009, 14-18). In the Americas and Europe as well as its colonies; however, unfree labor advanced to insidious forms of racialized, involuntary forced labor (Steinfeld 2001). The particular form of chattel slavery practiced in the Americas and Western Europe exploited its victims, severely constraining their personhood (Wright 2017). Data from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database Project estimate that over the period 1500-1900, 10,563,705, known persons embarked onto ships came from at least eight

known African nations (both legal and illegal seizures); 9,113,356 disembarked at several ports (Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database 2016). The data visualized in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database showed that people were seized mainly from the west coast of the African Continent. The nations and regions of their origins were known as Senegambia, Sierra Leone, the Winward Coast, Gold Coast, Bight of Benin, Bight of Biafra, and various nations in the West Central and Southeast parts of the continent, as well as other nations that were unrecorded by or unknown to Europeans or Americans at the time (Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database 2016). Of the 9,113,346 total persons who disembarked, a sizeable percentage were taken to Brazil (45 percent) followed by the Caribbean (33 percent) and Central and South America (16 percent) (Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database 2005). Roughly one percent were sent to other places on the African continent and less than one percent arrived in Europe (Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database 2005). In 1619, it appears that a Dutch slave ship brought fifty-five kidnapped persons to an unspecified port in Virginia (Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database 2016).

Between 1628 and 1790, 118,456 enslaved persons were brought to America (Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database 2016). According to the 1790 census, a total of 697,697 enslaved persons were counted as living in the United States and its territories (U.S. Census Bureau 1870). By the time of 1860 Census, nearly 13% of the United States population (over four million people) was reported to be legally enslaved to 393,000 slaveholders (8% of American families) (U.S. Census Bureau 1870).

As the practice of slavery expanded in America, so, too, did the strength and number of its critics. Abolition in America took hold as a movement in the late 1700s (U.S. Census Bureau 1870). The movement spread, and by 1808, the United States Congress had abolished the African slave trade (U.S. Census Bureau 1870). Laws abolishing slavery and serfdom in the

northern states gradually were enacted: Vermont (1777), Pennsylvania (1780), Rhode Island (1783), Massachusetts (1784), Connecticut (1784), Ohio (1802), New York State (1799, 1827), New Hampshire (1783, 1848), and New Jersey (1804, 1865). Most of these state laws abolishing slavery, however, specified gradual manumission by age or by generation. For example, although the state of Connecticut enacted the Gradual Abolition Act in 1784, the practice of slavery was still legal in 1839, and it would not be officially abolished until 1848 (the Act promised freedom only to enslaved persons of the following generation, at age 25) (40 U.S. (15 Pet.) 518, 1841). The use of slave labor prevailed throughout the Mid-Atlantic and Southern states (Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Mississippi, and Alabama) during the first half of the nineteenth century. Approximately 3,953,760 enslaved persons lived in the United States in 1860 (U.S. Census Bureau 1860).

In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, members of Friends' Societies (Quakers) operating in Germany, Great Britain, and the American colonies began to oppose slavery. Over time, they used their influence to gain support from other religious denominations and secular groups, and formed collaborative advocacy networks that spread to include dissident Methodists, dissident Presbyterians, and dissident Unitarians (Keck and Sikkink 2014). The transatlantic network of anti-slavery organizations that resulted from the Quakers' efforts was the foundation of the abolitionist movement and situated itself in America (Keck and Sikkink 2014). The network shared strategies and information through effective "letters, publications, and visits" (Keck and Sikkink 2014, 56). Abolitionists participated in anti-slavery meetings, printed anti-slavery publications, and assisted escaping slaves using various avenues including the

Underground Railroad. Many participants in the abolitionist movement would later support the freedmen's aid movement.

Congregations of Methodists, Baptists, Lutherans, Methodist Episcopalians, and Presbyterians also confronted the issues of slavery and racial inequality, with the result that some began to split. Many northern black congregants left the Methodist Episcopal Church to form the African Methodist Episcopalian Church and the African Methodist Episcopalian Zion Church. The Methodist Episcopal Church further split to form the Methodist Episcopalian Church - North and the Methodist Episcopalian Church - South. Other Protestant sects formed from so-called "comeouters," persons who withdrew from established churches because those churches did not sufficiently oppose slavery; among others, these included the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, the Free Presbyterian Church, the American Baptist Free Missionary Society (McKivigan 1980, 143-144). The southern secession from the Union caused still other denominations to split across philosophical and geographical lines. Some churches and denominations joined the abolitionist movement, forming societies or aligning with organizations that helped to actualize the emancipation of enslaved persons and advance anti-slavery ideas on the political agenda.

A notable event of the period, the Amistad Trial, served to ignite the abolitionist movement in the United States and initiate the creation of one of the most prolific missionary organization. In 1839, African captives on La Amistad, a Spanish schooner bound for Cuba, mutinied, killing the ship's captain, taking two Spanish subjects, hostage in the process. They attempted to sail to their home country of Sierra Leone but, due to the misdirection and maneuvering of their hostages, sailed instead to the American coast off of Long Island, New York. The American revenue cutter, the U. S. S. Washington, captured the ship and escorted it to Connecticut, where the practice of slavery was still legal. The men, who claimed that they were

free-born Africans brought illegally into both Cuba, and the United States were jailed. Their case eventually came before the U. S. Supreme Court in *United States* vs. *The Amistad* [40 U.S. (15 Pet.) 518, 1841]. Meantime, an informal committee of abolitionists began to form in New Haven, Connecticut, a city rife with conflict over the issue of slavery (Lawrance 2015).

The Committee on Behalf of the African Prisoners or the Amistad Committee, made up of members of the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society and members of the Congregationalist Church, hired Yale-trained lawyers and assembled a large cadre of expert witnesses (Lawrance 2015). Led by Lewis Tappan, the Amistad Committee obtained former President John Quincy Adams to serve as legal counsel for the defense (partially to gain access to relevant information from the Department of State).[3] With the Committee's financial support, Adams was able to prove that the men indeed were not legally Cuban slaves, but rather, Africans. The men from Sierra Leone won their case along with the ability to return home (Richardson 1986; 40 U.S. 518 (1841); Menschel 2001). The Amistad Committee did not disband after the trial, however. Committee members soon formed the Union Missionary Society in 1846, which eventually would unite with other organizations to form the American Missionary Association (AMA), one of the most prolific, church-supported charitable organizations that partnered with the Freedmen's Bureau. The AMA would be among the first organizations to assist formerly enslaved African-Americans who sought the protection of the Union Army at its encampments during the Civil War.

[3] Lewis Tappan had founded Oberlin College, which figured prominently in the fight for emancipation. He would later become a secretary for the American Missionary Association, which founded many schools across the south after the Civil War.

## Experiments Toward Freedom

With the onset of the War, enslaved people sought freedom under treacherous conditions. Planters who served as Confederate soldiers, often took with them the people they had enslaved to war with them. Other slaveowners, contriving to minimize their losses, shipped their slaves to remote places to be kept there secretly during the war or sold them into the Brazilian slave trade (chattel slavery in Brazil would not end until the late nineteenth century) (Letter to Gen. Swayne 1867). Enslaved people made different decisions as they pondered freedom. Some relocated to free jurisdictions; others remained on plantations (which either were abandoned or were inhabited) or moved near the Union lines. A number of men also joined the U.S. Navy which had been racially integrated as early as the eighteenth century (Reidy 2001). Surviving records show that during the Civil War, nearly twenty percent of Navy workers were of African descent, and of these, at least 7,800 individuals came from slave states (Reidy 2001).

Approaching an army installation was fraught with danger. People known as “slave hunters” were paid to kidnap enslaved people who had escaped and brought them back to their masters (Eaton 1907, 48). Hadden (2001) states that as more southern men were drawn into the Confederate army, less were available to serve as slave patrollers; their services were still in demand, however (2001, 174).

If an enslaved person did manage to make it safely to a Union Army encampment, they were not yet out of danger, because they were greeted with uncertainty. Some officers returned them to roving bands of slave traders or patrollers who forcibly escorted them back to plantations (Eaton 1907, 48). Some enslaved persons, hoping for a sympathetic audience, provided intelligence to Army official. More often than not, Army leadership would send them back across the lines to the enemy. Union Army General Frederick Steele, who did allow men to come

into camp and find work, was quoted in the *New York Times* as saying, "We don't bring our wives and children into camp. For a similar reason, we must put slave women and children out, unless they are servants" (October 3, 1862, 2).[4] Steele's response was typical. There were also instances (reported in Suffolk, Virginia) of soldiers robbing refugees of money, horses, and other items (the United States Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Preliminary Report, June 30, 1863). In one particular letter, a Col. Brown reported that at night, nine people were kidnapped and "carried through Union lines" and returned to their former owners (Brown to Kinsman February 23, 1864). The Army had no distinct policy concerning enslaved persons who had escaped from their owners (*New York Times* July 3, 1862, 2). Confusion reigned. Nonetheless, pressure for a solution to the refugee problem increased as the number of escaping slaves arriving at military installations grew.

Not all African-Americans encountered troops in this way. The moving Army encountered enslaved people living on or near abandoned plantations. For enslaved people, these confrontations could be liberating, but they also presented a risk. African-Americans made their way, finding their family members and establishing communities during a turbulent time. The reports of Union Army officers who served specifically to supervise refugees (Col. John Eaton, an Army chaplain who served under General Grant, and Pvt. Edward Pierce, who served under General Butler) did not indicate that they met missionaries or teachers moving about in these spaces (Eaton 1907; Pierce 1863). What they did encounter and comment upon was the presence of churches the people had built (Pierce 1862; Eaton 1907). Not all of the contact between the Army and charitable organizations was initiated by soldiers, however. In the case of Chaplain

[4] "The War on the Mississippi: The Destruction of the Village of Prentiss – Punishing Guerillas – Rebel Outrages against Contrabands, etc.," October 3, 1862, The New York Times, 2.

Eaton, who will be discussed later, served General Grant. Grant assigned Eaton, in his new position, to make contact with amenable charitable organizations. Eaton would contact the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission and begin a relationship that helped to establish schools in Mississippi and its vicinity.

In the case of Edward Pierce, who served under General Benjamin Butler was asked by Butler to supervise the refugees (Butler to Pierce, August 25, 1861).[5] The American Missionary Association initiated correspondence with General Butler who warmly accepted their offer of donations. Missionaries and teachers would come later and work with Edward Pierce to construct schools, expanded places of worship. Few organized societies were already in existence, except the American Missionary Association. The same Edward Pierce of Fortress Monroe would later become a Treasury agent for the Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon Chase. Chase set Pierce in charge of investigating the situation at Port Royal, South Carolina. As a result, Pierce gathered his friends, from his hometown of Boston, to create an aid society, that will be discussed later.

James Yeatman, a civilian and bank financier, formed a charitable organization that was patterned after a government organization. He would petition President Lincoln to turn his organization's (Western Sanitary Commission) attention fully toward freed people. The next sections will describe in more detail these four collaborative arrangements, where civil society partners became involved and assisted African-Americans who inhabited army installations. By

[5] Butler, Benjamin Franklin, and Jessie Ames Marshall. 1917. *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler: During the Period of the Civil War Privately Issued*, Volume 1. Plimpton Press.

no means are these situations universal to the experiences of African-Africans during this time, but their endeavors helped form the foundations of later collaborative efforts.

***Fortress Monroe***

At Fortress Monroe in Virginia, Union Major General Benjamin Butler contemplated the legal implications of providing sanctuary to escaped slaves at Union Army installations. On the night of May 23, 1861, three enslaved men (Shepard Mallory, Frank Baker, and James Townsend) rowed into Fortress Monroe in a boat, having fled Confederate Army forced labor. When the men's master later sent an emissary to retrieve the men, Butler, a former attorney, refused to comply (Butler to Scott May 24, 1861; Cary to Butler March 9, 1891).[6] To justify his decision, Butler cited the law upon which this messenger and his employee were reliant. Section 6 of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 required commissioners who were appointed by a circuit court to "pursue and reclaim" any person who was "held to service or labor in any State or Territory of the United States" (9 Stat. 462).[7]

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[6] Butler, Benjamin Franklin, and Jessie Ames Marshall. 1917. *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler: During the Period of the Civil War.* Privately Issued, v 1. Plimpton Press.

[7] The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 (9 Stat. 462) was enacted as a component of the 1850 compromise, which was set in motion to balance the power between free and slave states. The compromise both abolished slavery in the District of Columbia and enacted the Fugitive Slave Law throughout the rest of the country. Citizens and officials willingly and unwillingly were authorized to aid in the kidnapping and return of individuals to their former masters. Captured individuals would be "tried" and returned by appointed and paid commissioners. The law led to numerous kidnappings of free people who were then transported to southern states and sold as slaves. Under the Act, any citizen found to harbor, assist, and otherwise facilitate the escape of a slave committed a federal crime, and could be fined up to $1,000 or imprisoned for up to 6 months (9 Stat. 462).

Because of secession, however, the Confederacy no longer represented itself as a "State or Territory of the United States" (9 Stat. 462). The goal of the Confederacy was to be legitimated as a sovereign nation. To repossess the escaped slaves, General Butler thus required the messenger to take the Oath of Allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. When the messenger refused, he was sent away empty-handed.

Major General Butler did not, however, believe that escaped slaves living at Army installations should be the property of the American government, so he sought out the opinion of Secretary of War Simon Cameron. On July 30, he wrote to Cameron "has not, therefore, all proprietary relation ceased? Have they not become thereupon men, women, and children?" (Letter from Major-General Benjamin Butler on the Treatment of Fugitives Slaves to Secretary of War Simon Cameron, July 30, 1861, published by *The New York Times* on August 6, 1861).[8]

A response to Butler's letter came, in a manner of speaking, on August 6, 1861, when Congress passed the *First Confiscation Act*, *An Act to Confiscate Property Used for Insurrectionary Purposes* (319 Stat. 12), which allowed, in part, the Union Army to free anyone they seized who had been enslaved. Validating Butler's efforts to extend sanctuary to those fleeing slavery, the law provided the means for the federal government to confiscate not only land and other resources but also people. It thus effectively freed a specific category of slaves who had been required to take up arms or work at a military installation or in military service against the United States (319 Stat. 12). The terms of the Act that simultaneously removed a source of labor for the Confederate army provided some semblance of safety for some escaped slaves, and also tended to encourage the growth of a loyal Afro-American workforce (Butler

[8] Letter from Major-General Benjamin Butler on the Treatment of Fugitives Slaves to Secretary of War Simon Cameron, July 30, 1861, published by *The New York Times* on August 6, 1861.

1917). The 1861 statute did not resolve legal and practical questions: whether the confiscated slaves had become the property of the U.S. Government ("contraband of war") or were free people, or, regardless of their legal status, what the Government's obligations to them might be.[9]

In Missouri, Union General John Fremont took Butler's actions further. On August 30, 1861, he issued a declaration stating that formerly enslaved African-Americans entering his jurisdiction would be considered free and provided with resources that could alleviate their physical needs (by allowing charitable organizations to provide food, shelter, and access to medical treatment). President Lincoln forced Fremont to rescind his order, on the grounds that, in essence, Fremont had usurped the power of the central government (Manning 2017; McPherson 1955). Lincoln then replaced Fremont with General Halleck, who promptly began to return escaping slaves to "owners" who came to claim them. Though the reasons for Lincoln's rebuff of Fremont were complex, the episode added to the confusion of military personnel over the matter of the sanctuary of fleeing slaves (Manning 2017; McPherson 1955). Despite the indecision on the part of Union generals and the national government, people continued to enter Army encampments in the hope of safety and freedom. At Fortress Monroe, General Butler assigned a

[9] Accounts differ as to whether General Butler coined the term "Contraband of War." In 1917, Butler wrote to John B. Cary, requesting the details of the 1861 incident in which Butler was said to have coined the term. Major John B. Cary responding to Gen. Butler years later, asserted that Gen. Butler indeed coined the term. Cary was the emissary sent by Col. Mallory to retrieve Mallory's slaves. Cary wrote that Gen. Butler used the term contraband of war" to describe the fleeing slaves that had entered behind Union lines. (Cary, John B. to General Benjamin F. Butler 1917, Private and Official Correspondence. v.1. 188-189). However, it came into being, the word came to be used for fugitive slaves, and for those who were captured during battle. The term came to represent the uncertain status of enslaved African-Americans during the war. Further, it became popular in everyday parlance amongst northerners who struggled to know how to address the topic of formerly enslaved persons. The term, "refugees" typically referred to displaced white Union loyalists, but it was also used occasionally to describe the African-Americans who inhabited the camps ("black refugees") The term "freedmen" was used to connote more permanence than "contraband." It may have been coined by Edward Pierce who used it in his reports about his experiences at Port Royal (Masur March 2007).

private named Edward Pierce (a lawyer) to oversee the work of the African-Americans. It was not a coincidence that Pierce (also an anti-slavery advocate) was chosen for this work. Pierce received this assignment from Butler because of his advocacy for African-Americans to become citizens and soldiers (Rose 1964).

### *The Port Royal Experiment*

The AMA that had been instrumental in supporting the refugees at Fortress Monroe would also help support the Port Royal project in late 1861. The Port Royal Experiment. Port Royal Island was located near Beaufort, South Carolina. It was one of several islands called the Sea Islands that included Edisto, Fripp, Folly, Lady's, and Hilton Head islands. Secretary of the Department of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase initiated a collaborative venture at the Sea Islands because of concern over vast quantities of unharvested Sea Island cotton. Once the Army occupied the area, some 10,000 former slaves remained on the islands at the plantation and farmed the abandoned land at the direction of the Army.

Secretary Chase recruited lawyer Edward Pierce, who had successfully worked with freed people at Fortress Monroe, to observe the progress of work on the island (Rose 1864). As soon as Pierce arrived sometime in January of 1862, he wrote home to friends about Secretary Chase's program and asked for donations of goods as well as teachers and a missionary (Pierce 1863). Rev. Mansfield French, encouraged by his colleagues of the American Missionary Association (AMA), obtained permission from the government to travel to the Islands (Pierce 1863). Pierce and French would collaborate on their work in the Islands. Pierce went back to his home in Boston and marshaled the support of friends and colleagues. They would form the Boston Educational Commission on February 8, 1862. Likewise, French went back to New York and arranged with his colleagues and friends to form the National Freedmen's Relief Association.

The National Freedmen's Relief Association formed on February 22, 1862, to pursue education specifically with the theme of free-labor. The Port Royal Relief Committee organized separately, by March 1862 (became Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association, the precursor of the Pennsylvania Branch of the American Freedmen's Union Commission). The full focus of the Boston Educational Commission was on teaching. The Boston Educational Commission would become the New England Freedmen's Aid Commission, and later the New England Branch of the American Freedmen's Union Commission. The Port Royal Relief Committee focused education but also on business, or "logistics" as Pierce reported; it appears they ran a store for at least part of the mission. In this way, it appears from the report Pierce submitted to Secretary Chase, that the societies co-existed without animus.

A group of more sixty educators also traveled to the Sea Islands in the spring of 1862. Other societies also sent teachers, including the American Baptist Home Missionary Society. Chase authorized payment for the subsistence and transportation of society educators and missionaries. The Treasury Department and the War Department supplied food, transportation, and protection. About the Port Royal program, Rev. Jacob Manning, a friend of Pierce's and member of the Boston Educational Commission, wrote

> We little thought that means could be obtained, or authority granted by the Government to assume the entire charge of the agriculture, education and to a certain extent, the religious teaching of the freedmen of Port Royal; but such has been the result, and we have the satisfactory statement from General Saxton, that the fixed population within our lines upon the Sea Islands, is now a self-sustaining and industrious community. (First Annual Report May 1863).

This successful program served as a model that influenced the decision to create an official agency of emancipation (Foote 2003).

***The Western Sanitary Commission***

Congress created the United States Sanitary Commission in 1861 to serve the needs of Union soldiers. Private citizens, observing unmet needs of soldiers across the Mississippi Valley, formed a privately funded Western Sanitary Commission and modeled it after the United States Sanitary Commission (Forman 1864). By 1863, leaders of the Western Sanitary Commission began observing the poor treatment of freed people and refugees at Union encampments they visited. In November of that year, led by Western Sanitary Commission President James Yeatman, they petitioned President Lincoln to bring attention to the issue and to secure his support so that they could freely assist both white refugees and formerly enslaved African-Americans (Yeatmen, Partridge, Johnson, Greeley, and Eliot November 6, 1863). At the request and assistance of W. P. Mellen, an agent of the Treasury Department, James Yeatmen developed a land-leasing and employment plan that would establish a new government commission, one specifically created to facilitate emancipation.

On July 15, 1862, Congress signed two more Confiscation Acts into law, which placed those presently enslaved, those escaping, those "taking refuge," and those who were captured "under the control of the government of the United States" and "forever free of their servitude" (1862 Stat. 12, 2). The law also authorized the President to "employ…persons of African descent as he may deem necessary and proper" and "organize and use them in such manner as he may judge best for the public welfare" (1862 Stat. 12, 2). Although this legislation did not expressly authorize African-Americans to fight in the Union Army, it paved the way (Foote 2003).

The burgeoning population of ex-slaves eventually moved President Lincoln. Questions about the political and social status of the enslaved, the opportunity to remove a source of Confederate Army labor, the potential to create a workforce useful to the Union cause, and the need to increase troops provided the motivation for President Lincoln to sign the Emancipation Proclamation (12 Stat. 1268) on January 1, 1863, freeing those slaves living in states loyal to the Confederacy (Lincoln 1863; New York Times October, 3 1862).[10] His hands shaking as he signed it, Lincoln remarked that "I never, in my life, felt more certain that I was doing right than I do in signing this paper" (Franklin 1993).

While limited to the states in the Confederacy, the Emancipation Proclamation moved the country toward abolishing slavery and freeing all slaves. In 1863, the government began to call black men to fight in the Union Army in accordance with the Proclamation. Black men seized the opportunity created by these laws to serve in the Union Army as soldiers. Among those who served, many served in noncombatants roles as medical personnel, railroad workers, laborers, and spies (National Archives 2017). Of those African-American men that served as soldiers, fourteen became Army Chaplains. Their work was extraordinarily important because they made themselves responsible for educating any illiterate men in their charge,  Because Army chaplains were religious leaders (pastors, priests, and rabbis), and maintained connections with their home congregations, they were able to obtain books, bibles, and other materials for the soldiers in their units (Deeben 2016). Army Chaplain and A. M. E. minister Rev. Henry McNeal Turner, for

[10] "The Colored People of Brooklyn, New York Upon the Proclamation and the Colonization of the Contrabands*."* October 3, 1862, *New York Times*, 2. A piece written on this meeting held at Bridge Street Methodist Church supported the notion that African-Americans were aware of and surmised that the Emancipation Proclamation was a tool used to deprive the Confederate Army.

example, communicated needs regularly through his letters to the *Christian Recorder*, enabling the donation of books, bibles, and writing materials for the men in his charge (Turner, 1964).

***The First Contraband Camp and Davis Bend***

After victory in Vicksburg, in the summer of 1863, Union Army General Ulysses S. Grant pondered what he could do about numerous enslaved persons who inhabited the abandoned plantations in the area, many of whom were pouring into Army installations. No overarching Army policy had yet provided instruction on what to do with the flood of people that entered Union lines. Those who could work could obtain food, but Grant knew that the process was not practical. Abandoned plantations lay fallow with crops ready to be harvested. General Ulysses S. Grant authorized Army Chaplain Col. John Eaton Jr. to create a labor plan. Grant appointed Col. Eaton as General Superintendent of Freedmen.

Eaton traveled to a set of plantations in the Davis Bend area in Mississippi. There, at Davis Bend, were plantations which were the confiscated property Joseph Davis, Jefferson Davis's brother. Chaplain Eaton would arrive to find that the African-Americans who lived there had begun to create a community, having built homes and farmed the land (*New York Times* July 20, 1863). Eaton's job was to conduct an experiment to assess whether or not African-Americans would work without the structure and force that southerners claimed was necessary. Chaplain Eaton instructed the people in re-organizing the work into systems: a farm for those to work on, who were older or disabled, a farm on which men were paid to work for an employer, and farms that were leased to individuals and families as entrepreneurs to farm and sell independently.

Eaton contacted the American Missionary Association, the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, and the Society of Friends to request that they provide farming equipment, seeds, cloth and fabric for clothing, books, and other materials that would be needed to build schools

and places for worship. The arrangement worked. Eaton expressed thanks to a minister of the Western Aid Commission, telling him that social assistance and the provision of teachers, was "so much relief to the Government" (Eaton to Boynton September 11, 1863, 36/52). On a visit to the area, Union Army General Wadsworth observed that "everything was working well;" the plantations [worked by freed people] were productive (*New York Times* December 20, 1863, 6). Grant had already decided that school tuition would be charged for those who could pay it (25 cents to 1.25 a month) (Grant 1885). Charitable organizations continued to send teachers, clothing, books, and funds. The following year, the Adjutant General's Office (War Department) placed under Eaton the supervision over the schools by issuing Order 26:

> To prevent confusion and embarrassment, the General Superintendent of Freedmen will designate officers, subject to his order, as Superintendents of Colored Schools, through whom he will arrange the location of all schools, teachers, the occupation of houses, and other details pertaining to the education of freedmen. All officers commanding, and others, will render the necessary aid." (General Order No. 94; September 26, 1864)

Eaton brought together a General Superintendent of Schools, as well as school superintendents that he assigned to various jurisdictions (Memphis, Tennessee, Natchez Columbus, and Vicksburg, in Mississippi and Helena, Arkansas. He also requested the presence of charitable organization representatives. He created a process such that the local superintendents of freedmen obtained land for schools. They divided into school districts. The organizations employed regional superintendents. Under this system, night schools and industrial schools were created. Eaton recounted the work of organizations in his memoir that the Society of Friends provided education in Helena Arkansas, the

Northwest Freedmen's Aid Commission in Natchez Mississippi, and various individuals established schools in Memphis, Tennessee. (Eaton 1907, 203). Other unnamed organizations organized separate schools in Natchez, Mississippi, in Vicksburg, Mississippi, and in Memphis, Tennessee for "white refugees" (Eaton 1907, 203).

***Army Established Contraband Camps at Several Locations***

During the war, the Union Army built a total of 218 contraband camps in eighteen states and the District of Columbia, along with one failed relocation colony at Ile à Vaché, Haiti. Camps were located in Alabama (three camps), Arkansas (twenty camps), Florida (six camps), Georgia (six camps), Illinois (two camps), Kansas (two camps), Kentucky (five camps), Louisiana (thirty-seven camps), one camp in Maryland, Mississippi (eighteen camps), Missouri (five camps), North Carolina (five camps), Ohio (two camps), Oklahoma (one camp), South Carolina (10 camps), Tennessee (thirty-seven camps), Texas (two camps), Virginia (forty-one camps), and Washington in D.C. (thirteen camps) (Cooper 2016).

For the work enslaved persons performed for the Union Army at camps, they were to receive payment. The American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission (AFIC), convened by Secretary of War Edwin Stanton in 1863, reported on the various payment or semi-payment processes, which varied depending on the leadership at the various camps.[11] For the most fortunate, a portion of their pay was withdrawn and placed in a "contraband fund" or

[11] Secretary of War Edwin Stanton convened the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission and charged Robert Owens, James McKaye, and Samuel How with investigating the condition of enslaved people in Eastern Virginia, North Carolina, and the District of Columbia. They submitted a preliminary report and a final report. The final report appeared to be written as a philosophical statement and described the history and present state of slavery, emancipation, and "the future in the United States of the African Race." The preliminary report (June 30, 1863) described the work conditions found at camps in those three areas.

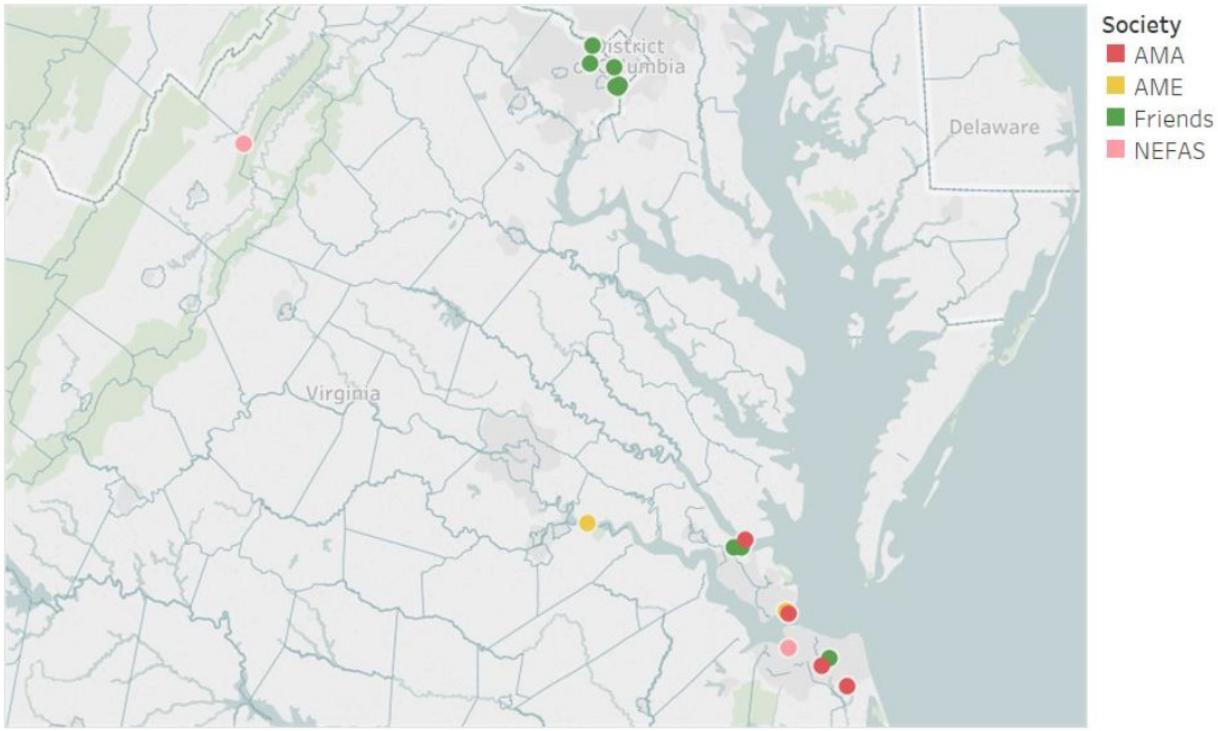
"freedmen's fund" to pay for their residency (Owen, McKaye and How to Stanton June 30, 1863).[12] Others camp inhabitants were given a small allowance, while the remaining funds went to a "freedmen's fund" (Owen, McKaye and How to Stanton June 30, 1863). At still other camps, people were not paid wages but provided with clothing, food, and shelter (Owen, McKaye, and How to Stanton June 30, 1863). Some contraband camps that were miserable sites where people were housed in old slave pens. Other camps were clean and efficient and offered some semblance of safety, employment, and the means of family support, along with food and shelter (Cooper 2016; *New York Times* October 3, 1862, 4).[13]

At some twenty camps, organizations were authorized to set up schools and provide social assistance or even sell needed items (clothing, books, household, and other items). For their work, teachers received rations, transportation, and housing by order of Special order 63 issued by the War Department (Eaton 1897, 194). In Virginia, there were forty camps located throughout the eastern and northern parts of the state; an assortment of different organizations and churches were invited in to assist refugees at twenty camps as shown in Figure 2 (See Appendix H for the accompanying data).

[12] Report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission to Edwin Stanton, Secretary of War. June 30, 1863.

[13] "The Contrabands." The New York Times. October 3, 1862, 4.

Figure 2: Twenty contraband camps and government farms with embedded societies.
The following organizations are shown on the map below: The American Missionary Association (AMA), the Society of Friends, the New England Freedmen's Aid Society (NEFAS), and the African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E.)




Although each of the four camp situations described above differed, they each served as a foundation for later collaborative efforts between the Bureau and various church-supported charitable organizations. Each situation represents a relationship between a government agency (the War Department or the Treasury Department) and civil society partners as talked about by Balogh (2009). The Freedmen's Bureau served as the new governmental partner with which charitable organizations could collaborate to assist black and white refugees of the Civil War.

## Discussion

To understand antecedent conditions, four experiments conducted by the Union Army (during the war) were examined. These antecedents to the Freedmen's Bureau served as a foundation for working relationships that developed; the War Department, the Treasury Department, and civil society actors figured prominently. Once the Union Army allowed black refugees to enter into their encampments, the beginnings of working relationships emerged. These relationships, in practice, led to the establishment of models of collaboration that would later be relied upon by the Freedmen's Bureau. Some preexisting relationships were in place between most Army chaplains and the organizations or churches they contacted for refugee assistance. Few sectarian or non-sectarian charitable organizations existed at the time. However, such organizations emerged, eager to enter the field, and they made arrangements to secure ready sources of needed goods.

Most of the charitable organizations referenced in this dissertation did not establish themselves until midway through the Civil War (Chapter 5). Army personnel had little idea of how to help refugees, and so depended on the knowledge of their chaplains, who were all pastors of northern churches.[14] The ambiguous conditions that abounded created opportunities for collaboration both with charitable organizations and congregations.

As the number of entering refugees into Fortress Monroe increased, General Butler assigned Chaplain Pierce to contact charitable organizations to find help for the refugees in and around Fortress Monroe. This assignment created a "window of opportunity" for Pierce and one

[14] A prerequisite to serve as an Army Chaplain, was to hold a position as a clergyman, presiding over a house of worship. While most Army Chaplains were protestant pastors, priests and a few rabbis served in the Union Army. Of those that served during the Civil War, fourteen African American protestant pastors served as Army Chaplains during the Civil War. Some continued their service as agents for the Freedmen's Bureau.

particular organization, the American Missionary Association, to collaborate (General Order No. 49; Bryson, Crosby, and Stone 2006). The American Missionary Association, a Protestant-based abolitionist organization, responded positively to Pierce's request for aid and sent donations.

Crosby and Bryson (2010) and Bryson, Crosby, and Stone (2015) detail that the circumstances necessary for initial conditions of collaboration to occur include a window of opportunity, a need to address a complex problem, the availability of resources, uncertainty, and mandates. The Civil War provided a turbulent set of circumstances and problems, which required resources, expertise, and leadership. Edward Pierce (Fort Monroe and Port Royal Experiments) encountered a window of opportunity and informal mandates to find, through organizational relationships, resources. These antecedent conditions paved the way for a collaboration relationship (Bryson, Crosby and Stone 2015).

The emancipation experiment at the plantations of Davis Bend, Mississippi, though focused primarily upon labor, came to attract philanthropic help for building schools. Army Chaplain Col. Eaton, encouraged by his commanding officer, General Ulysses Grant, sought assistance from the Cincinnati based Western Freedmen's Aid Commission (WFAC) as well as the New York-based American Missionary Association (AMA) to establish schools (Pierce 1863). These relationships grew and served as instruction for both Eaton and the WFAC when the Freedmen's Bureau would be formed. The Western Freedmen's Aid Commission (an ally of the American Missionary Association) was active outside of Virginia and the AMA both within Virginia and without.

At the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina, the Treasury Department, the War Department, and the AMA (mediated by Edward Pierce and Mansfield French) formed a partnership that executed the Port Royal program. This partnership exhibited traits of

collaboration upon which the Bureau would later depend. The relationships of the men appeared to manifest mutuality, trust, and reciprocity, as described by Thomson and Perry (2006). Because the Port Royal Experiment involved multiple charitable organizations and was facilitated by the Treasury Department, the collaborative effort was more structured and appeared to have been more organized, lending itself to becoming a pattern that could be followed by the organizations in the freedmen's aid movement. This precedent was particularly important because the Union Army, as the Freedmen's Bureau would find out later, did not maintain any official War Department policies that mapped how and why they provided rations, transportation, and fuel to teachers and other aid workers.

The bottom line is that African-Americans created educational institutions (with and without assistance), and cooperative agreements between charitable organizations and the Army built many more schools before the establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau, upending the story that the Freedmen's Bureau, with the assistance of organizations, was responsible for the establishment of education for freed slaves.

Documents showed that after its creation, the Freedmen's Bureau continued cooperative practices with faith-based organizations, expanding on relationships the Union Army had built with civil society partners during the Civil War. Each of the programs established by the Union Army at Fort Monroe, the Sea Islands (the Port Royal Experiment), and Davis Bend built upon the cooperative arrangements routinely practiced throughout the nineteenth century in which voluntary organizations supplied social assistance at the request of government entities (Balogh 2009). The Freedmen's Bureau expanded these relationships and standardized school management practices across the southern region of the country. Relationships developed between various church-supported charitable organizations and the Army during the Civil War.

After the Civil War, the newly established Freedmen's Bureau continued these relationships and expanded upon them in a manner that appears to similar to cooperation and coordination rather than formal collaboration as shown in the cooperation, coordination, collaboration matrix below (McNamara 2012; Keast, Brown, and Mandell 2007; Mattessich and Monsey 1992). While the relationships between different organizations and the Bureau looked vastly different from modern-day cross-sector collaboration, these arrangements bore some hallmarks of collaborative arrangements.

# CHAPTER 5: BACKGROUND: SCHOOLS AND THEIR SPONSORS

## Teachers, Teacher Education, and Schools

Providing education for Virginia (or for the rest of the southern states) was not a straightforward task. Funding for universal public education in Virginia historically had been weak, as was typical in the southern states. Education generally was perceived to be a private issue, and public schooling the province of the poor and middle classes. The central and western regions of antebellum Virginia maintained a sparse and decentralized system of public schools (for the poor), while regions in the northern and southern Piedmont regions maintained few if any public schools.

The wealthy felt that the poor should be trained, but only with the tools necessary for their jobs, not with books. These beliefs persisted. In an inspection report, Rev. J. W. Alvord referred to remarks made by the citizens in Norfolk about public schools being for only those who could not afford private schools (Tabular Statement of Private Schools for Colored Children in Norfolk and Portsmouth March 1866, images 3-4/17). Howard would later reflect, in his 1877 essay on education, that "those who were willing to support education were not able to do so because of political and economic barriers; others were able to support an educational system but would not because they "have no faith in universal education" (Howard 1877, 57).

Bernath (2018) writes that wealthy southern families either sent their children to school in the north, brought teachers into their homes to instruct their children, or sent them to private academies in the South. Interestingly, the teachers hired into southern homes or who taught in southern academies overwhelmingly came from northern states (Bernath 2018). Teachers who went south often did so because the pay was higher and included room and board. Moreover, the

weather was warm; some perceived the “romance of it" (life on a plantation), and others hoped to find a well-off husband (Bernath 2018, 274). Still, others pursued their vocation as missionaries and abolitionists but quickly found that any mention of slavery or abolition would jeopardize their jobs or their well-being. Although a reasonable number of teachers left the south before the war began, a number of the male teachers fought for the Confederacy, and many female teachers stayed in the south during and after the war (Bernath 2018). It is not known whether these teachers were among the number of teachers Butchart and others referred to as southern teachers who were willing to teach African-American students during the Reconstruction period (Butchart 2010).

The education system in the north was evolving. In New England especially, the concept of the “common school” (a publicly operated community school) had been around for thirty years before the Civil War. The arrival of the common school had ushered in the professionalization of education, licensure, the growth of state-supported “normal schools,” and an increased number of “normal” departments in colleges and high schools (Larabee 2008). Most teachers who chose to teach in the South, according to Butchart, had obtained their teacher training in a high school normal department, or more typically had little or no training (Butchart 1980, 2010; Larabee 2008). Butchart (2010) indicates, however, that charitable organizations (noting the American Missionary Association in particular) asked applicants that they have, in addition to prior teaching experience (not necessarily credentials), a desire for missionary work. Terms such as piety, evangelical, and missionary were often used to describe desired traits in teachers.

However, there were a reasonable number of college-trained teachers and principals who went south, as well as organization officials in the north who understood the “normal” model.

Part of the developing southern education model was to train teachers who would replicate the northern education model throughout the South. Secondly, it was hoped that the model would support African-Americans seeking to start schools. Finally, teacher-preparatory education in the South would help keep up with the pace of the demand for more schools and teachers. Thus, teachers from various states, backgrounds, and varied qualifications, entered the field. The schools that they would teach in were not very different from those in northern states, although class sizes often reached more than fifty pupils, and student ages ranged from four to adult (Superintendent Monthly School Reports, 1865-1871).

Many teachers and others that connected with the freedmen's aid movement typically spoke of their mission in moral terms. Of the hundreds of organizations that operated across the south, there were approximately twenty organizations listed in educational reports that managed schools in Virginia. Most organizations ensured that teachers that they sponsored to teach in the South were certified to teach (through the state or the organization) or at had prior experience. Teachers were often required to teach school during the day, as well as at night and on Sundays. Some teachers maintained large schools that contained students of every age (most schools did not allow children under the age of 4, however). Other teachers taught in schools that would have looked like modern-day elementary or primary schools, while others taught in high schools or industrial schools. Teachers, hired by organizations, regardless of the type of school were usually expected to communicate regularly with their employing organization ("Branch Societies," Freedmen's Journal 1865, 2-3).

## The African-American Vision for Education

Acclaimed public speaker Frederick Douglass spoke bluntly in a speech when he proclaimed, "Do nothing with us!" (Douglass, 1865). He was concerned about the well-intended but paternalistic manner of many charitable organizations. Instead, Douglass called for little or no interference (including that of the Freedmen's Bureau), which intentionally and unintentionally created barriers for African-Americans. Pierce, in his 1863 report to Secretary Chase about the progress at Port Royal, South Carolina, had reported that many of the inhabitants, though not vengeful, they voiced their desire to be left alone. In early 1865, General Sherman and Secretary of War Edwin Stanton met with black religious leaders to discuss the stage that was being set for emancipation (Interview printed in the *New York Daily Tribune*, February 13, 1865). When asked about their understanding of slavery and freedom (as stated in the Emancipation Proclamation), the religious leaders' spokesperson replied that they wished to "take care of ourselves and assist the Government in maintaining our freedom." When Stanton asked him to clarify this statement, he responded,

> The way we can best take care of ourselves is to have land… and we can soon maintain ourselves and have something to spare. And to assist the Government, the young men should enlist in the service of the Government and serve in such manner as they may be wanted. (Interview printed in the *New York Daily Tribune*, February 13, 1865)

Joseph Johnson, a teacher present at a meeting of the Colored People of Halls Hills and Vicinity, wrote to Gen. Howard and included in the letter a resolution, presented by Rev. Jacob Ross. The resolution requested help from the Bureau for "owning our shelters and the ground… that we may regularly and perseveringly educate our children…and also maintain public

worship…as welcome and efficient citizens of these United States" (Johnson to Howard, Unregistered Letters Received, series 457, D.C. Assistant Commissioner August 4, 1865). Referring to the service of many young Afro-American men in the War, Harriet Jacobs, an African-American teacher, wrote that they marched "so boldly and steadily to victory or to death, for the freedom of their race" (Jacobs to Childs, March 1864).

Across the South, more than 180 African-American teachers had earned a formal education (college/university or normal school) before teaching. Of that number, 115 had graduated from colleges and universities including Lincoln, Wilberforce, Dartmouth, Harvard, Iberia, Knox, and Oberlin. In operating their own schools, African-Americans also fully participated in the support of society- and church-run schools. Information found in reprinted letters in organization newsletters indicated the extent to which African-Americans sponsored schools, owned school buildings, and supported faculty through the payment of salaries and tuition (Cheney March 14, 1866). Bureau school reports acknowledged that the black community supported more than 115 tuition-based schools throughout Virginia (Monthly School Report 1867-1870).

**Organizations that Sponsored Schools**

Charitable organizations, like they had during the war, continued to manage schools (with the aid of the Bureau). Those societies that had been established before the beginning of the Civil War included: the Friends' Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia (1863), the American Missionary Association (1846), the American Baptist Home Missionary Society (1832), the New England Freedmen's Aid Society (1862), the New York National Freedmen's Association (1862), a precursor of the American Freedmen's Union Commission, the Port Royal Relief Committee (1862), the precursor of the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association (1863). The

Civil War spurred the creation of several new aid societies including the Protestant Episcopal Freedmen's Commission (1864), the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The organizations that sponsored schools generally fell into one of several categories including churches and societies that were denominational, interdenominational, non-denominational, or secular; some characterized themselves as evangelical, but others did not.

***The American Freedmen's Union Commission's work in Virginia***

The American Freedmen's Union Commission (AFUC) was a system of organizations associated with one another that included a lead organization (headquartered in New York), branch organizations (Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore) and auxiliary societies. The AFUC initially operated through six branches located in New York, Boston (Massachusetts), Delaware, San Francisco (California), Montreal (Canada,) and Baltimore (Maryland). Other branches, including those in Chicago (Illinois), Cleveland (Ohio), Cincinnati (Ohio), and Detroit (Michigan), severed from the group in 1866 and became auxiliary associations to the AMA. Attached to the New York branch, for example, were over 350 branch societies and myriad auxiliaries (including a few in New Jersey and four in New England). Besides the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, 162 active auxiliaries were associated with the Northeastern (Boston) branch. The Pennsylvania branch maintained 80 auxiliary societies. A diagram showing the organizational structure of the American Freedmen's Union Commission is in Appendix A.

In a pamphlet, the Pennsylvania Branch of the AFUC described itself as being "composed of representatives of the various religious denominations," sending teachers who were "expected to go to the field in the missionary spirit" (Miscellaneous Unregistered Letters Received 1865-1871). Each branch and auxiliary society hired and paid its teachers. Teachers were accredited in the name of the Commission. The stated mission of the organization was

forward thinking for the time. It began by stating that its object was "to aid and cooperate with the people of the South …" and that no person would be excluded at their schools or other enterprises because of color (*American Freedmen* May 1866). Each auxiliary society associated with the AFUC depended upon individual donors and donations from congregations (fifty dollars per month in 1866) to provide teachers with salaries and other material support. Societies employed the equivalent to fundraisers to encourage donations in each state, "collecting agents" and "organizing agents." For example,

> We appeal to the clergy of every denomination. We appeal to every church. We appeal to every community. Let committees be appointed to secure monthly subscribers. Let *alert clubs* be organized among the children. …We urge you to do this by the highest considerations of patriotism, humanity, and religion. (Miscellaneous Unregistered Letters Received 1865-1871).

Further, the AFUC sent out school superintendents, lead teachers and counselors. In Virginia, the AFUC positioned five school superintendents under the leadership of a head superintendent (C. Thurston Chase, Virginia) and placed several lead teachers and counselors throughout the state. The mission was to distribute their school operations as evenly as possible and to avoid confrontation or territorial conflicts with other organizations. One thing that set the American Freedmen's Union Commission apart from other organizations was its stance on integration. Rare in its time, the Commission espoused the view that white and black children could learn in the same school room. Any child could attend any school managed by the AFUC. Rarely if ever did any white family send their child, but unlike other organizations, the possibility was open to them.

### *The New England Freedmen's Aid Society, Its Structure and Work in Virginia*

The New England Freedmen's Aid Society (NEFAS), although a non-sectarian auxiliary society associated with the Northeastern Branch of the AFUC, had operated since the Port Royal program (1863). It maintained branch societies, as well as a centralized Teacher's Committee, through which it managed hundreds of schools throughout the South. The organization did not own buildings or real estate of its own (Synopses of School Reports, 1867-69, roll 33). Like the AFUC, it had "absolute freedom from all sectarian connections and aims," but expected teachers "to be religious in character, and influence" (The Freedmen's Record 1865, 50). For consistency, the NEFAS requested that each society had as part of their name, "Freedmen's Aid Society." The NEFAS intended that their societies would work together with a united mission.

### *The African Civilization Society and its work in Virginia*

Although not prevalent in Virginia, the African Civilization Society (ACS) was an important black organization, established by Presbyterian ministers and headquartered in Weeksville, New York (a historic African-American village located in current-day Brooklyn). The organization maintained several schools (in Virginia, Washington DC, and New York), offered social assistance, and facilitated employment. Henry Garnet Smith, the President of the ACS, worked hard to maintain the delicate balance between the organization's initial mission to support black emigration to the continent of Africa, its mission as a mutual aid society, and the fact that it worked with the Freedmen's Bureau (Synopses of School Reports, roll 33, Educational Division, 178/360).

The vision of independence and self-reliance was important to the ACS. Junius Morel, a member and school principal, remarked that

> the peculiarity of our society is its being an enterprise managed by negroes for the elevation of themselves as a race. We ourselves must elevate our own race to the status of self-reliance, the fundamental element of which is education. (Morel, cited in Faulkner 2001, 5).

The African Civilization Society furnished, for 8000 students, schools in the District of Columbia, Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi with a total expenditure of $53,737 (Synopses of School Reports, roll 33, Educational Division, 178/360). Unfortunately, by 1869, they were forced to temporarily suspend educational work "due to pecuniary embarrassments" (Perry to Alvord July 23, 1869). The society published two periodicals, *The People's Journal* and *The Freedmen's Torchlight*, through which it provided learning materials and promoted students' academic efforts through its "Roll of Honor" column (The Freedmen's Torchlight, December 1866, 1).

***The American Missionary Association***

The American Missionary Association (AMA), which originated from the work of the Union Missionary Society (the Amistad Trial), was arguably the most prolific church-supported charitable organization, responsible for hundreds of primary and secondary schools as well as twenty-eight colleges across the South. Headquartered in New York, the AMA sustained three branch offices in Chicago, Cleveland, and Cincinnati; auxiliary societies and individual church congregations contributed to funding its many activities (American Missionary 1867). The American Tract Society, an organization with which the AMA had a close relationship, became the primary publisher for the AMA, and even separately supported a few schools (Richardson 1986; Superintendents' Statistical Monthly School Report 1865-1866). The organizational structure of the AMA, shown in Appendix B. The AMA was closely associated with the

Congregationalist Church denomination, and as such consistently sought evangelism and provision of religious education was its primary goals. The organization also became an important supporter of black education in the South for many years after the close of the Freedmen's Bureau, also supporting black teachers.

***Protestant Episcopal Freedmen's Commission***

In October 1865, the Episcopal Church, in response to the ravages of the Civil War, formed the Protestant Episcopal Freedmen's Commission (PEFC). The organization established schools with the support of the Bureau in Virginia and North Carolina to attract black congregants to the Episcopal Church. The PEFC was known as the most conservative group. During its first year of operation in Virginia, the organization established three schools in Petersburg and three schools in the Richmond area. By the 1866-1867 school year, the PEFC operated four schools in Norfolk, one school in Petersburg, and one school each in Halifax and Richmond (Superintendents Monthly School Report, 1866-1867). The organization also provided aid to white refugees. An "occasional" paper written by the Protestant Episcopal Freedmen's Commission outlined the organization's mission to educate formerly enslaved people as a means toward self-support, because "free and uneducated, he will not only corrupt but shatter our whole social fabric" (Protestant Episcopal Occasional Paper 1866).

***The American Baptist Home Mission Society***

The American Baptist Home Mission Society, established in 1832 and based in New York, expanded their missions to include schooling in 1862. The first schools they established were in South Carolina, at Beaufort as well as St. Helena's island. In Virginia, their first endeavors resulted in the establishment of schools at Fort Monroe, the District of Columbia. During the 1867-1868 school year, they operated 13-14 schools in the Virginia-Washington D.C.

area (Superintendent's Monthly School Report September 1867-June 1868). The ABHMS continued operating grammar or common schools until 1872 at which time, they concentrated their mission on the operation of colleges and universities. The organization was responsible for establishing twenty-seven colleges, including Wayland Seminary in Washington D.C. and Richmond Institute in Richmond, VA ("The American Missionary" 37, no. 2, 1857).

***Friends' Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia***

The Orthodox Quaker organization, the Friends' Association of Philadelphia, and Its Vicinity, for the Relief of Colored Freemen (FFAP), originated in 1863 and became known as Friends' Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia. The Friends' Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia, however, was continually active in Virginia, serving not only schools in the populous northern Virginia and Richmond, but also maintaining schools in less populated areas of central and western Virginia (Superintendents Monthly School Report, 1865-1871). The Friends' Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia along with other aid societies formed by Society of Friends' "yearly meeting" members (Friends' Freedmen's Association of New York, and The Society of Friends, Long Island) partnered with the Bureau, supported several schools throughout Virginia. The Friends' Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia was the most active Quaker organization in Virginia, assisting or fully operating schools across Virginia include less populated areas in the western part of the state.

# CHAPTER 6: BACKGROUND: THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

## The Freedmen's Bureau: Origins and the Act of 1865

In Washington, ministers, legislators, and others continued to advocate for emancipation policy, arguing that emancipation was a public good and a moral right. The important decisions concerning black refugees that the Army made in wartime brought to the forefront the need for a robust emancipation policy. The interactions between the Union Army and formerly enslaved African Americans, described in Chapter 4, would serve as a foundation for national policy, more than a century before the concept of "street-level bureaucracy" was recognized by scholar Michael Lipsky (1980).

Legislators of the 38th Congress argued intensely over emancipation and emancipation policy. Republican Representative Thomas Dawes Eliot (Massachusetts), an anti-slavery proponent, reminded Congress that freeing those who had been enslaved by the Confederacy had been "for our own selfish ends. It was to weaken the enemy. It was a means of crushing the rebellion" (Congressional Globe 38th Congress, 1st sess., 572, 1864). Neither of the Confiscation Acts had freed all of those enslaved, but rather, only those who had been forced to serve the Confederate Army. Likewise, the Emancipation Proclamation had only freed slaves in states that had seceded, and those who fought with the Union Army or Navy, leaving enslaved those who lived in the border states (Lincoln 1863. All others were considered as "contraband" (Owen, Robert, James McKaye, and Samuel Howe to Stanton June 30, 1863).

Full emancipation would constitute a significant shift in southern labor practice and redefine the southern economy. The practice of slavery supported many industries, especially the cotton industry, directly and indirectly, both in the United States and Europe (Beckert 2014, 242-

248). Consequently, Democratic legislators fought the prospect of nationwide emancipation as an incursion on states' rights, harm to the economy, and an invitation to create an unduly powerful central government; it was an affront to their understanding of federalism, in which the national government and the states operated within separate spheres of authority and responsibility (Belz 1975). Theoretically, pursuing a policy of emancipation could upend *Dred Scott* v. *Sandford* [60 U.S. 393 (19 How.) (1856)], that declared that African-Americans were not United States citizens, regardless of whether they were enslaved or free.

Despite the Democrats' arguments, a broader policy freeing all slaves had to be created. As Robert Lieberman (1994, 406), who traced the effects of institutional structure on the operation of the Freedmen's Bureau, observed, the result of the Emancipation Proclamation was that the United States government "shouldered the responsibility in finishing what it had begun, making freedmen citizens" (Lieberman 1994, 406).

The presence of thousands of enslaved people continuing their flight away from their masters prompted Congress, in 1863, to introduce a bill for a Bureau intended to facilitate the process of emancipation. The "Freedmen's Bureau" they proposed, was the brainchild of Radical Republicans Rep. Thomas Eliot (Massachusetts), Rep. Thaddeus Stevens (Pennsylvania), and Sen. Charles Sumner (Massachusetts). Faced with the political, social, and economic uncertainty caused by the war, moderates in Congress viewed taking a strong stance in support of the Freedmen's Bureau to be risky and expensive (Lieberman 1994). Radical Republicans, by contrast, supported stronger measures, whereas Democrats in Congress (and others throughout the country) opposed the agency and its mission.

Democratic legislators argued that the Constitution did not support this type of federal agency, especially one that in their view appropriated large sums that would fund social

assistance and education for a race they considered to be undeserving. Notwithstanding the racialized aspects of many arguments on the floor of Congress, the prospect of an overreaching federal government was a predominant concern. Attempting to answer his opponents' concerns, Rep. Eliot (Massachusetts) continued to urge the need for a government agency authorized to care for those displaced by the war. While there were already charitable agencies on the ground at contraband camps assisting both black and white refugees, some felt that the Army still spent too much on them. Pointing to a Bureau agent's testimony, Eliot's responded that "no fair-minded man… can say that in this department they have so far been a great burden to such a Government as ours" (Congressional Globe 38th Cong. Sess. 1, 571, 1864). Eliot continued to explain why he desired a government agency for emancipation, sketching a picture of an office in which all agencies would unite:

> A central office, disconnected from the Government … without any right to official information or assistance would lack the chief illumination now required: … a knowledge of how the existing machinery of the government in all departments can be brought to bear on the problem of guidance, support, and relief in this temporary but not brief state of the transition of millions of bondsmen from forced to free labor. (Congressional Globe, 38th Congress, Sess. 1, 572, 1864)

Still, other legislators voiced their concerns about the creation of an agency that would provide freed people with direct federal assistance while suffering white refugees would be overlooked. The bill (and, specifically, its title) therefore, was rewritten to reflect the primary importance of assisting white refugees. Although motivated by self-interest, this change helped the bill generate attention and support (Lieberman 1994; Francois 2013). Despite the bill's

change in orientation, it was not until January of 1864 that Rep. Eliot introduced another bill for a Bureau of Emancipation. The Bureau would become not only an instrument for the creation of the welfare state but also an instrument for "institutional development" (Lieberman 1994, 406). Discussions ensued as to where oversight would be placed for this Bureau. The Treasury Department, the Department of Justice, and the War Department were considered. The Treasury Department was viewed as a possibility because it controlled much of the South's confiscated property and could oversee land distribution. A bonus was that Radical Republican Salmon Chase directed the Treasury Department. Chase would later become Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, after losing the Presidential nomination to a more moderate Lincoln (Lieberman 1994).

***The Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1865***

Most legislators, like most citizens at that time, believed that accepting government help in order to soften the consequences of poverty was "childlike, subordinate, and feminine" (Faulkner 2004, 3). Recognizing that some level of government assistance would be inevitable to care for war refugees, Congress decided to enact a temporary agency. After much debate (the bill went to conference committee twice), both chambers finally approved the bill. On March 3, 1865, one month after the Thirteenth Amendment was sent to the states for ratification, President Lincoln signed into law the Act to Establish a Bureau for the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees (13 Stat. 507-509), officially establishing the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (commonly called the Freedmen's Bureau). The Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which officially abolished slavery and involuntary servitude in the United States, was finally ratified in December 1865.

To ensure that its tenure would be short-term, the Bureau was placed under the oversight of the War Department (Litwack 1980). Being situated within the War Department meant that it operated under the aegis of the Department of War's Office of Freedmen's Affairs, which during the war had already taken responsibility for the thousands of formerly enslaved African-Americans living in military encampments. That Congress did not appropriate additional funding for the Bureau meant that it imposed an unfunded mandate and created a resource dependency problem. The Bureau would have to depend on external partners in order to provide buildings and building materials, teachers, educational materials, and other kinds of assistance.

The Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1865 laid out a prescription for personnel, salaries, and the distribution of confiscated and abandoned lands. It stipulated that during the rest of the war (which ended on April 9, 1865) and for one year afterward, the Freedmen's Bureau was to supervise and manage "all abandoned lands and [have] control of all subjects relating to refugees and freed people" 13 Stat. 507).[15] The Act further specified that the Secretary of War (Edwin Stanton) would "direct such issues of provisions, clothing, and fuel, as he may deem necessary for the immediate and temporary shelter and supply of destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen and their wives and children" (13 Stat. 507, section 2).

The law also stipulated that a Commissioner, appointed by the President, would make available "to every male citizen, whether refugee or freedman" up to forty acres of land "within the insurrectionary states" that had been "abandoned or to which the United States had acquired the title by confiscation or sale, or otherwise (13 Stat. 507). Each person would be able to lease the property for up to six percent per year of the value of the land and "be protected in the use and enjoyment" of it for three years (13 Stat. 507, section 4). At the end of the three years, the

[15] The Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1865, 13 Stat. 507 (March 3, 1865).

renter had the opportunity to buy the land and obtain the title to it. Clearly, this policy component was tenuous. That it would have been infeasible to clear any clouds on confiscated or abandoned land titles rendered the policy almost impossible to enforce (Harrison 2007). The Bureau only had control of 850,000 acres of land (0.2% of potentially available southern land), which might have provided approximately twenty acres to 40,000 families (Harrison 2007).

### *The Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company*

On the same day that the Freedmen's Bureau was signed into law, Congress also established a charter for the private Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company (FSTC). The importance of this banking organization lay in its connection to Bureau education policy. The bank trustees had two goals. Initially, the bank was designed to protect African-American soldiers from unscrupulous persons who used a variety of means to steal paychecks. The bank's second goal was to increase financial literacy. One branch manager of Branch No. 47 in Norfolk, Virginia indicated that he held a night school five days a week (Registered Letters Received September 27, 1863 - January 5, 1871, image 587/1143). The FSTC was designed by Rev. J. W. Alvord and a group of some fifty men, all of whom were considered to be philanthropic leaders amenable to the cause of education. Many of the FSTC's trustees were also members of various charitable organizations or leaders of higher educational institutions, and its first President, Rev. J. W. Alvord, would become the Bureau Superintendent of Schools.

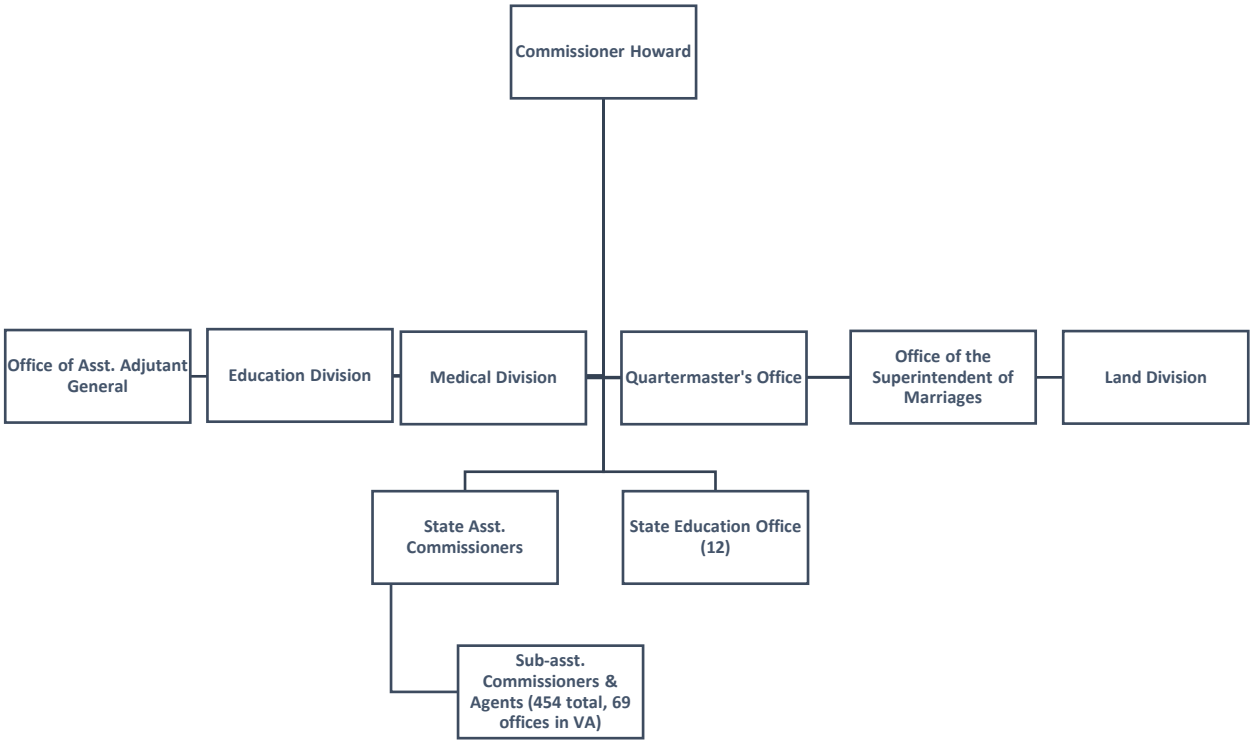
### *Bureau Structure and Personnel*

To lead the Freedmen's Bureau, President Abraham Lincoln tapped Major General Oliver Otis Howard, Commander of the Army of the Tennessee, who also was known as the "Christian Soldier" (Chodes 2005). Lincoln was assassinated before he was able to confirm the appointment, leaving his successor, President Andrew Johnson, to make Howard Commissioner

of the Freedmen's Bureau on May 12, 1865. Concerning his appointment, Howard remembered General Sherman's reaction: "… I hardly know whether to congratulate you or not… I fear you have a Hercules' [sic] task…it is not in your power to fulfill one-tenth of the expectation of those who formed the Bureau" (Howard 1907, 209). Howard agreed with that sentiment, writing in his memoir about "trying to familiarize myself with the whole field so suddenly spread before me, with no precedents to guide me" (Howard 1907, 224). As Howard would declare in a speech to the Maine Freedmen's Relief Society in Maine months later, "… I had a law to execute without the specified means to execute it" (Howard August 20, 1865).

The language in the law was vague but did set forth some guidelines. Secretary of War Stanton assigned Howard ten clerks of varying classes. By September of 1865, the original states that had signed the Succession Act (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia) were divided into ten districts (one assistant commissioner supervised both Missouri and Kentucky). The statute required each district to be supervised by an assistant commissioner who was appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate (The Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1865, 13 Stat. 507). The ten districts were apportioned further into sub-districts (typically, clusters of counties) led by sub-assistant commissioners who managed the daily activities of the Bureau at 454 offices (Carrier and Walton-Raji 2016). Howard's headquarters in Washington consisted of an Assistant Commissioner, a medical division, a financial division, a records division, an Assistant Inspector General, a Chief Quartermaster, a Claims Division officer, a General Superintendent of the Education Division, and a Land Division officer as shown in Figure 3 (Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1865).

Figure 3: Freedmen's Bureau organizational chart




In staffing the new Bureau, Howard sought army personnel who would ardently support his policies, often hiring former Union Army chaplains. Their work began during the summer of 1865 (Records of the Commissioner, 1865-1872). Assistant Commissioners organized their respective state offices along functional lines, each hiring a quartermaster, a disbursing agent, a surgeon-in-chief, a superintendent of education, and, at times, a commissary of subsistence (Records of the Bureau, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands). Depending upon the resources available, plantation inspectors and provost marshals might also have been utilized (Records of the Assistant Commissioner, Virginia, 1865-1871). Assistant Commissioners supervised Bureau activities for one or more states or the District of Columbia. Assistant Commissioners frequently

changed throughout the Bureau's existence due to transfers, mustering out, and removals by President Johnson. Sub-assistant commissioners supervised regions within these regions, typically areas comprised of multiple counties, and had the most contact with individuals (Virginia Bureau Field Offices, 1865-1869).

## Initial Conditions for Collaboration

In letters exchanged in late May of 1865, Francis George Shaw of the National Freedmen's Relief Association (New York) explained to Howard that New York, Boston, and Philadelphia Freedmen's Aid Societies planned to form a coalition to work more effectively. The growing coalition would continue in this vein, meeting with constituent societies for "securing greater unity of the several freedmen's aid societies and to cooperate with the freedmen's bureau" (Report of the American Freedmen's Aid Commission June 1865, 141). When apprised of this arrangement, Oliver Howard was pleased and requested to be kept in communication with this new association in order to support this new "arrangement" (Howard to Shaw May 29, 1865). The American Freedmen's Aid Commission would later become the American Freedmen's Union Commission.

Marmaduke Cope of the Friends' Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia (Society of Friends or Quakers) also wrote a poignant letter to the Assistant Commissioner of Virginia, Orlando Brown, in which he expressed the organization's desire to help, but also inquired about the extent of the Bureau's authority. In his request to Col. Brown, he expressed dismay that "the colored man is still subject more or less to the caprice and cupidity of the white man without the natural and full measure of redress, which should be the inherent right of every citizen of our Republic" (Cope to O. Brown May 29, 1865). Likewise, Cope felt that he and his colleagues "are

compelled yet in working for the negro to operate on a rickety [sic] platform and to move very cautiously with a defective bill of rights" (Cope to O. Brown May 29, 1865).

***Howard's Plan for Education in the South***

Howard's plan for education involved erecting an organizational structure that would sustain the work that charitable organizations already were engaged in and support cooperation between churches and charitable organizations. Secondly, he wanted to create a framework that eventually could be subsumed into future public school districts across the South. Howard's coordination plan, that was first communicated in section II of *Circular No. 2* (May 19, 1865). Circular No. 2 stated that "the various commissioners will look to the associations laboring in their respective districts to provide, as heretofore, for the wants of these destitute people" (*Circular No. 2* section 2). In this circular, issued days after his appointment as Commissioner, Howard requested that charitable organizations that were already operating schools submit to the Bureau their organization's name, a list of its lead officers, and "a brief statement of their present work" (*Circular No. 2,* section 2):

> I invite, therefore, the continuance and co-operation of such societies. I trust they will still be generously supported by the people...The utmost facility will be afforded to benevolent and religious organizations and State authorities in the maintenance of good schools, (for refugees and freedmen) until a system of free schools can be supported by the reorganized local governments. Let me repeat, that in all this work it is not my purpose to supersede the benevolent agencies already engaged in it, but to systematize and facilitate them. (*Circular No. 2,* section 2).

Organizations such as the American Missionary Association, the American Freedmen's Aid Commission, and the Friends' Freedmen's Association were already in the field, distributing

donated goods, managing schools, and serving as missionaries. Organization leaders eagerly complied with the request, sending letters that outlined their organizational history, leadership, mission, and current commitments. The goal of Howard's plan was to alleviate organizational overcrowding, organizational conflict, and duplication of services, and to attempt to prevent uneven distribution of services.

Howard then saw an opportunity to organize the work of organizations across the South. To facilitate a nascent system of schools, he issued *Circular No. 11*, to direct each assistant commissioner to appoint a state superintendent of schools who would "secure proper protection," "correspond with the benevolent agencies which are supplying his field," and assist with education reporting (*Circular No. 11* July 11, 1865). Howard also turned to his officers for assistance since several of his hired officers had already served as aid workers. In a letter to J. W. Alvord, the General Superintendent of Education of the Bureau, he asked, "I want you to write me, and give me all the ideas and suggestions you may have drawn from your experiences and observations with reference to what you consider the best course to be found in dealing with the freedmen. I want you to write me, particularly regarding schools" (Alvord to Howard May 15, 1865).

As Howard organized the Bureau, he realized that he had inherited Army policies and practices concerning education, employment, medical care, and social welfare for refugees. The Army had provided buildings for schools, orphanages, hospitals, and asylums, as well as transportation and rations for teachers and other aid workers. As Howard sought to regularize practices under the auspices of the Bureau, some facets of these existing relationships changed. Suspecting that there was no written War Department policy for distribution of free rations for teachers and other workers (around encampments) during the Civil War, Howard issued *Circular*

*No. 7* (June 11, 1865), ending the free rations that had previously been provided by the Army. Workers could obtain rations but at cost. Howard did not propose this measure merely as a means of cost savings, but moreover to stop the uneven implementation of the previous policy; depending on location, not all workers could expect free rations, transportation, or board (*Circular No. 7* June 11, 1865). The move prompted associations to send complaint letters and regroup their efforts. The New England Freedmen's Aid Society, in their June 1865 annual report, announced to their auxiliary societies that due to the new policy, the cost for branch societies to fund a teacher and materials rose from $300 to $500 a year (June Annual Report of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society 1865).

In August 1865, Howard traveled to Maine to give a speech to the Maine Freedmen's Relief Society, in which he explained his plan for organizational collaboration. The speech outlined Howard's beliefs about the mission of the Bureau, and the people involved and how that mission could be realized. He declared that as far as social assistance and education, the Bureau would need to depend upon the voluntary sector. "When Congress meets, I shall put our wants before it. Until then, we must depend to some extent upon the associations already formed" (The National Freedmen 1866, 233-239). Howard intimated in this particular speech that it was unprepared, so on the one hand, his words may have been more transparent than if they had been prepared ahead; on the other hand, however, his words reflected more passion than careful thinking ("Interesting Speech by Gen. Howard August 20, 1865). Howard continued to explain why the Bureau could not conduct education on its own. "It is impossible," he said; "it would be as difficult to control the school system in South Carolina as it would in Maine" ("Interesting Speech" by Gen. Howard August 20, 1865).

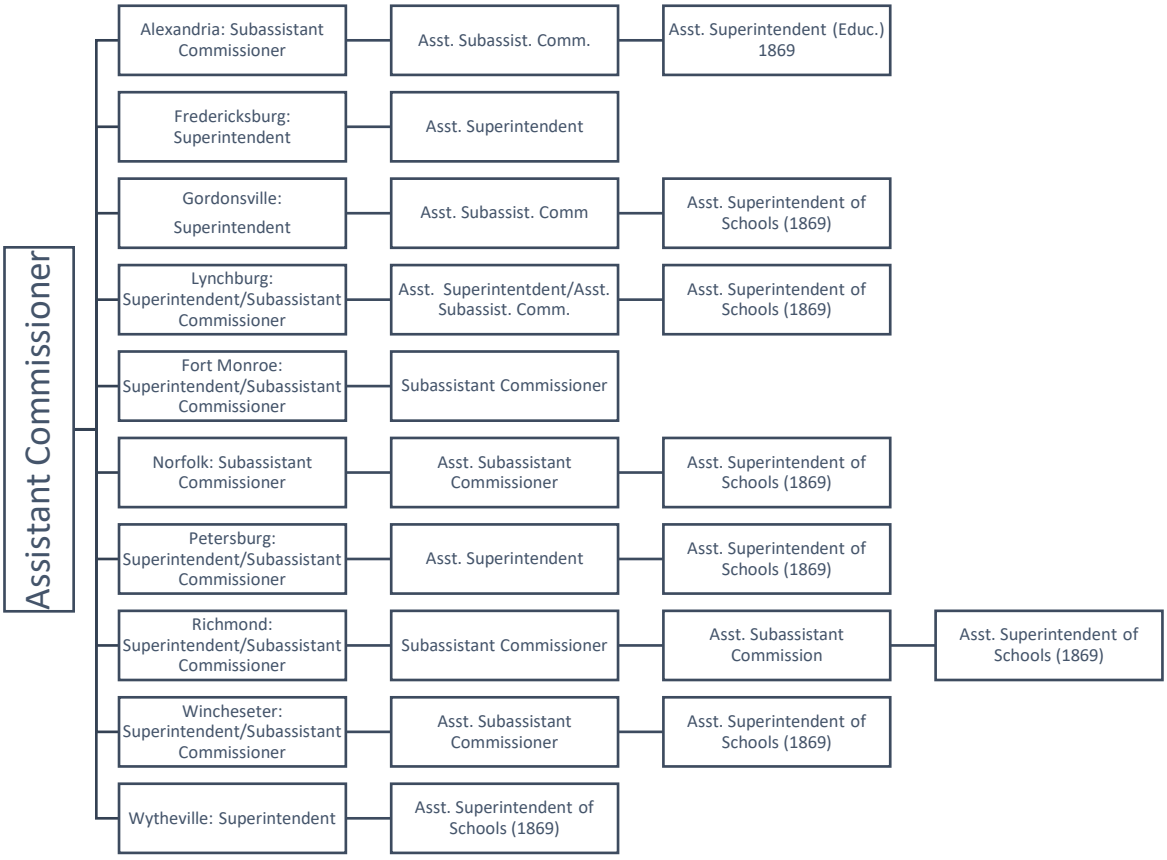
Howard sought to support the creation of schools by providing organizations with the Bureau's holdings of land and buildings. Howard issued Circular No. 13 (concerning abandoned and confiscated land) which might have helped to locate available buildings for schools and teacher's living quarters, but the circular was never published (Circular No. 13 is noted in Circular No. 15). President Johnson, through his Reconstruction Plan, ordered the return of all confiscated and abandoned lands to former owners if they declared their allegiance to the Union. Howard issued a revised Circular No. 13 to comply with President Johnson's policies, but upon reviewing it, Johnson ordered his staff to revise it. The resulting, President-approved Circular No. 15 (September 1865) had devastating consequences. Howard, dismayed by this reversal, reluctantly delivered the new policy to a saddened crowd of freed people in South Carolina, and later reflected in his memoir, "Why did I not resign?" (Howard 1907). The policy returned almost all land managed by the Bureau to its former owners, forcing African-Americans who had leased land to vacate it. A small number of African Americans who had purchased a property through the Bureau program managed to retain ownership because they had obtained legal (clear) land titles. After all of the crops were harvested. However, most people and institutions living or working on government-leased property were displaced. As far as schools and other institutions were concerned, the Bureau had the task of relocating each affected school. Districts were redrawn where boundary lines crossed returned property. Lastly, Johnson's new plan removed the primary source of funding for the Bureau (land sales), and, virtually "amended" the Freedmen's Bureau Act (Foner 1988 cited in Harrison 2007). The reduction of the Bureau's income significantly increased its dependence upon congressional appropriations as well as the collaborative relationships they formed with charitable organizations.

A lack of funding was not the only issue affecting the Bureau's schooling plan. The Bureau sought to protect its teachers as newly freed peoples. The lack of personnel and the lack of skilled, empathetic agents left a wide berth for local citizens to fight what they saw as an imposition of the federal government. Delegates of the Convention of the Colored People of Virginia wrote to Howard to emphasize the obstacles created by southern loyalists and others they knew, asserting that the fidelity of these former Confederates "was only lip-deep," and "that their professions of allegiance are used as a cover to the cherished design of getting restored to their former relations with the Federal Government" ("An Address to the Loyal Citizens and Congress of the United States" 1865). Military protection was necessarily crucial to prevent Afro-Americans (being unprotected) from returning to a state equal to or worse than slavery ("An address to the Loyal Citizens and Congress of the United States," August 1865).

***The Establishment of the Virginia Bureau***

The area that approximates the boundaries of present-day Virginia initially was divided into ten districts that each was supervised by a sub-assistant commissioner (July 1865 - April 1867). District headquarters were located in Alexandria, Fort Monroe, Fredericksburg, Gordonsville, Lynchburg, Norfolk, Petersburg, Richmond, Winchester, and Wytheville. Each district was further divided into sub-districts, each headed by an assistant sub-assistant commissioner shown in Figure 4 on the next page (Pamphlet, Records of Virginia Field Office, 1). Virginia consisted of a total of sixty-nine districts and sub-districts. Depending upon the resources available, quartermasters, plantation inspectors, and provost marshals might also have been utilized.

Figure 4: Virginia Freedmen's Bureau organizational chart




As soon as Howard was installed as Commissioner, he directed the Bureau to begin keeping records. In 1865, records were mostly narrative and rudimentary. These rudimentary handwritten records, both narrative and "tabular," provided some information as to the teachers (race, experience, performance), the location and appearance of the school, the organizations that

operated schools, and the needs as expressed by either the inspector or the teachers ("Inspection Report of the Inspector of Schools," (Virginia) March 1865-April 1866).[16]

**The Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1866**

On December 18, 1865, the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery and involuntary servitude was ratified. Concern arose over whether the Freedmen's Bureau would continue to function. Senator Charles Sumner (Massachusetts) admonished Congress to extend the tenure of the Freedmen's Bureau. Sumner's argument also rested on the humanitarian elements of the Bureau, probably because his original idea for the 1865 bill had been to situate it in the Treasury Department, which supervised confiscated lands, rather than tie it to the war as Eliot's version had (Eliot desired a Bureau to be situated in the War Department).

On January 5, 1866, Lyman Trumbull introduced a second Freedmen's Bureau. Rep. Hubbard (Connecticut) argued that the purpose of the Freedmen's Bureau had been to facilitate "employment to the emancipated with compensation," and "to give [freedmen] an opportunity to learn to read and to protect them reasonable in their civil rights" (39th Congress, 1st sess. 630, 1866). Opponents of the bill argued that the Freedmen's Bureau provided race-conscious benefits for a select group, which was unconstitutional and would create dependency (Francois 2014). President Johnson was chief among the proposed bureau's opponents. Johnson was a Unionist, a former Southern Democrat, and a slaveowner and small plantation owner. He felt that the federal government should not be in the business of providing direct relief. He believed that individual state governments would best aid "freedmen," or that African-Americans should

[16] Inspection Report of the Inspector of Schools March-April 1866, United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Education and the Education Division, 1865-1872, Virginia, NARA Microfilm M15053, Roll 13, Image 11-17.
This information reflected schools located in Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Petersburg, Virginia

create social institutions and methods of assistance (*The Papers of Andrew Johnson* February - July 1866, 10:712).

A friend and former officer wrote to General Howard to express concern and a "feeling of pity for you and others at Washington toiling away at Bureau problems and wondering what the President will do next" (Thomas to Howard September 10, 1866, cited in Cox and Cox 1953). Legislators argued vehemently over the second Freedmen's Bureau Bill as heated discussions erupted over the Civil Rights bills. The Civil Rights Acts were signed into law over Johnson's veto in April 1866 (14 Stat. 27-30). On July 16, 1866, Congress enacted the Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1866, an addendum to the first Freedmen's Bureau Act, over President Johnson's veto (39th Congress, sess. 1, Ch. 184, 200, 173 July 16, 1866).

The overlap of the Civil Rights Acts and the three post-war constitutional amendments was consequential. The Civil Rights Acts and the Thirteenth Amendments had provided for emancipation legally, but the Freedmen's Bureau provided the goods and services necessary for emancipation (Graber 2016). Senator Lyman explained that the Civil Rights Act would be utilized where courts had been established, and the Freedmen's Bureau Act would operate where civil courts had not yet been established (Halbrook 2002). Further, the Civil Rights Act of 1866, conveyed the right to buy and sell real property. Not only did the law promote economic independence, but now more African-Americans could buy property on which to place schools and other community institutions.

Further, the Civil Rights Acts of 1866, in section 4, authorized the Freedmen's Bureau "to institute proceedings against all and every person who shall violate the provisions of this Act" (4 Stat. 27-30, section 4). Considering the level of violence that continually occurred during this period, the authorization for the Bureau to arrest, imprison, or take to trail offenders would

have been crucial to these new "citizens" (4 Stat. 27-30). Unfortunately, the Act stopped short of providing the right to vote.

The Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1866 fully authorized the Freedmen's Bureau to operate for two more years, enabling the Bureau to provide "supervision and care" for "loyal refugees and freedmen"… "to enable them as speedily as practicable to become self-supporting citizens of the United States, and to aid them in making the freedom conferred … available to them and beneficial to the republic" (14 Stat. 173). The law made provision for the appointment of two more state Assistant Commissioners, additional clerks, and paid civilian agents. In section 3, the military was given jurisdiction over the Bureau's agents (14 Stat. 173). In addition, the Bureau gained the authority to offer pensions to black Union veterans (soldiers and sailors). Through this law, Congress expanded the tenure of the agency as well as its responsibilities. The Bureau now provided wages and expanded court jurisdictions, all with small increases in staffing. Through section 4 of the second Bureau Act, the Secretary of War could draw personnel from the Veterans' Reserve Corp.[17] The Secretary of War was also authorized, in section 5, to provide medical care.

The Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1865 had amounted to the creation of an unfunded agency, further hampered by the return of the land that had been confiscated. Through the second Freedmen's Bureau Act, passed in July 1866 (14 Stat. 173), Congress appropriated money toward institutionalizing a nascent system of schooling throughout the southern states. Section 12 of the law specified that "the commissioner shall have the power to seize, hold, use, lease, or

[17] The Veterans Reserve Corps was initiated through War Department General Order No. 105 (April 28, 1863). Men in the Veterans' Reserve Corps, originally called the Invalid Corps, had either been discharged due to injury or wounds, or were under medical care, but still capable of serving (NARA bulletin 2010).

sell" all buildings, and tenements, and any lands…formerly held by the so-called confederate states…and to use the same or appropriate the proceeds derived therefrom to the education of the freed people." The mandate was accompanied by an authorization that any lands that were not already authorized for return to their original owners (Circular No. 15, September 1865), could be used, leased, or sold with the sale proceeds going toward the education of freed people and refugees (14 Stat. 173).

The Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1866 (14 Stat. 173) authorized in July 1866, appropriated funds for education, and it also authorized Howard to partner with charitable organizations. Section 13 of the law specifically mandated public-private collaboration, stipulating that

> … the commissioner shall at all times cooperate with private benevolent associations of citizens in aid of freedmen, and with agents and teachers, duly accredited and appointed by them, and shall hire or provide by lease building for purposes of education whenever such association shall, without cost to the government, provide suitable teachers and means of instructions; and he shall furnish such protection as may be required for the safe conduct of the schools. (14 Stat. 173)

With the sale of available properties, Commissioner Howard could fund partially schooling projects. He appropriated monies to provide building materials, school furniture, buildings for schools (and teacher housing), and funding for building repair work (Howard 1870). Howard was also authorized to provide some protection for those occupying buildings used for schools and teacher housing. Through each state education, office teachers could continue to obtain vouchers for free government-sponsored transportation between their home states and their teaching assignments in the South.

## The Freedmen's Bureau Acts of July 6, 1868

The Freedmen's Bureau Act of July 6, 1868, "An Act to Continue the Bureau for the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees and for other Purposes" (15 Stat. 83), authorized the Bureau to continue for one year, yet also paved the way for its termination. By law, the Secretary of War was to discontinue the Bureau as each state became "fully restored in its constitutional relations with the government of the United States…" This was unless "a further continuance of the Bureau shall be necessary" because "the personal safety of freedmen shall require it" (15 Stat. 83). The Commissioner was authorized to use unexpended funds toward education and sell Bureau-owned school buildings to the associations and trustees who were operating schools in them.

The debate over the Freedmen's Bureau continued unabated even after the passage of the 1868 Act. Arguments ranged from the defense of the Bureau to complaints about its spending. President Johnson fired Secretary of War Edwin Stanton and replaced him with General Ulysses Grant. Congress overrode him with the Tenure in Office Act of 1867 (14 Stat. 430), which stated that the President could not remove civil officers without the consent of the Senate. Stanton was set back in office. Johnson conceded. Now Congress had substantial reasons to impeach the President. The trial lasted for two months, and Johnson narrowly escaped impeachment by one vote. All the southern states, with the exception of Georgia, along with other provisions, had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, allowing them back in the Union. Now Congress felt it could safely end the Bureau.

In less than three weeks, on July 25, 1868, Congress amended the third Freedmen's Bureau Act. They enacted an "Act Relating to the Freedmen's Bureau and Providing for its

Discontinuance" (15 Stat. 193) which ordered Howard to withdraw all Bureau agents from each of the former Confederate states that had been fully restored, by January 1, 1869. The only Bureau offices that would remain open would be the Education Division and the Claims Division. This new law could negatively affect the number of Virginia schools that received Bureau assistance.

## The Closing of the Freedmen's Bureau

The War Department authorized the Adjutant General's office under the War Department to continue maintaining Bureau Schools across the South with any unexpended monies. In addition, the Adjutant General's Office would distribute pay, pensions, and bounty payments to black Union soldiers and sailors, and operate the Freedmen's Hospital (in Washington D.C.) then placed under the Department of the Interior. By 1869, organizations closed or consolidated smaller schools. The Virginia General Assembly, on July 11, 1870, would pass *An Act to Establish and Maintain A Uniform System of Public Free Schools.*

Considering the enormous quantity of records that Howard had been responsible for, it was not surprising that some records were lost. Howard had intended to keep intact all the Bureau's records. He ordered that all records be brought to Washington D.C. and then transported to the campus of Howard University (where he maintained an office) for storage.[18] The records were placed in crates and transferred by wagon to the cellar of a Howard University building (Howard 1872). In 1872, Assistant Adjutant General Thomas Vincent (War Department), who assumed charge over the records, wrote to General Baluch, the chief disbursing officer for the former Bureau and Major General Howard in order to obtain missing

[18] Howard University is an historically black university (HBCU) located in Washington D.C. An Act of Congress in 1867 established the institution and it was named for the Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, Oliver Otis Howard.

Bureau records. He thought that Howard might have destroyed the records (Vincent to Belknap January 1872). In a letter to Secretary of War Belknap, Vincent surmised that during the transport to Howard University or the transport to the Adjutant General's office, some records were lost, destroyed, or stolen (Vincent to Belknap January 1872).

Subsequently, Howard planned to transfer the records from Howard University to the Adjutant General's Office (a distance of two miles) with the assistance of some Howard University students who worked as his clerks (Moodey to Vincent 1873). In his autobiography, Howard describes the scene of the transfer. Personnel from Assistant Adjutant General Vincent's office arrived at Howard University and fired the students who handled the records, "treating them as if in disgrace" (Howard 1901, 448). They proceeded to remove the records, according to Howard, "with little regard to order…" and "record books were found on the stairs of the university and the grounds" (Howard 1901, 449). A Court of Inquiry was called on account of the "confusion of records" as well as misappropriation of funds and defrauding African-American soldiers (targeting the disbursing officer Balloch). Almost four months later, Howard was found "not guilty" and to have performed "his whole duty" (Howard 1901, 451-452; House Committee Papers, 1873). In letters to Belknap, Howard expressed his disappointment at a seeming campaign to disparage the Bureau (Howard 1873). The lost records were not recovered.

Despite its critics, the Bureau had created a legacy. By 1870, the AMA, the American Baptist Home Missionary Society, and other organizations consulted with the Bureau to establish several higher education institutions that included Fisk University in Nashville Tennessee (1866); Atlanta University (now Clark Atlanta University), in Atlanta, Georgia (1865); Normal and Agricultural Institute(now Hampton University) in Hampton, Virginia (1868); and Howard University, in Washington D.C. (1867) (*American Missionary* 1870).

Often considered the most important legacy of the Freedmen's Bureau, education, as established by the Bureau, had created public value. Although its education policies were paternalistic, the Freedmen's Bureau and its civil society partners had expanded opportunities for African-Americans and poor white citizens to receive an education. Working together, the Bureau and its partners had built or renovated buildings to hold elementary and high schools, normal schools, industrial schools, and colleges and universities. They had wholly supported teachers, not only by paying them, but also by providing them with places to live, free transportation, and inexpensive rations. Although much maligned, the Bureau-supported system of organization-run schools provided a ready foundation for the new public school system in Virginia. For African-Americans, education offered a path toward citizenship, freedom, and independence. It provided the means to build communities of professionals that were necessary to support African-Americans in a segregated society.

# CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS

This chapter organizes the dissertation's main findings within a chronological narrative. Primary documents indicated the formation of relationships between the Freedmen's Bureau and charitable organizations that were relevant to the development of schooling in Virginia. The first section outlines findings the describe relationships that were formed during the Civil War in Virginia. The subsequent section presents findings describing relationships formed in Virginia after the Civil War. The last section presents findings that outline the effects of the Bureau's decline on those collaborative relationships in the last years of the Bureau's tenure.

Overall, this examination of a historical federal agency generated findings that were consistent with the current knowledge of the collaboration process. Preexisting relationships formed the basis for collaborative relationships to form between the Bureau and charitable aid organizations. These relationships were integral to the formation of schools that served formerly enslaved persons as well as other war refugees. Ultimately, political and social pressure facilitated the closing of the Bureau. Yet, the schools not only remained, but also formed the foundation for the public school system in Virginia.

## Evidence of Army-Civil Society Relationships in Virginia During the Civil War

The general picture emerging from the data was that the Union Army formed relationships with some of the aid organizations during the Civil War and these relationships that were developed formed the basis for collaborative relationships between the Bureau and aid organizations after the War. There were several installations at which Union Army personnel formed relationships with aid organizations. For this project, I considered Fort Monroe, Virginia

where cooperation between the Union Army and charitable organizations was successful in providing social provision and education for people who arrived in the area.

### *The American Missionary Association*

An American Missionary Association (AMA) representative named Lewis Tappan wrote to General Benjamin Butler on August 8, 1861 after reading about the events at Fortress Monroe in the newspaper (Butler 1917). He offered his encouragement as well as an indirect offer of assistance (Butler 1917). Butler replied that "if any benevolent individual" wanted to offer help, refugees could use shoes and clothing. It fell to Edward Pierce to orchestrate social relief and labor at Fortress Monroe with the help of the AMA.

Mary Smith Peake, a free African-American woman who had been operating a secret school in her home, began administering a school for the American Missionary Association beginning in the fall of 1861 (*The American Missionary* 1891, 1). She taught in the open air, outside Fort Monroe, for almost a year, before dying from tuberculosis in 1862. The tree under which she taught was named "Emancipation Oak," and still stands on the grounds of what later became the campus of Hampton University, a historically black institution (HBCU).

Other forms of help continued to arrive at Fort Monroe as well. One letter, written by then AMA missionary and teacher, Rev. Woodbury, explained that the shipment of several trunks of clothing, books, and "sundries," was sent by the American Missionary Association to people living at Fort Monroe (Woodbury to Lt. Col. V.B. Kinsman, Superintendent of Negro Affairs at Fort Monroe June 14, 1864).

### *Friends' Societies*

Harriett Jacobs and her daughter Louisa, teachers from New York, arrived in Alexandria, Virginia to teach with the support of the Friends' Societies of New York and Philadelphia. About

these societies, Harriett Jacobs wrote that "the Quakers of Philadelphia who sent me here have done nobly for my people. They have indeed proved themselves a Society of Friends" (Jacobs and Jacobs to Childs March 26, 1864; Jacobs 1861; Jacobs to *Freedmen's Record* January 13, 1865; Jacob's (Linda) School Alexandria, *Freedmen's Journal* February 1865, 19). The Society of Friends' funded the teaching salaries of both Harriett Jacobs and her daughter Louisa. Harriett Jacobs had been enslaved but escaped, living and hiding in New York for years. Members of the Society of Friends had been instrumental in hiding her, providing subsequent support toward her teaching, and encouragement for her to write her autobiography (Jacobs 1861).

**Education and the Virginia Bureau (1865-1866)**

Shortly after the Freedmen's Bureau was established, Col. Orlando Brown assumed the role of Freedmen's Bureau Assistant Commissioner for Virginia in June 1865. When he established the educational division, he initially appointed as his Superintendent of Schools, Reverend William H. Woodbury, a civilian acquaintance, and AMA supported teacher at the "government school" in Norfolk (Butt 1908, 32). Woodbury, encouraged by Brown, tapped his AMA network as well as other freedmen's aid societies to recruit teachers and other professionals to support the building of schools in Virginia (Brown to Woodbury July 3, 1865). Because Woodbury was a civilian, Brown hoped he would be supported through AMA funding. Woodbury would stay in the position for about a year before being replaced by Rev. Ralza Manly, a former Union Army chaplain.

Letters arrived at headquarters daily, most likely in response to the request made in Commissioner Howard's *Circular No. 2*, that provided details about how the Bureau would interact with benevolent societies as well as advice to the Bureau on the best methods of establishing modes of education for freed people. Organization officials offered their services to

the Bureau to "aid the Government in the examination of this grave problem" (Cheney to Brown July 15, 1865). As the secretary for the Teacher's Committee for the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, Ednah Cheney promised "we have entire confidence in your judgment and will cooperate with you in Virginia to the extent of our ability sending as many teachers as we possibly can to the place where you think most important" (Cheney to Brown July 15, 1865). In Virginia, Bureau school records (July 1865-June 1866) listed schools by address, municipality, or physical location (refugee "contraband" camps, courthouses, hospitals, or orphanages) (Virginia, Monthly and Other School Reports, 1865-1872; How to Tukey October 4, 1865).[19] By November 1865, forty schools operated in Virginia (monthly school report, 1865-1870).

To facilitate "systematization," the school inspector for Virginia, Charles Raymond was dispatched to visit schools regularly and report on conditions. Raymond visited as many schools as possible, including those supported by the Bureau as well as those which schools operated independently. Chaplain Charles Raymond submitted narrative and "tabular statements" concerning the schools (Inspection Report of the Inspector of Schools March-April 1866, Roll 13). Raymond was asked to include a section of "remarks and suggestions accompanying tabular statement of private schools for colored children in Norfolk and Portsmouth" ("Tabular Statement" March 1866).[20] Charles Raymond's narrative and tabular reports of private schools

[19] United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Education and the Education Division, 1865-1872, Education Division, Roll 32, Virginia, Monthly and Other School Reports, Images 13- 28/566.

[20] "Tabular Statements of Private Colored Schools in Norfolk and Portsmouth." March 1866. Inspection Report of Inspector of Schools, March 1866-April 1866, Roll 13. United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Education and the Education Division, 1865-1872, Virginia, NARA Microfilm publication M1053. Record Group 105, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

listed where teachers were born (or whether previously enslaved), school appearance and discipline, the length of time a teacher had taught, number of pupils, number of grades in the school, salary, and how many pupils paid tuition ("Tabular Statement" March 1866). The narrative reports also included space for the Inspector's opinion regarding the progress of the school, his assessment of the competence of its teachers, and his understanding of how the schools were attended and received by freed people.

One particular example in his narrative report involved a Ms. Skinner (an African-American teacher from Connecticut) and her school, which "compares favorably with those of white teachers" (Raymond March 1866). The Society of Friends of New York supported Ms. Skinner's school. The Society of Friends experimented with this private school such that Ms. Skinner would solicit support from pupils' families and the Society of Friends guaranteed the balance of any support lacking, so that the school would be "independent of extraneous influences" (Raymond March, 1866). Other private schools that were located in the area, were managed by African-American teachers without Bureau assistance. Although it would be wrong to underestimate the value of these schools to the African-American community at the time, Raymond estimated that "nothing good can be said of them" (Raymond March, 1866). At least another fourteen private schools in the area were managed by the African-American community. Their support would continue to increase well beyond the existence of the Bureau and the Reconstruction period. In addition to operating schools, African-Americans also gave to other organizations, including predominately white charitable organizations. African-Americans supported schools established by predominately white organizations by paying tuition, constructing buildings, boarding teachers, and sometimes providing or supplementing teacher salaries, on their own or at the behest of organizations (*The American Freedmen* May, 1866, 29).

Figure 5: Organizations that managed schools (1865-1866).
Some of the organizations listed were precursors to later organizations.[21]

| Organizations Operating in Virginia (July 1865 - June 1866) |
| --- |
| • American Baptist Home Mission Society<br>• American Union Commission<br>• Episcopal Association of New York<br>• Episcopal Missionary Society<br>• Free Presbyterian Church<br>• Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society<br>• Friends' Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia<br>• Friends Society New York<br>• Lynchburg Board of Education (city government)<br>• Mahoning Presbyterian Church<br>• National Freedmen's Relief Association<br>• New England Freedmen's Aid Society<br>• New York National Freedmen's Relief Association<br>• Old School Presbyterian Board<br>• Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association<br>• Protestant Episcopal Freedmen's Commission<br>• United States Christian Commission |

***Issues and Concerns***

Territorial disputes between organizations were a special concern for the Bureau, especially when concern erupted over perceived preferences given to the larger organizations. These conflicts were aired often through letters to Bureau officials. Howard's close personal relationships with particular organizational leaders fueled those concerns. Rev. George Whipple, a Congregationalist minister and corresponding secretary of the American Missionary

[21] Monthly Statistical School Reports of District Superintendents, July 1865-April 1869, Jan. 1870, roll 12.

Association, became a close friend to General Howard. Over time, Whipple would serve on several Boards of Trustees of schools and the Freedmen's Savings Bank. The Bureau's Superintendent of Schools Rev. John Alvord, who began his tenure with the Bureau as the Inspector of Finances and Schools until 1867, previously had served as the secretary of the American Tract Society (which served at the publishing company for the AMA) and on the Board of the Freedmen's Savings and Trust.

In a remarkably candid letter to J. W. Alvord, George Whipple expressed concern over the perceived marginalization of his organization, the AMA, because of a complaint from a rival organization he did not name. He perceived that the complaint described the AMA as an exclusionary organization and that "General Howard is entirely clear that distinct denominational attempts to share the educational work are alike unnecessary uneconomical and therefore unwise" (Whipple to Alvord September 5, 1865). He also gathered that the letter pointed to partnerships between the AMA and various denominational churches (Free Will Baptists, Dutch Reformed Church, Wesleyans, Presbyterian Church) of whom Whipple said supported the work of the AMA through fundraising. Alvord reassured him that the Bureau had not excluded the AMA and that his understanding was in error (Whipple to Alvord September 5, 1865).

Bureau Commissioner Oliver Howard and Bureau Superintendent of Education Alvord developed close relationships with the Corresponding Secretary at the American Missionary Association, George Whipple. These relationships served to strengthen the collaborative relationship between the AMA and the Bureau. These men did not only share personal and professional friendships (Alvord introduced Whipple to Howard); Howard also was a member of the Congregational Church (which sponsored the AMA), and Alvord had been the President of the American Tract Society (which was associated with the AMA). Friendships between these

individuals facilitated a warmth and familiarity that supported a close working relationship. Friendly relations and periodic sharing of personnel between the AMA and the Bureau made the working relationship easier; the structure of the organization facilitated clear communication. Unfortunately, this friendship also caused Howard to be accused of supporting the AMA to a greater extent than he supported other organizations.

## Evidence of Cooperative Relationships (1866-1868)

At the passing of the Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1866, Bureau Superintendent of Education Rev. J. W. Alvord was not pleased. He complained to an acquaintance that the appropriation from Congress "has stricken from it everything except a pittance for building" (Alvord to Murphy July 23, 1866). The 1866 Freedmen's Bureau Act nonetheless had extended the Bureau's life for two more years. The law, however, also stated that after those two years, each state would be responsible for "the education of its citizens without distinction of color" (15 Stat. 83).

Now that the Bureau received some funding, accountability became more important, Like other state-level education superintendents for the Bureau, Rev. Ralza Manly was required to compile monthly consolidated statistical reports for Virginia. The reports included information about attendance, sources of funding, building ownership, and types of instruction provided, as well as knowledge of non-participating schools (Monthly School Report July 1865-April 1869, January 1870). Through this reporting, the condition of schools could be determined at any given time. Even though this process of record-keeping generated a great deal of helpful information, it also tended to overwhelm its participants (Bureau superintendents and teachers alike), resulting in inconsistencies, and incomplete or inaccurate reporting. Unlike other sections of the Bureau, the record-keeping for educational institutions depended upon the submissions of non-Bureau

personnel. Reports were submitted by teachers, principals, and superintendents who did not work directly for the Bureau. As the number of organizations that were engaged in managing schools, increased, Col. Brown and Superintendent of Schools, Rev. Ralza Manly attempted to assign certain societies to specific areas to alleviate crowding when possible. Although societies worked independently, for the most part, Bureau agents encouraged them to divide their work by district. Charitable organizations were also asked to send agents to function as local superintendents to districts in Virginia. The effort was only moderately successful.

In cities like Richmond, equitable distribution of educational assistance was nearly impossible. Charitable organizations fought to increase the number of schools for which they were responsible. Virginia Bureau Superintendent Manly formulated a system to alleviate some of the pressure between organizations such that no schools would be located in churches (unless the appropriate amount of room was available), and all schools would be graded (Manly to Walker October 10, 1866, 90-91/815). To alleviate overcrowding, he created a plan that divided Richmond into four geographic districts and assigned organizations to each district (Manly to Murray August 25, 1866, 76/815; Manly to Walker October 10, 1866, 90-91/815; Manly to Stevenson September 27, 1866, 89/815).[22] Manly also sought help to build a high school from members of various civil society actors in northern states, for which the Bureau would provide building materials and some labor. The American Freedmen's Union Commission would provide funds, and people ("the colored people") would be recruited to build the school and provide

[22] Roll 1, Letters Sent, Vol 1-2, March 1866-June 1869, Virginia. United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Education and the Education Division, 1865-1872, Record Group 105, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

funds as well (Manly to Murray August 25, 1866). Robert Murray provided books for the high school (Manly to Estes October 12, 1866).

Virginia's proximity to the District of Columbia enabled it to attract a large number of organizations. The 1866-1867 school year was a productive year. By the end of the 1866-1867 school year, nineteen northern organizations and several individuals operated 980 schools (Monthly Superintendent's Statistical School Report, 1866-1867) with the Bureau's help.[23] Of those schools, African-American individuals and societies managed thirty-three schools, and unknown sponsors supported another 200 schools. Organizations tended to concentrate their efforts in larger cities like Richmond, Norfolk, where large populations of freed peoples lived. The "Inspector's Report" showed that schools were located in church basements, church sanctuaries, hospitals, concert halls, homes, or even the "audience rooms of a church," ("Inspection Report" March-April 1866).[24]

Funding for school buildings came through a mixture of sources that included indirect monetary donations from religious organizations and churches, and in-kind donations from both church-supported charitable organizations and the Freedmen's Bureau. For example, many towns across New England maintained auxiliary societies that supported teachers of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society through regular monthly donations totaling at least $500 a year per teacher (*The Freedmen's Record* November 1865, 182-183; *The American Freedmen* May 1867,

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[23] The State Superintendent's Monthly Statistical School Report (July 1865-June 1870) was submitted by Rev. Ralza Manly, the Bureau Superintendent of Schools for Virginia on a monthly basis, based on information provided him by local Bureau agents, teachers and educational administrators.

[24] Inspection Report of the Inspector of Schools March-April 1866, Roll 13, United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Education and the Education Division, 1865-1872, Virginia, Images 1-17.

224-225). Donation reports showed that individuals and families also enlisted to support at least one teacher per year (*The American Freedmen* May 1867, 224-225). One entry of a Virginia school inspection report, for example, noted "an effort is in progress, under the pastor of this church, Mr. Brown, to obtain aid from the North for building a school house" ("Inspection Report" March-April 1866).[25]

The AMA, for example, helped support some of the African-American organizations such as the African Civilization Society and individual church congregations (especially A.M.E. churches and Baptist churches). The first school superintendent of Virginia, Rev. Woodbury, aided a growing congregation in Norfolk by bringing them an African Methodist Episcopal minister from Maryland (Butt 1908, 32). At least one letter points to a business relationship between the AMA and an African-American church for which they held a mortgage. The AMA reached out to the Bureau to mediate for them and receive, for the AMA, the church's mortgage payment. A return letter was not found to determine whether the project was completed (Whipple to Alvord January 3, 1867).

As much as possible with the assistance of Superintendent Manly and the advice of various organizations, Virginia's Assistant Commissioner Brown strengthened the education structure. One week after the enactment of the second Bureau Act, the newly promoted Brevet Brig. Gen. Orlando Brown issued *Circular 23* (July 23, 1866), a survey sent to bureau agents throughout the state to determine school needs in each jurisdiction. Agents were expected to ascertain what locations might be available and whether "suitable buildings or rooms are

[25] Inspection Report of the Inspector of Schools March-April 1866, United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Education and the Education Division, 1865-1872, Virginia, Roll 13, Image 11. This information reflected schools located in Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Petersburg, Virginia.

government buildings, or churches, or private property." Table 4 (next page) contains an excerpt from a monthly education report (May 1867), showing that Bureau agents recorded the extent to which freedmen contributed to school sponsorship and school building ownership, as well as which buildings were owned by the Bureau. Appendix I shows the larger table, which contains school information for organizations that managed schools in Freedmen's Bureau (FB) owned buildings.

Table 4: Excerpt from "State Superintendent's Monthly Statistical School Report" for May 1867, American Freedmen's Union Commission, and branches [26]

| District | Societies_supporting | Total Schools | Freedmen Full Support | Freedmen part support | Freedmen Owned Building | FB Owned Buildling |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | Amer Freed. Union Comm. | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 4 | NE Branch Freed Union Comm | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 4 | NE Branch Freed Union Comm | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| 10 | NE Branch Freed Union Comm | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 2 | NY Branch Freed Union Comm. | 4 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| 5 | NY Branch Freed Union Comm. | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 8 | NY Branch Freed Union Comm. | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 8 | NY Branch Freed Union Comm. | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 10 | NY Branch Freed Union Comm. | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 7 | PA Branch Freed Union Comm | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

***Interactions Amongst Church-Supported Charitable Organizations in Virginia (1866-1868)***

Because of the substantial number of different organizations operating in Virginia, organizations sometimes squabbled amongst themselves, which at times negatively impacted the

[26] State Superintendent's Monthly Statistical School Reports, July 865-June 1870, Roll 11. Records of the Superintendent of Education and the Education Division, 1865-1872, NARA Microfilm Publication M803. Record Group 105. Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

work  Bureau officials were usually called upon to resolve conflicts. In Richmond, Virginia an ongoing battle lingered between the branch societies of the American Freedmen's Union Commission and some of the denominational societies. In Richmond, a brief and embarrassing fight ensued over the so-called complex of the "Bakery" buildings. At issue was whether the buildings would be used for a school for white students or a school for black students, as well as housing for teachers of multiple organizations (Brown to Chapin July 4, 1866, 82-83/815; Chapin to Brown July 24, 1866; Manly to Hale September 10, 1866, 83). The Soldiers Memorial Society was authorized (by the Bureau) to establish a school for white students (Chapin to Brown July 24 1866). The expectation, of course, was that "teachers of both associations would live and mess together as they had been doing" and that they settle the matter themselves (Manly to Hale September 10, 1866, 82-83/815). Ultimately, the New England Freedmen's Aid Society gained the used of at least one building for schooling; another "Bakery" building would be used as a residence for teachers (Cheney April 5, 1867).[27] Ultimately, at least one of the denominational societies withdrew their support of schools in that area of Richmond.

Another situation that threatened the collegiality between organizations in the field was the appearance of preference toward the AMA by Commissioner Howard. Other organizations felt that shares of the Bureau budget were provided to the AMA in greater proportion than to other organizations. In response to James McKim (AFUC), Ralza Manly appeared to chastise him for suggesting that Howard preferred the AMA because of its religious nature (Manly to McKim July 19, 1867). It was true, however, that Howard was friendly with a few AMA officials, and that some of his Bureau officials also worked at one time or another for the AMA

[27] Cheney, E. D. April 5, 1867. Report of the Committee on Teachers. Annual Meeting of the New England Branch of the American Freedmen's Union Commission. *Freedmen's Record.* May 1, 1867.

or the AFUC. Superintendents' reports show that the AMA was very well represented across the South (211 fully or partially supported schools across the South) and in Virginia (33 schools); by comparison, the AMA maintained 68 schools in Georgia and 23 schools in North Carolina, and twelve in South Carolina ("Number of Schools" January 31, 1867).[28] In his memoir, Howard later reflected on the issue of organizational preference, writing that

> our school work was best promoted by placing one dollar of public money by the side of one of the voluntary contributions. The Bureau supported any benevolent society in that proportion, such that the organization which supported the greatest number of projects, received the most funding, proportionally. (Howard 1907, 271)

In order to increase collegiality amongst organizations, several charitable societies met in the fall of 1867 as the Conference of Freedmen's Societies to draft an agreement that no new schools should be started without cooperation with freed people. The Conference was attended by the AFUC (James McKim, Esq. and Rev. Lyman Abbott), the New York of the AFUC, (Rev. Crammond Kennedy) the New England Branch of the AFUC (Rev. Chapin), the Pennsylvania Branch of the AFUC (Robert Corson, Esq.), the Baltimore Branch of the AFUC (Hon. Hugh Bond and Francis King), the Friend's Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia (Yardley Warner, Philip Garrett), and the American Missionary Association (Rev. George Whipple, Rev. S.S. Jocelyn). The Superintendent of Schools for the District of Columbia (John Kimball), and

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[28] "Number of Schools and List of Patrons as Reported by State Superintendents." January 31, 1867. Miscellaneous Unregistered Letters June 1865 - 1871, Records of the Superintendent of Education and the Education Division, 1865-1872, Education Division, Roll 13, image 351 of 1439. NARA Microfilm Publication M803, Record Group 105, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

superintendent for one unnamed school in the District of Columbia also attended. The ultimate goal of the meetings was for the organizations to cooperate with African-Americans as they continued to provide support for schools ("Minutes" September 10, 1867, 297).[29] Not only did diverse organizations communicate with one another, but they also planned together and created a unified mission.

Collegiality existed between organizations also because several of the larger ones maintained their headquarters in the same building, the Bible House at Astor Place in Manhattan, New York. The iconic five-story cast-iron framed building which was built in 1835, served as a tourist attraction at that time; it was the home of the American Bible Society, whose mission was to distribute bibles throughout the United States and overseas. The American Freedmen's Union Commission, the American Missionary Association, the American Tract Society, the Protestant Episcopal Freedman's Commission, the New York branch of the Commission, and the African Civilization Society each kept "rooms" (offices) in the building.

Some of the larger organizations, especially the AFUC and the AMA, maintained relationships with several smaller organizations and churches because they could provide administrative support for a smaller organization or church that was interested in sponsoring a teacher or managing a school (Appendix A and B). Several individual Baptist church congregations worked with the AMA in order to sponsor and manage schools (Whipple to Alvord January 3, 1867). The African Civilization Society and the African Methodist Episcopal

[29] American Freedmen's Union Commission. 1867. "Minutes of [the] Conference of Freedmen's Societies held in New York City, September 10, 1867." *American Freedmen.* 1-2, 1866-1867. New York: American Freedmen's Union Commission. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=inu.32000003310127;view=1up;seq=295.

Church worked with the AMA and received some funding for their schools. It could be that the AMA served as an intermediary between several organizations and the Bureau.

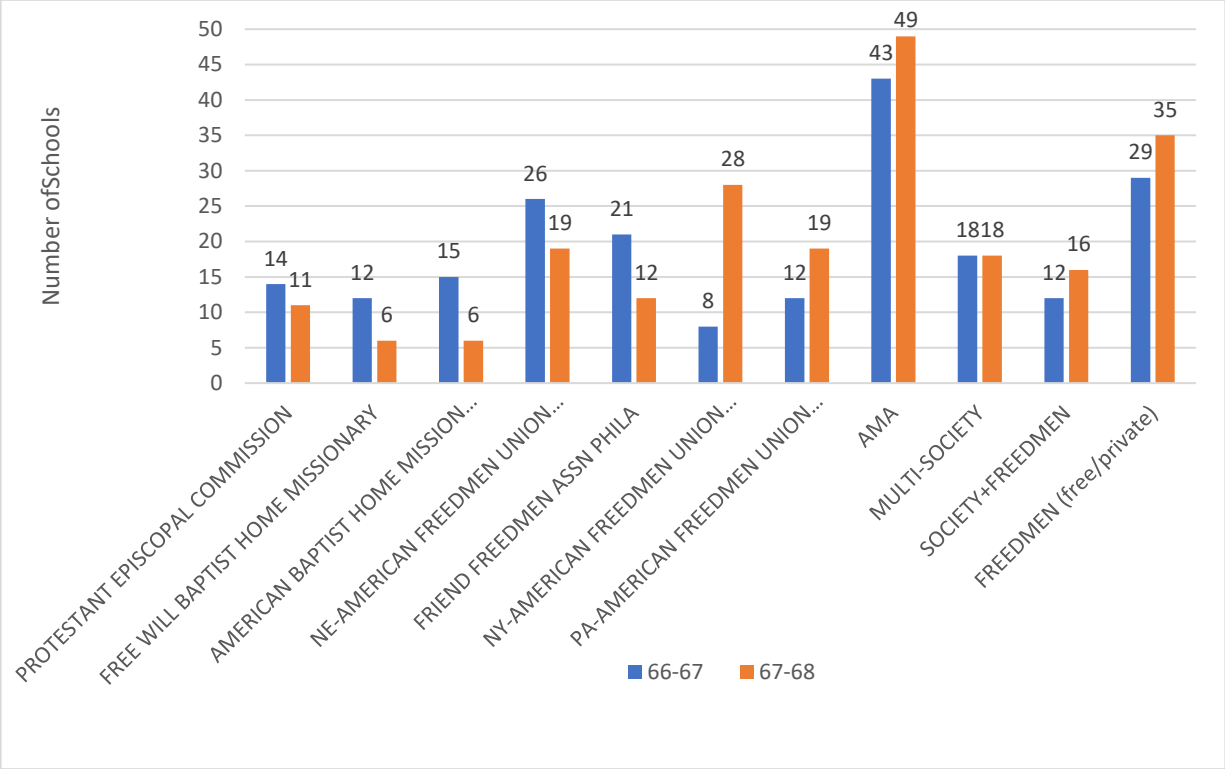
Despite the fact that organizations experienced collegiality, differences between the various organizations sometimes caused doctrinal conflict. Unlike many of the other organizations that collaborated with the Bureau, the AFUC did not describe itself as a missionary society or a church, and it was not associated with any one particular church or denomination. Rather each auxiliary society received donations and support from several churches in the geographic area where each auxiliary society was located. In response to "many and reiterated inquiries" leaders at AFUC headquarters printed a response statement in the *American Freedmen* to differentiate between itself and the AMA. (*The American Freedman January* 1867, 146). In this statement, they sought to differentiate themselves from the AMA by comparing the two organizations. Specifically, they stated that the AFUC "plants no churches," and it was "not the organ of any denomination." To allegations that the AFUC and its subsidiaries (and the teachers it employed) were purely secular, they asserted that the AFUC saw "their work as "a religious work" and "entered upon it at the call of God and in humble trust in Him" (*The American Freedman* January 1867, 146).

***Bureau Assistance to Charitable Organizations***

The period between the fall of 1866 through the spring of 1868 proved to be the most productive period for the Bureau's education plan. During this period, the process whereby the Bureau managed buildings, teacher transportation, and administration functioned smoothly.

Figure 6, on the next page, shows the number of schools managed by societies for the 1866-1867 and 1867-1868 school years. The American Missionary Association (AMA) by far managed the most schools, and African Americans managed a significant number of schools.

Figure 6: Number of schools managed by sponsor for the 1866-1867 school year and the 1867-1868 school year.




Most interactions between the Bureau and charitable organizations occurred at the state and local levels. As the Bureau Superintendent for Schools in Virginia, Rev Ralza Manly was responsible to field requests and complaints from local Bureau agents. He also served as a liaison between agents and J.W. Alvord (Bureau Education Superintendent) and Commissioner Howard. Manly purchased furniture and building materials for schools. To lower the costs for charitable organizations, the Bureau had agreed to provide free postage to teachers and organization officials; Manly and Alvord, therefore served as mediators for donations and organization purchases (Manly to Brown July 8, 1866; Estes to Lee September 18, 1866). There was a different procedure, however, for school books. For teachers who worked for churches and

charitable organizations, books generally were purchased by each sponsoring organization. Because the Bureau offered free postage, however, requests for book purchases often came to Manly, who would facilitate the process by shipping books directly to schools. Teachers who worked for small churches or organizations also worked through Manly directly to obtain help with purchases.

In order to support the collaborative effort, Manly used the Bureau's authority to secure suitable school buildings or sites on which schools could be built. Securing building sites was essential, as northern organizations often had difficulty procuring land from southern owners. Further, the Bureau provided building materials and school furnishings. Funding for building construction or repairs took a different shape depending on each situation. Typically, a Bureau agent and an organization agent would identify a building and together make arrangements to procure the building. This process could be easy if a church or other group owned a building and wanted to use it for a school. George Whipple, the corresponding secretary of the AMA, once asked Gen. Orlando Brown if the Bureau could "aid them in making the payments for its [a school] erection and in supplying it with school furniture?" (Whipple to Brown July 26, 1866). The AMA had moved a school from a farm to a lot they had purchased (Whipple to Brown July 26, 1866).

Concerning another situation in Virginia, Acting Assistant Adjutant General Brown explained to Virginia School Superintendent Rev. Manly that the Bureau would be able to supply materials plus $1000 to build a high school in Richmond (Brown to Manly September 12,

1866).[30] In this transaction, "the Bureau will hold a lien on the building and lot, for the material and funds thus furnished, until Congress can relieve it, in favor of the Association" (Brown to Manly September 12, 1866). In a separate development, Alvord authorized rent to be paid to the AFUC for one school building and up to $500 annually for rent and expenditures for a school building in Richmond, Virginia (Manly to Brown July 8, 1866). The ABHMS had to withdraw from managing the school, and the AFUC took over in their place (Manly to Brown July 8, 1866). Another situation found the Bureau offering to pay for the materials and moving expenses for a school building managed by the Protestant Episcopal Freedmen's Commission (Alvord to Haight May 12, 1867). Most often, school managers requested building repairs or construction which entailed payments for materials and labor (Whipple to Brown July 1866; Shipherd to Howard November 1866; Brown to Alvord July 1, 1867).

To gain understanding about how to structure a school system across several states, Howard had written to state school superintendents in several northern and western states requesting "reports of the present and previous years having reference to education" (Alvord January 23, 1867). Avoiding the problems inherent in direct funding, Howard had created a system in which Bureau superintendents could also provide some support for teacher salaries. The process involved the Bureau setting up a relationship in which the Bureau would "rent" space in a building from an organization that owned or leased. Upon receiving those funds, the organization would use them to help pay their teachers or purchase materials. The Bureau paid

[30] Temporarily, Orlando Brown would leave his position as the Assistant Commissioner for Virginia to become the Acting Assistant Adjutant General, headquartered in Washington D.C. Major General Schofield, and Major General Alfred Terry would take his place as Assistant Commissioner in Virginia, from June 1866 to March 1867, at which time Brown would return. The change to military personnel accompanied the reorganization of the districts in Virginia. Assistant Commission Brown remained at the Virginia office until the Bureau closed in 1870.

"rent" for space used as a schoolhouse in the amount of ten dollars per teacher per unit, on a monthly basis. Each society was invited to submit a monthly report that listed the schools they managed, their locations, number of teachers and pupils, and the rent requested based on the number of teachers and length of the school year. Organizations then used the rent money to fund materials and teacher salaries not provided by church or society donations (Clark to Howard 1869). The report, *Schedules of Schools and Rental Accounts, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, Sept 1867- Dec 1870*, recorded receipts from organizations of their schools, number, and description of teachers and amounts of rent requested ("Schedules of Schools" September 1867-Dec. 1870).

To help ensure that the Bureau did not run afoul of the law, Howard sent out *Circular 30* to clarify that the Bureau would not assist schools monetarily or with materials unless a school building was on "sites secured by deed to trustees or some individual party for school purposes for Freedmen, or for children irrespective of color," and if the sites were not owned, the circular stated that schools had to be built on "piers," and "not attached to the soil" so it could be moved (*Circular No. 30* December 1867). Trustees were usually a group of African-American individuals who held the title to a building, thus acting to facilitate the purchase of property for organizations that wanted to establish a school but could not purchase land. Having African-American school trustees also gave a school permanence, keeping it in local hands.

Another of the goals of the Bureau was to protect schools and their teachers. Where and when troops or Bureau personnel were available, some level of protection was afforded to teachers and sometimes to pupils. Ednah Cheney wrote a letter to her organization expressing gratitude for the protection of the Bureau, noting the violent murder of one black teacher and the burning down of schools by southern white terrorist organizations (Manly to Hawkins April 4,

1866).[31] Unfortunately, extreme animosity toward education for African-Americans and the aversion to northern aid workers existed in many towns throughout the South. Local citizens terrorized educators, students, and their families. Teachers were assaulted verbally and physically run out of town. Students and their families risked assault and sometimes death (Letter to Manly April 13, 1866). In her diary, Kate Drumgoold, a teacher who had formerly been enslaved, wrote that she was motivated to teach as "every time that I saw the newspaper there was someone of our race in the far South getting killed for trying to teach and I made up my mind that I would die to see my people taught" (Drumgoold 1898, 24).

The Bureau felt that cooperating with charitable organizations and churches proceeded reasonably well. Rev. J. W. Alvord, Superintendent of Education for the Bureau (1867-1870) in a report to Bureau Headquarters stated that "the voluntary associations are working harmoniously with us in sentiment and methods of action and in harmony with themselves" (Alvord 1867). Between the Bureau and its corresponding organizations, the role that the Bureau most often took was an administrative one. Organizations managed schools and teachers on a daily basis. The Bureau provided materials and labor, kept records, provided guidance through circulars and orders, responded to the needs and wants of organizations, and sought to provide protection, housing, low-cost rations, and transportation for teachers and other aid workers. These efforts were recorded in Bureau orders, forms, circulars, reports, and letters.

Letters were exchanged regularly between the charitable organizations' various secretaries (or persons in like positions), including George Whipple (AMA), Ednah Cheney

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[31] Manly, Rev Ralza. April 4, 1866. Rev. Ralza Manly to Rev. G. Hawkins, Roll 1, Letters Sent, Vol 1-2, March 1866-June 1869, 36/815, Virginia. United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Education and the Education Division, 1865-1872, Record Group 105, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

(NEFAS), James McKim (AFUC), Philip Garrett (FFA-P), Samuel Jones (FFA-NY), Rev. Crammond Kennedy (NY-AFUC), and sometimes also the heads of organizations such as Lyman Abbott (AFUC), Francis George Shaw (NY-AFUC), Maj. Gen. Oliver Howard, Rev. John Alvord (Bureau Education Superintendent, and Rev. Ralza Manly (Virginia Superintendent of Schools). Letters were also shared between teachers, Bureau Agents, and other aid personnel (Gibbons to Stevenson October 15, 1866; Griffing to Truth March 27, 1867).[32] Sojourner Truth and Josephine Griffing, well-known aid workers became paid agents for the Freedmen's Bureau. Sojourner Truth lived and taught for three years in Freedman's Village (Arlington, Virginia). Griffing worked for several years at the office as the Assistant to John Eaton, the Assistant Commissioner in the District of Columbia. Noticeably, more frequent letter exchanges (and therefore more information) occurred between organizations that maintained dedicated corresponding secretaries, and organizations that required its teachers to correspond regularly. The diagram in Appendix C shows that Bureau officials, Howard, Brown, Alvord, and Manly each exchanged letters with individual officials of various organizations. Letter contents fell into four broad categories: requests for information or resources, letters of introduction or recommendation, suggestions, and responses, and discussion (Howard to Shaw May 29,1865; Shaw to Howard May 31, 1865; Cheney to Brown July 1865; Manly to Rhoads April 12, 1866).[33]

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[32] Griffing, Josephine. March 26, 1867. Griffing to Sojourner Truth and Amy Post. The Post Family Papers. Access June 3, 2018. University of Rochester Library. https://rbsc.library.rochester.edu/items/show/517.

[33] Records of the Superintendent of Education and the Education Division, 1865-1872, NARA Microfilm Publication M803. Record Group 105. Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

Teachers were responsible for maintaining "regular monthly correspondence" with their sponsoring organizations and summarizing, by letter, the progress and future needs of their school. In addition, teachers communicated other teachers, as well as to their supervisors. Teachers talked with the families they served (sometimes teachers boarded with families). Especially when resources became scarce, teachers wrote to or spoke with the local bureau agents. Letters written by teachers were often reprinted in organizational periodicals to spur giving and maintain interest in the cause. Each month the editors of the *American Freedmen (*the periodical of the AFUC) printed the names of teachers as well as the names of coordinating societies and donors. In addition, letters from Bureau officials and portions from Bureau reports were included in each issue. The inclusion of the voices from people in the field served not only to provide information but also to strengthen partnerships.

A letter from the Bureau's Ralza Manly to Lyman Abbott (AFUC) discusses an upcoming project in which a "colored Masonic fraternity" had requested to purchase the third story of a building, used by the Bureau headquarters, for use as a school. For the project, Manly expressed his support as well as that of General Brown and wrote Abbott to ask his support and the assistance of the AFUC (Manly to Abbott October 22, 1866).[34] Bureau officials also discussed organizational projects as well as the need to support them. In a letter from Nathan Brackett (AMA/Freewill Baptist minister) and Assistant Superintendent Thomas Jackson (Staunton, Virginia) Brackett discusses funding needs for a school to be located in a basement of

[34] Records of the Superintendent of Education and the Education Division, 1865-1872,Virginia, Roll 1. Image 83/758. NARA Microfilm Publication M803. Record Group 105. Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

a “colored Methodist Episcopal” congregation as well as for a school to be built by a African Methodist Episcopal Church congregation (Brackett to Jackson April 26, 1867).[35]

***Issues and Consequences of Collaborative Relationships***

Not all schools or organizations submitted reports, nor did they all participate in Bureau-society collaboration. At least sixty independent schools existed in Virginia by the end of January 1867. In reports, these schools were usually listed as “freedmen,” “native school,” “gratuitous,” “pay school,” or “self-sufficient” if the name of an organization or individual was unknown or the school had not established a connection with the Bureau (Monthly School Report 1866). Even though many African-American private schools and Sabbath schools operated without the oversight of the Bureau, Bureau superintendents and inspectors were aware of some of these schools because they critiqued them in their reports. It was noted, for example, that

> there are also many under instruction in inferior schools, usually with colored teachers, throughout the interior regions of the southern states, but which do not appear in any of our reports. This is the home effort of this people after knowledge, imperfect, indeed and with no outside patronage from any quarter.” (Alvord 1866)

Two independent schools, for example, operated by the A.M.E church in Blacksburg, Virginia, approached collaboration with the Bureau in different ways (Thorp 2017). William

[35] Brakett, Nathan Cook. April 26, 1867. Brackett to Thomas Jackson, Assistant Superintendent (Staunton, Virginia). *Valley of the Shadow: Two Communities in the American Civil War. 1993-2007.* University of Virginia Library. http://valley.lib.virginia.edu/papers/B0526.

Derrick, who established one of the A. M. E. schools in Blacksburg, Virginia in 1868, was personally concerned about the interference of northern, predominately white organizations. Consequently, he declined to send school reports to the Bureau. Because there had been some contact between William Derrick and Gen. Howard, the school's existence was still noted in reports (Superintendents Monthly Statistical Reports 1865-1870). By contrast, another teacher who established an A. M. E. Church school in Wake Forest, a community near Blacksburg, chose to submit monthly reports to the Bureau (Thorp 2017).

African-Americans living in the South often found themselves in predicaments that sometimes made any association with the Bureau difficult. The creation of separate mutual aid societies was amenable. Freedmen's Bureau records of outrages and abuses show that local residents, termed "ruffians," "rebels," or "Ku-Kluxers," regularly harassed, assaulted, and murdered African-Americans who appeared not to comply with some real or imagined social conventions. Traveling to the market or performing a service, or engaging in teaching or ministry, was exceedingly dangerous. Despite these problems, a greater proportion of schools were maintained by African-Americans (Virginia monthly school reports, 1865-1871). Some documents (letters and manuscripts) showed that some African-American congregations associated with the American Missionary Association and supported teachers or built schools, as explained by Bishop Payne of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (Philadelphia), who noted that "early in May 1865 I visited the rooms of the American Missionary Association and consummated my arrangement for the partial support of our missionaries in South Carolina" (Handy 1902). African-American churches independently established higher education institutions (colleges, normal schools, and seminaries) (Handy 1902).

For two of the largest organizations, the AFUC and the AMA, women overwhelmingly filled the ranks as instructors, house matrons, and missionaries (a position somewhat like a social worker), while the positions of principals, collection agents, organization superintendents, and organization officials (secretaries, vice-presidents) were almost all occupied by men. In addition, teacher pay was low. Female teachers earned less than their male counterparts, except for those who taught in schools sponsored by the Quakers, who equalized men's and women's salaries in 1866 (Butchart 2010). The New England Freedmen's Aid Society (a subsidiary of the Northeast branch of the AFUC) did pay men and women the same $35 a month (Jones 1980; Synopses of School Reports 1867-1869, 168//360, 340/360). The AMA raised women's salaries slightly soon after, but without increasing women's salaries to the same levels as men (Butchart 2010).

*Dual Appointments*

Another consequence of the relationships between the Bureau and aid societies was the growth of dual appointments. Bureau agents and other government officials often worked or volunteered with various aid societies at one time or another during their tenure as Bureau employees. Simultaneous appointments in the Bureau and church-supported aid organizations occurred frequently. Letters exchanged between Bureau officials and organization officials indicated that individuals who were associated with an aid society might also work for the Bureau in some capacity (usually as an agent). Several persons who worked at the Bureau or the Freedmen's Savings and Trust also served, or were members of, the AMA, the AFUC, and the Society of Friends. More research may uncover other dual appointments.

At times, these dual appointments became a source of contention. William Child, the Secretary of the Charitable Department for the American Tract Society (ATS), referencing a report submitted by Alvord to Howard, stated concern over Alvord's employment as a senior

secretary of the ATS and his concurrent work with the Bureau. The report stated that Alvord had spent much of the preceding eight-month period traveling under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau. During that period, Alvord established the Freedmen's Savings and Trust. Even though Child asserted that he had no problem with the work Alvord did, he did feel that there might have been a conflict of interest. Additionally, Child felt that paying Alvord while he was also retained by the Bureau, a government agency was a problem

Alvord did resign his position with the ATS and became fully employed with the Freedmen's Bureau as its General Superintendent of Schools (Alvord to Grimes 1866). Rev. Ralza Manly, the Superintendent of Schools for Virginia, was very successful at opening schools and rescuing others that were "about to be discontinued," also worked closely with the New York Branch of the AFUC. In a letter, Alford indicated that "as the Agent" he had advanced money of his own to some teachers "in constant expectation of the Government assistance" (Manly to Alvord September 21, 1868).

***The Decline of Cooperative Engagement in Education***

Beginning in September 1868, the Superintendent's Monthly School Report for the 1868-1869 showed that the schools that had been established and maintained in Virginia now required the co-sponsorship of multiple organizations (*Virginia Monthly Consolidated State School Report*, 1868 -1870). However, fundraising had become increasingly difficult and aid societies struggled to meet their commitments. The Bureau was established as a temporary agency, so there was no assumption that it would continue to support schools indeterminately. For the

Figure 7: These organizations managed schools in 1867-1868.
African-Americans began to manage a higher percentage of schools than previously.

**Organizations Operating Schools (1867-1868)**

- African Methodist Episcopal Church
- American Baptist Home Missionary Society
- American Freedmen's Union Commission
- American Missionary Association
- Freewill Baptist Home Missionary Society
- Friends' Society of Philadelphia
- Methodist Episcopal Church-Colored
- New England Branch - American Freedmen's Union Commission
- New England Freedmen's Aid Society
- New York Branch - American Freedmen's Union Commission
- Old School Presbyterians
- Pennsylvania Branch American Freedmen's Union Commission
- Protestant Episcopal Freedmen's Commission
- Reformed Presbyterians
- Society of Friends – New York
- Soldiers Memorial Society

Bureau to adequately support schools in its last years, funds from multiple sources were combined to support schools. The organizations that collaborated with the Bureau in providing education recognized the changing landscape. In mid-1867 in the *American Freedmen*, the journal for the nonsectarian American Freedmen's Union Commission (AFUC) asserted that it had provided "in its Constitution for co-operation with the people of the South in the work of Southern education." The statement continued with: "It behooves us to recognize the change in Southern sentiment and to adopt some wisely considered policy of cooperation to foster it and to meet it" (*American Freedmen* August 1867, 258).

The goal of the American Freedmen's Union Commission, however lofty, was misguided. The level of violence toward African-American schools, and against African-Americans in general, continued unabated. The AFUC nonetheless became concerned over what

would happen as the Bureau's role once the Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1868 was enacted. The AFUC reevaluated its optimism about the eventual transfer of authority over schools to the local government. A year later, found printed in the *American Freedmen*, was the concern over the development of public schools: "We cannot, therefore, fold our hands in confidence because a school system is put upon paper…every possible device will be resorted to by the enemies of the Negro, to degrade the colored schools below the white" (*American Freedmen*, August 1, 1868). Despite this, the article also expressed optimism over Virginia's desire to continue cooperating with northern societies and to appoint a council of three trustees who appeared favorable to education and to northern sensibilities (*American Freedmen*, August 1, 1868).

The 1868 school year continued to see an increase in the number of schools built and staffed, especially by African-Americans. Virginia Superintendent Manly wrote in his 1868 annual report that "it has been the aim of the superintendent to give to the schools in the cities and larger towns such a systematic organization that very little change shall be necessary when state and municipal authority shall undertake to continue the work" (Annual Schools Report, 1868, 259, 127/260).

By the end of 1868, the numbers of people (149,589) across the South had enrolled in 2,677 schools, with 2455 teachers, was at its highest (Howard 1870). Private schools and night schools were not included in these statistics. Howard believed that about one-tenth of the total number of children enrolled in southern schools received an education that year, although the total number of people who received some education in 1869 reached around 250,000 (Howard 1870). Of that number, 192,227 students reported that they had been slaves before the war (Howard 1870). Figure 8 is a table that shows the distribution of aid to societies by district. Appendices E-I show the distribution of Virginia aid societies, from 1866-1870. The districts,

shown by number, correspond to the localities in which following district headquarters are located.

Figure 8: Distribution of aid societies across the Bureau districts of Virginia (1866-1870)

| Freedmen's Bureau Districts in Virginia, Representative Cities, or Headquarters | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1: Norfolk | 2: Petersburg | 3: Richmond | 4: Gordonsville | 5: Fort. Monroe | 6: Fredericksburg |
| 7: Lynchburg | 8: Wytheville | 9: Winchester | 10: Alexandria | 11: Halifax | |

| Virginia Districts | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Free Will Baptist Home Missionary | | | | | ■ | ■ | ■ | | ■ | | |
| Methodist Episcopal Church North | | | | | | ■ | | | ■ | | |
| Protestant Episcopal Commission | ■ | ■ | ■ | | | ■ | ■ | | | | ■ |
| American Baptist Home Mission Society | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | | ■ | ■ | | ■ | ■ | |
| American Missionary Association | ■ | ■ | | | ■ | ■ | ■ | | ■ | ■ | |
| American Freedmen Union Commission | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | | | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ |
| PA Branch - American Freedmen Union Commission | | | | | | ■ | ■ | | | | ■ |
| NY Branch - American Freedmen Union Commission | | ■ | ■ | | ■ | | | ■ | | ■ | |
| NE Branch - American Freedmen Union Commission | | | ■ | ■ | | | | | | ■ | |
| New England Freedmen Aid Society | ■ | | ■ | ■ | | | | | ■ | | |
| Soldiers Memorial Society | | | ■ | | | | | | | | |
| Presbyterian Home Mission | | ■ | | ■ | | | | | | | |
| Presbyterian Commission | | | | | | ■ | | | | | |
| Presbyterian Church | | ■ | | | ■ | | | | | | |
| Old School Presbyterians | ■ | ■ | | | | ■ | | | | | |
| African Civilization Society | | | ■ | | | | | | | | |
| Friends Freedmen Relief Association | | | | | | ■ | | | | | |
| Friends Society Philadelphia | | | | ■ | | | | | | | |
| Friends Society, New York | ■ | | ■ | | ■ | | | ■ | | | |
| Friends Freedmen Association, Philadelphia | ■ | | ■ | ■ | ■ | | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | |
| Society of Friends (other locations) | ■ | | ■ | | | | | | | | |

In his December 1869 report, Manly conveyed excitement over the unexpected positive enrollment results, considering the challenges presented to societies wanting to operate schools. He indicated that the local school trustees as well as charitable organizational officials, insisted upon a rule of not renting to an organization unless there was an "average daily attendance of thirty students" (Synopses of School Reports" January 1867 - January 1870, 343/360). He later recounted that his policy "increased the daily attendance" and "improved the tone of the schools" (synopses 343/360, December report 1870).

Though the American Freedmen's Union Commission (AFUC) was one of the largest and most prominent of the secular organizations, lack of financial support finally took its toll, and the AFUC closed its doors in July of 1869. The organization reported that it owned no real estate or buildings ("Synopses of School Reports" Vol 2 January 1867 - January 1870- 260/360). At least one of the organizations in the AFUC's coalition, however, remained open. The New England Freedmen's Aid Society (associated with the Northeast Branch of the American Freedmen's Union Commission) appears to have survived for the longest time, remaining in operation until 1876 (Faulkner 2004).

The American Missionary Association (AMA) would continue its work for many years, but its support of primary and secondary schools largely transformed into support for colleges and universities. More than thirty colleges and universities would be established over the next thirty years by churches and organizations including the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the American Missionary Association, the Presbyterian Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church. Figure 9 lists the seventeen organizations that were operating schools in Virginia for the school 1868-1869.

Figure 9: Organizations that were working in Virginia, 1868-1869

| 1868-1869 |
| --- |
| •African Methodist Episcopal Church<br>•American Missionary Association<br>•Evangelical Society Boston<br>•Freedmen's Aid Society Methodist Episcopal Church<br>•Friends' Freedmen's Association of New York<br>•Friends' Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia<br>•Methodist Episcopal Church<br>•New England Freedmen's Aid Society<br>•New England Freedmen's Union Commission<br>•New York Branch Freedmen's Union Commission<br>•New York Friends<br>•Pennsylvania Branch Freedmen's Union Commission<br>•Presbyterian Board - Home Mission to Freedmen<br>•Protestant Episcopal Home Mission for Colored People<br>•Reformed Presbyterian Church<br>•Soldiers Memorial Society<br>•Union Commission of Boston |

By this time, African-Americans operated most of the schools in Virginia. Notably, the Friends' Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia would be instrumental in providing long-standing financial support for the Christiansburg Institute in Christiansburg, Virginia until the county was integrated in 1966. The Christiansburg Institute, which served for many decades as the only school for African-American students in the New River Valley (Montgomery, Giles, Pulaski County, and Radford and beyond), was notable for achieving state accreditation long before any of the public schools that served the same area.

With the exception of those schools closed or were subsumed into the public school system, the relationship between Bureau and the aid societies shifted to a cooperative effort between the remaining societies and freed people. For the last four months of 1869, Virginia Superintendent Manly reported that his system for providing building aid (there were an

overwhelming number of aid applications) required him to give preference to "those that showed most enterprise and liberality in providing for a house [school house] would be most likely to exert themselves for the support of a school… helping those who help themselves," which ranged from 50 percent of the value of the school building provided to a school in Leesburg, Virginia and likewise to a school in Brush Creek (in modern-day Floyd County), Montgomery County, to a low of 17% to a school in Salem, Virginia and 14% to a school in Big Lick (Roanoke, VA) ("Synopses of School Reports" December 1869, roll 33 344/360). By 1869, Virginia Superintendent of Schools Ralza Manly stated that $60,000 had been contributed by "northern educational associations" and $50,000 by the Bureau. African-Americans contributed $15,000 in tuition to private schools and spent $4000 boarding teachers, and the Peabody Fund contributed $8200.[36] One method for distributing Peabody funds was by way of an instrument that may have worked like a competitive grant. A letter written by Shearman of the Friend's Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia, wrote to Manly mentioning among other items his "application for grant from the Peabody Fund…respectfully submitted for approval" (Shearman to Manly June (6th month) 1870).[37]

[36] The trustees of the Peabody fund provided school districts with matching funds to establish schools (both black and white). In its early years, the trustees worked through Freedmen's Bureau because of its supervisory capacity, because of concern the Bureau and northern associations might not support the creation of a public education system. As a result, the Assistant Commissioners of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia acted as Peabody "agents" until the extinction of the Bureau; Peabody funds discontinued around the same time (West 1966).

[37] Shearman M. E. 1870. Shearman to Manly, Unregistered Letters, December 1869 - August 1870, image 1439/1483. Records of the Superintendent of Education and the Education Division, 1865-1872, Virginia. NARA Microfilm Publication M1053. Record Group 105. United States Freedmen's Bureau., Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

By 1870, the Bureau's educational measures underwent transition. Some schools began to close; other schools continued (Alvord to Shearman August 1870).[38] Congress's formal termination of the Bureau caused many charitable organizations with which it had collaborated to change their funding schemes but did not necessarily cause them to close schools. The Bureau continued to make rent payments through the end of the school year ("Schedules of Schools" September 1867 - December 1870).[39] Several organizations experienced financial pressure as donations waned. The New York branch of the AFUC, in its monthly rental accounting report, indicated that it was asking other branches to take over the support for some of their teachers. Education administrator with the New York Branch of the AFUC, J. S. Lowell, for example, wrote to Manly that "we are giving up our best schools to the northeastern branch that they may have the benefit of their supervision and care. When some of the others are more firmly established, we shall transfer them also" (Lowell to Manly received January 18, 1870, December 31, 1870). Similarly, a letter from the Friends' Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia asked if Manly would explain the Bureau's financial picture so that he could better organize their affairs (Laing to Manly January 12, 1870). The Bureau continued to use the system of indirectly paying for teacher salaries by renting space from local organizations and churches (Howard July 23, 1867; Smith to Manly July 20, 1870).

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[38] Alvord, J. W. August 1870. Alvord to Shearman, Letters Sent, August 1870 - March 1871, image 25/129. Records of the Superintendent of Education and the Education Division, 1865-1872, Education Division. NARA Microfilm Publication M803. Record Group 105. United States Freedmen's Bureau., Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

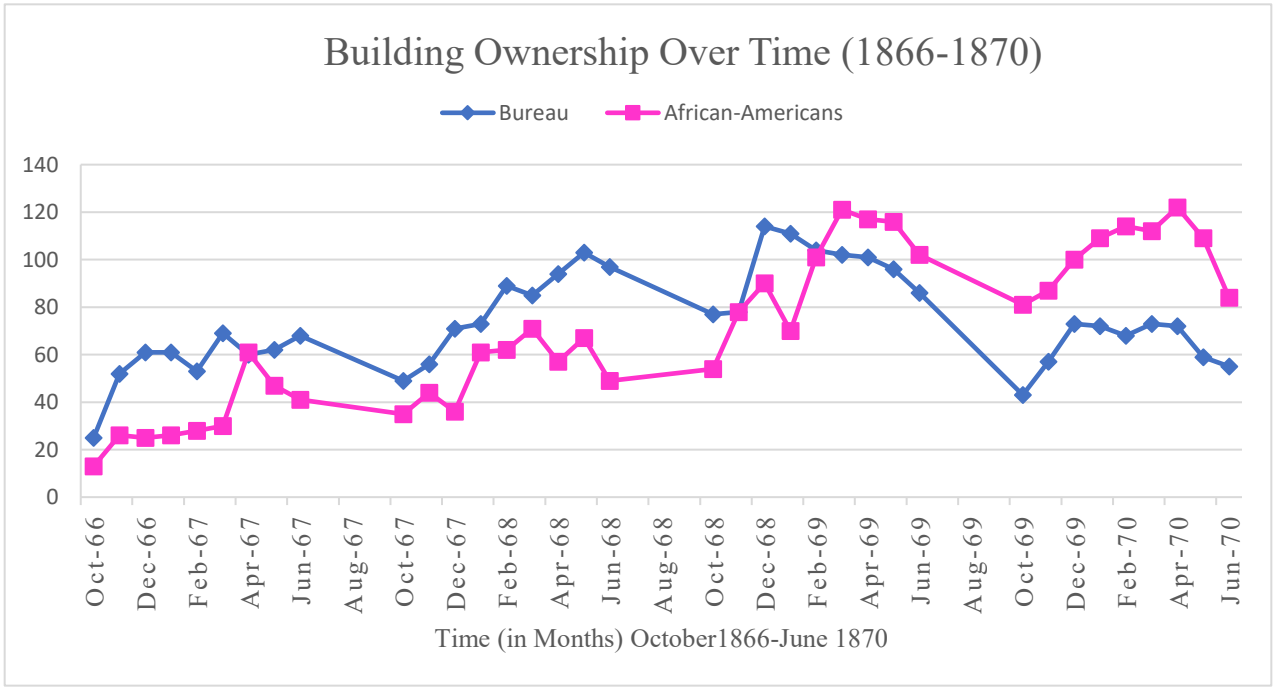
[39] Schedules of Schools and Rental Accounts, Virginia, September 1867-December 1870, Roll 35, Images 281-504/504. Records of the Superintendent of Education and the Education Division, 1865-1872, NARA Microfilm Publication M1053. Record Group 105. United States Freedmen's Bureau., Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

Organizations that had not been engaged previously began to enter the education field. The Consolidated American Baptist Convention, for example, represented African-American Baptist churches, wrote to Manly requesting funds to help construct a school in a church basement (Perry to Howard June 18, 1870). The letter, received late in the year, was referred to Howard. Besides, organizations, individuals also established schools. Requests by individuals for school funds continued to be sent to the Bureau as well (Diggs to Beam, referred to Alvord February 15, 1870). New organizations entering the field helped to balance those organizations that found it necessary to discontinue their school operations.

The superintendent's monthly statistical school data report for May 1870 revealed 178 day-schools operating across Virginia. Of that total, African-Americans ("freedmen") were listed as the primary source of support (this typically meant that they provided the building) for sixteen schools. Regardless of the source of support, African-Americans owned 84 school buildings. African-Americans were responsible for the partial support of 119 schools, meaning that they supplied the tuition, books, building, room, board, or salary for teachers. The Freedmen's Bureau owned fifty-five buildings (Superintendent's Statistical Monthly School Report, 1865-1870). Most schools opened each school year by October; data shows school building ownership from October to August of each year (1866-1869). For the school year 1869-1870, school building ownership was shown between October 1869-June 1870, the end of the last school year of the full Bureau participation. Data in the monthly school report required the input of the number of school buildings owned by the Bureau or by freedmen. For the most part, churches and organizations did not own buildings. If not using a building owned by the Bureau or by African-Americans, they leased their buildings from private individuals. A graph with accompanying data for Figure 10 (below) is contained in Appendix J.

Howard also reported that "freedmen" had provided about $200,000 in tuition and general financial support towards education (not accounting for private schools and unreported institutions) (Howard, Annual Report to Congress on the Freedmen's Bureau 1870). Public schools continued to emerge. Letters to Gen. Howard and Rev. Manly pointed to the construction of new public schools in both Virginia counties (Northumberland and Dinwiddie) and the cities of Petersburg and Richmond (Superintendent's Statistical Monthly School Report, 1865-1870, roll 11). In 1869, Petersburg had been the first locality to institute public education for white and non-white students. In Norfolk, the Board of Education established schools for white children and appropriated funds to the American Missionary Association to furnish schools for African-American students. In Richmond, the Board of Education collaborated with the Freedmen's Bureau, charitable associations, and the Peabody Fund to furnish schools for white students as well as schools for black children.

Figure 10: Ownership of school buildings, October 1866 - June 1870
by the Freedmen's Bureau and by African-Americans (individuals or groups)



Records from the education division for the second half of 1870 showed a quickening pace of official announcements and communications. The Bureau began to sell its buildings. Newspaper advertisements printed on March 4, 1870, showed "Government Sale" for the property (Letters Received, Vol A-Y January 1870-August 1870). Manly and Howard wrote many letters alerting organizations to the discontinuance of the Bureau, and therefore, Bureau funding (Whittlesey to Daniels November 18, 1870; Letters received, Vol A-Y, January 1870-August 1870, roll 5). Building leases were terminated (Manly to Howard May 24, 1870). Remaining funds were spent on buildings where it was feasible to repair, purchase, and outfit them (Manly to Howard May 20, 1870). Manly requested the last paychecks for staff around the state (Manly to Balluch May 24, 1870). It even appeared as though, perhaps as a cost-savings measure, Manly wrote short letters on half sheets of paper (Manly to Yoder, Manly to Atwell May 25, 1870).

The last annual report submitted by Howard in February 1870 showed a balance of $6,980.77 in the Freedmen's Bureau's school fund, listed as "…a local fund…expended in the districts from which it had been derived" (Howard 1870). The school fund had been financed through the sale of abandoned lands, fees for labor contracts, and marriage licenses, items not provided through Congress appropriation. Of the balance that remained at the end of 1868, Figure 11 (below) shows an expense report from February 1969 (reporting began in March for rentals) illustrating the provision made by the Bureau for schools managed by cooperating partners (Roll 13 Miscellaneous Unregistered Letters Received, 1865-1871). For Virginia, appropriations for the period, September 1, 1869 - July 1870 had been $25,000.

Figure 11: Bureau expenditures for construction, rental, and repair of school buildings in southern states

| EXPENDITURES FOR SCHOOL BUILDINGS IN VIRGINIA | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| SCHOOL YEAR | RENT | CONSTRUCTION | REPAIRS |
| Feb. 1869-Jan. 1870 | | $44,875 | $5,711.97 |
| Mar. 1869-Jan. 1870 | $27,482.37 | | |

Most Bureau officials were informed by letter that their services were no longer needed; however, some education officials stayed on the job through some part of 1870. Rev. Manly received his letter revoking his commission on August 6, 1870. He served the Bureau until August 31, 1870. Manly, who had begun serving the Richmond Educational Association, would become the principal of the Richmond Normal School. Other officials transferred to different jobs within the government. Rev. J. W. Alvord, the Bureau Superintendent of Schools, for example, received an appointment to serve as the Secretary of the newly created Bureau of Education. The Freedmen's Bureau finally was abolished on June 10, 1872 (with an end date of June 30) by an Act of Congress (17 Stat. 366).

***Closing of the Bureau in Virginia***

In Virginia, the Office of the Superintendent of Schools would gradually give up its authority over schools as public school districts were initiated. Once agents withdrew and field offices closed, organizations and individuals that depended upon the Bureau for financial and material support, closed their schools. As they submitted their last reports for the 1870 school year, some teachers expressed sadness over having to leave their schools. One letter, written by Lucinda Smith, an African-American teacher in Amherst Virginia, expressed the difficultly her

community had supported the school. She remarked in her letter that "the colored people labor hard in the country but the whites have resolved not to pay them money but give them an order to the store. And that is why the colored people can't pay anything scarcely for schooling" (Smith to Manly June 22, 1870).[40]

The management of the remaining schools was gradually transferred over to local boards of education or benevolent organizations. Reporting on conditions in Virginia in 1869, J. W. Alvord, Bureau Education Superintendent, stated that "it is regretted that the entire system of night schools, formerly in operation under the supervision of the above trustees (a board of trustees appointed by the Secretary of the Interior), was entirely suspended during last winter" (Alvord 1869). As most charitable organizations retreated, many schools managed by African-Americans continued to operate until local school systems were established (Howard 1870).

Howard referred to Virginia Superintendent Alvord's report, which stated that by 1869, 19,698 students had received education in 398 day-schools and 195 sabbath schools (Howard 1870). The Virginia General Assembly, on July 11, 1870, passed An Act to Establish and Maintain A Uniform System of Public Free Schools. The AMA, the Society of Friends, and a few other organizations remained in the state to continue running schools (Alvord to Blackford September 7, 1870).[41]

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[40] Unregistered Letter Received, December 1869-August 1870, Roll 10, Images, 1415-1416/1483. Records of the Superintendent of Education and the Education Division, 1865-1872, Virginia, NARA Microfilm Publication M1053, Record Group 105, United States Freedmen's Bureau., Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

[41] Alvord, J. W. September 7, 1870. Alvord to Miss Nellie Blackford, Letters Sent, Roll 4, Image 39/129, Records of the Superintendent of Education and the Education Division, 1865-1872, Education Division, NARA Microfilm Publication M803, Record Group 105, United States Freedmen's Bureau., Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

## Discussion

Of a total number of documents analyzed, 349 letters were examined, 184 of which were related to the Virginia Bureau specifically (1861-1870), ninety-one official reports (education, general conditions) submitted by Bureau officials, five official reports submitted to the Secretary of War on specific Civil War events and programs (Eaton 1863; Owen, McKaye, and Howe 1863, 1864; Pierce 1863; Yeatman 1863), as well as five reports submitted by organization officials.

Documents showed how various organizations and Bureau personnel viewed their relationships. Letters, circulars, meeting minutes, and articles searched for the terms "co-operate," "co-operation," and "conjunction" showed that usage denoted teamwork and unity as well as assistance or participation. Out of a sample of 182 letters and 43 circular letters, seventeen documents contained some form of the term, co-operate. Out of that sample, five used the word to denote a form of teamwork, and the rest used the word to let the recipient know that they were willing to comply, participate, or assist. Below are some examples of the language frequently used.

The first example is taken from the Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1866, in which section 13 states that "the commissioner shall at all times **cooperate** with private benevolent associations of citizens in aid of freedmen." This use of "cooperate" is intended to describe the desired relationship between the Bureau and the existing network of organizations that had already begun to do the work.

In a second example, Commissioner Howard refers to how the term was used in the Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1866. In Circular No. 2, Howard wrote:

> I invite, therefore, the continuance and **co-operation** of such societies. I trust they will still be generously supported by the people, and I request them to send me their names, lists of their principal officers, and a brief statement of their present work. (Emphasis added) (15 Stat. 507)

Organization officers also frequently referred to their commitment to cooperate with the Bureau in letters. For example, on July 15, 1865, Ms. Ednah Cheney, secretary of the Teachers' Committee (NEFAS), wrote to Col. Orlando Brown, Assistant Commissioner of Virginia, to express her regret over being unable to attend an education planning meeting for aid societies (facilitated by Brown):

> We have entire confidence in your judgment and will **cooperate** with you in Virginia to the extent of our ability sending as many teachers as we possibly can to the place where you think most important. (Emphasis added)
>
> (Cheney to Brown July 15, 1865)

Another example is found in a statement that comes from a public address made by an unnamed officer of the American Freedmen's Aid Commission (subsequently, American Freedmen's Union Commission):

> We call upon merchants and manufacturers, upon artisans and capitalists, for their hearty **co-operation;** for this is a work which has its well-defined commercial aspects, not less than its philanthropic attractions. (Emphasis added.)
>
> (Simpson, Garrison, Hammond, Shipherd December 1, 1865)

The text in the example below, which also comes from the address above, refers to the cooperation of formerly enslaved African-Americans:

> Nowhere have we more regretted the narrowness of our resources than here, where the people are so ready to **co-operate** with us to the extent of their means. But despite the earnest entreaty of the Superintendent of Education, Mr. Eberhart, we felt that we could send only one teacher with Mr. Banfield. (Emphasis added.) (Simpson, Garrison, Hammond, Shipherd December 1, 1865)

Differences amongst charitable organizations associated with the mission, religious beliefs, tuition, and curriculum created barriers to inter-organizational collaboration. However, the relationships between the Bureau and each charitable organization did not appear to suffer from the issues that organizations struggled with, most likely because the Bureau served as a mediator for internal conflicts.

***School Funding***

Arrangements made between the Bureau and cooperating charitable organizations provided funding for schools (Superintendent's Monthly School Report). In particular, schools operated by the AMA and the AFUC were funded by donations made by church congregations, and individuals. The AFUC touted itself as not having any ties to any specific church denomination, rather its auxiliary organizations, maintained relationships with various church congregations. The AMA was specifically associated with the Congregationalist Church but received assistance from several different protestant denominations. Likewise, as mentioned earlier, the AMA also provided support to individual churches that sought to build schools.

***Relationship with the American Missionary Association***

The tone of the letters between Bureau personnel and AMA officials reflected a more collegial tone than those letters exchanged with Bureau officials and officials representing other organizations. Its corresponding secretary, Whipple was a personal friend to Commissioner

Howard and Bureau Education Superintendent J. W Alvord. The AMA was also the oldest of the organizations that worked in the field. Not only had the AMA been in the field the longest, but it maintained the greatest number of schools. When requests for teaching jobs were received by Bureau officials, responses always included a reference to the AMA as an established, effective agency.

In his writings and in his speeches, Howard always maintained that the Bureau treated each organization equitably. He repeatedly stated that funds and materials resources that organizations received were solely dependent upon the number of schools an organization found feasible to operate (Howard 1907). According to Howard, the Bureau's relationship with the AMA did not reflect favoritism, but rather it reflected the ability of the AMA to operate, effectively, a greater number of schools than any other organization. Although not every letter written between organizations was assessed, the number of letters written by George Whipple appeared to exceed the number of letters written by other organizational officials.

Document contents presented some unexpected findings concerning women in the field. The overwhelming presence of women in the education field, the image of education as a field, the lack of fair pay for women, and the notable absences of women from leadership positions at all organizations changed during this period. Women, both black and white, began to take on leadership roles (officially and unofficially) in their schools and their field. Ednah Cheney, secretary of the Teacher's Committee (the New England Freedmen's Aid Society) wrote copious letters to Bureau officials to facilitate cooperation with Bureau officials, and through that cooperation she obtained better working conditions for her teachers (the Bakery building, for example), supported a

regular stream of funding through her fundraising capability, and helped maintain the organization's periodical, the Freedmen's Journal.

### *Values, Norms, and Practices*

#### *Social Control*

The logics that motivated Bureau officials were "social control" and "elevation." The Freedmen's Bureau, as a representative of the government, promoted the ideas of free-labor, the use one's labor as the means to self-sufficiency. The language reflected the ideology of free labor to emphasize how education should look. In his earliest circulars (*Circular No. 1* and *2*) and some of his letters, Howard expressed to officials: withhold "from the Freedmen fair wages for their labor… and you will drive from this state [North Carolina] its real wealth – its productive labor" (*Circular No 1*, July 1865). In *Circular No. 2*, Howard addressed state commissioners "to introduce practicable systems of compensated labor" (*Circular No. 2*, section 3).

#### *"Elevation"*

"Elevation" was the logic of the churches and charitable organizations. It was grounded in ideas of behavioral modification and the poor laws, but also specifically focused upon improving the lives of freed peoples. Articles in the organization periodicals examined in this dissertation research often spoke of "the elevation of the freedmen" (Protestant Episcopal Freedmen's Commission January, 1866).

The logic of "elevation" was grounded in the belief that correcting the people was as important as creating a helpful system of support. Therefore, the extensive system of schools, courts, hospitals, institutions (orphanages and asylums), and employment placement schemes that developed were meant to correct or to "raise" African-Americans, to prepare him/her perhaps to serve his country and to join the citizenry (not necessarily with equal status).

Documents, especially letters and articles from organization periodicals, elaborated often on "elevation." While elevation seemed to refer to the lifting up of any identified group or set of people deemed in need of lifting, for this project, "elevation" has been examined as it related to the relationship between aid organizations and African-Americans.

The teachers who traveled to the southern states (and the organizations that sent them) brought with them a distinct message of Northern values, both to replace a perceived lack of values in African-Americans resulting from years of bondage and to replace the influence of the perceived reprobate minds of white Southerners who participated in promoting that deplorable system of bondage. Most if not all of the members of the community of teachers who traveled to the South were associated with one of many religious communities. Despite their differences, charitable organizations of the time espoused a set of values that included some version of the so-called Protestant work ethic, which aligned firmly with the traditions of the poor laws and the principles of the common school. Most taught as a means of promoting intellectualization, workforce skills, and steps toward social (and for some, even political) citizenship (depending upon the organization and the teacher beliefs involved). A strong sense of professionalism amongst teachers and their alignment with an attachment to the mission strengthened the project even amid incredible violence and insurmountable obstacles. As evidenced in letters, reports, and newsletters, and other communications, education as provided by these northern societies would support political citizenship and the Republican party, follow the northern protestant ethic and model of morality, and teach freed women how to manage their own homes as homebound homemakers. This idea came in direct conflict with what planters or the Bureau supported: African-American women were expected to work as farm laborers or domestic laborers, and if married, work alongside their husbands as farm laborers.

Letters exchanged between Howard and Alvord used the term "elevation" to indicate their mission to help freed people: "I have been much interested in the social **elevation** of the Freedmen at this place" (Alvord to Howard January 7, 1870). Alvord was visiting South Carolina. Assistant Superintendent Charles Schaeffer, in the southwestern part of Virginia, used the term in his report to Gen. Howard to respond to a question about the "sentiment" of the citizens:

> No sympathy or co-operation can be expected from this source. And even those persons who are favorable to the education and **elevation** of the colored race are so fearful of public opinion that they are unwilling to take a bold stand for the right. (Schaeffer to Howard January 31, 1868)

A manuscript from a meeting of the American Freedmen's Aid Commission (precursor of the American Freedmen's Union Commission) was reprinted in the American Freedmen. The text referred to the mission of the new American Freedmen's Aid Commission (AFAC) that would be to "promote the education and **elevation** of the Freedmen, and to co-operate to this end with the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands" (*Freedmen's Record* November 1, 1865). Within the same text, a committee put forth the following resolution "that the freedmen of the South should be encouraged to support the schools established for their benefit among them, to the extent of their ability" (*Freedmen's Record* November 1, 1865).

In a letter written on October 9, 1865, read at the November AFAC meeting, and reprinted within the same article as above, Commissioner Howard requested of the organization to "do everything you possibly can for the **elevation** of the freedmen. My impression is that hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of Southern people, would be ready to aid you if they were

approached in the right way" (*Freedmen's Record* November 1, 1865). He could not have been more wrong.

One thing that organizations appeared to do was to open their teaching ranks to both black and white teachers, which supported Afro-Americans in their quest for independence and self-sufficiency. In written notices concerning schooling, requests for teacher applications, including text like "this invitation is extended alike to persons of both sexes, white and colored" (Evans June 22, 1867). The work of the Quakers did not go unnoticed by African-Americans. In a speech reprinted in a Quaker publication, the speaker noted of the Quakers that they were considered to be "our best earthly friends, for the great sacrifice they … made…" and that "our welfare depends upon you" (Wyat January 1867).[42]

Outside of the parameters of this project examining Virginia, one letter was found in which Howard noted he did not exclude assistance for freed people from non-Protestant groups, such as the Catholic Church. In that period, Protestants disliked intensely and were highly suspicious of Roman Catholics. Howard was responding to a Bureau officer in North Carolina who questioned whether he should encourage Catholics in his district from establishing a school. Catholic schools for African-Americans were also located in other states such as Louisiana.

> All the denominations are inclined to engage in this work, and therefore we encourage them all not to teach things of sect technically, but while we suppose

[42] Bayley Wyat in a speech, included in a letter from S. C. Armstrong to Brevet Brig. Gen. O. Brown, 26 January, 1867, A-78, 1867, Registered Letters Received, series 3798, Records of the Assistant Commissioner, Virginia. 1865-1872. NARA Microfilm Publication M1048 Vriginia. National Archives and Records Service. Record Group 105. Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service.

> they may impress their pupils in this way, they will undoubtedly give them a broad elementary and practical education. If the Catholics will do this, encourage them certainly." (letter to Seeley, May 11, 1865)

Howard's view of education reflected a misguided notion that racism would abate as black people became educated. He noted that "schools have been established in nearly all the cities and villages of the South and prejudice and opposition are now giving way" (Howard 1877, 31). In essence, Howard was asserting that assimilation through education could facilitate the end of racism. This misguided notion appears to frame the vision of the freedmen's aid movement in general.

Toward the end of Bureau's existence, organizational leaders began to follow a blended logic that combined "elevation" with a view that the southern ideas might be right. Use of this blended logic may have facilitated the exit of several organizations and their supporters from the educational field (Drake 1963). At this time, however, only a few organizational leaders saw that espousing southern values would hurt education for African-Americans.

Each aid society adhered to the "elevation" logic. However, two groups emerged. One group of aid societies wanted to draw people to their respective denominations or church. Other aid societies sometimes portraying themselves as secular societies, did not specifically associate with specific denominations and therefore did not interact with freed people with an evangelistic mission.

*"Uplift"*

African-Americans appeared to operate under a different logic defined by their conceptions of freedom, independence, and advancement (Faulkner 2000; Thorp 2017). Bureau reports of societies working in Virginia showed only one established African-American society

operating schools in Virginia in concert with the Bureau, the African Civilization Society (ACS). The ACS organized schools in Richmond. The African Civilization Society, a prominent black organization maintained a greater presence, however, in Washington D.C. Most African-American schools were listed by the term "freedmen," without much delineation, except an address for some entries. One such entry matched schools in Southwest Virginia that were actually operated by the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

African-Americans maintained a varied, vibrant set of institutions in communities around the country (churches, schools, hospitals, businesses, and mutual aid societies) without the input or support of the government or Northern charities, creating the logic "uplift," a logic competing with "elevation." Prominent voices of some African-Americans provided the message of a desire for true freedom and independence, as well as the determination to control the commodification of their labor and use it as a private good. Frederick Douglass called for little or no interference (including that of the Bureau and its associating organizations) because he felt that interference created barriers for Afro-Americans in their search for independence and freedom. Douglass provided one solution to the competing logics of elevation and uplift, in a speech he made to the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in Boston:

> All I ask is, give him a chance to stand on his own legs! Let him alone! If you see him on his way to school, let him alone, don't disturb him! If you see him going to the dinner table at a hotel, let him go! If you see him going to the ballot-box, let him alone, don't disturb him! [Applause.] If you see him going into a work-shop, just let him alone, your interference is doing him a positive injury.
>
> (Douglas April 1865)

At the State Convention of the Colored People in Virginia, a gentleman addressed the issue of free labor that regularly concerned Howard, Congress, and the Bureau:

> The great question before the colored people is, what is necessary to be done? We very well understand that we must work. We are charged with being unproductive. They say we will not work. He who makes that assertion asserts an untruth. We have been working all our lives, not only supporting ourselves, but we have supported our masters, many of them in idleness. (Cook 1865)

And at the National Equal Rights League Convention in Washington, A. M. E. Bishop and Wilberforce University president Payne spoke about obtaining the right to vote.

> Nevertheless, the duty of the league is to labor morning, noon, and night—in season, out of season - by every effective agent and every lawful means, to produce a radical change in the public mind and a reformation in the constitutions of the several States where colored men are now disfranchised. That freedom is a sheer humbug unless the ballot is seen in what is now transpiring throughout the South. (January 7, 1867)

The Freedmen's Bureau did not work alone to promote and construct a nascent school system throughout the south. African-Americans built schools and were joined by the work of many northern church-supported charitable organizations in concert with the Bureau.

# CHAPTER 8: ANALYSIS

## Cooperation Between the Bureau and Charitable Organizations

That there was some form of collaborative activity is sure. Communications, processes, and structures illustrated that collaborative arrangements supported education policy implementation. The relationships between the Bureau and charitable organizations were deliberate and organized. The work done through these organizations hastened the formation of a public school system in the south, and also served as a basis for the network of institutions that would be later known as Historical Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU).

The Bureau used formal circular letters and general orders to share information about specific procedures and practices that charitable organizations were to follow. In addition, letters were exchanged between Bureau officials, government officials, teachers, charitable organization officials, ministers, and businesspeople. According to the documents found, charitable organizations used their newsletters and periodicals to provide agency and government information to their subscribers. Key personnel, as described by McNamara as being "responsible for implementing the partnership," were present at each level of the Bureau and of charitable organizations (2012, 394). Assistant Commissioners, and regional Bureau superintendents (Sub-assistant commissioners) and organization leaders managed the implementation of education policy. Letters showed that not only organization secretaries participated in shaping policy, but also school administrators. More information is needed, however, to determine the extent to which "street-level bureaucrats" such as teachers and local-level Bureau agents interacted with each other to shape as well as implement school policies ("Teacher Monthly School Reports" 1865-1870; Lipsky 1980; McNamara 2012, 391).

The documents examined for this dissertation indicated that some charitable organization officials did form relationships with Bureau officials. The organization personnel who most frequently communicated with Bureau officials were organization secretaries (and corresponding secretaries) and financial officers, and sometimes presidents. The sample of documents examined representing relevant communications (184 letters) between Bureau officials (in Virginia and Washington D.C.) and officials representing charitable organizations, did not show evidence of direct communication between Bureau officials and church leaders, pastors, or congregation members. Churches that supported the Bureau's education policy did not engage directly with the Bureau but instead supported education efforts by donating money to various aid organizations in the field (American Freedmen pamphlet in Unregistered Letters Received, 1865-1871). Some churches or denominations, however, did form their own aid societies, such as the Presbyterian Church (Presbyterian Home Mission Board), the Methodist Episcopal Church (Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church), and the Society of Friends (Friends' Freedmen's Association of New York and Philadelphia, Society of Friends of New York and Philadelphia).

Most decision-making for education policy implementation was initiated by letter, by circular order and conducted independently at the school level or through local level organization representatives. However, at times, especially when local or state level issues arose, joint decision-making did occur (Manly to Abbott October 22, 1866; Brackett to Jackson April 26, 1867). Letters exchanged between Bureau officials and teachers, principals, and organization officials requested resources, solicited or provided information displayed evidence of planning, information sharing, and trust (*American Freedmen* August, 1867, 292; October, 1867, 258). Information concerning resources, particularly buildings, teachers, instructional materials, and

furniture), was shared. When disputes arose, Bureau officials generally provided mediation, in person or through written correspondence, indicating that trust had developed between the agency and charitable organizations.

***Organizational Structure of Aid Societies***

Another interesting finding was the cooperative structure of some of the aid organizations. The two organizations that operated the most schools in 1865-1868, the AFUC and the AMA, each maintained branch organizations as well as auxiliary societies that in turn, maintained relationships with individual church congregations (Appendices A and B). The structure of the AMA appeared to be centralized. The AMA maintained branch organizations in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, and Cincinnati. Funding support was received mainly through church congregation that appeared to donate regularly. While I am not sure whether those relationships were mutual concerning resources, documents showed that the AMA provides support for several church congregations that attempted to operate schools in Virginia.

The AFUC was a loose system of individual organizations that each had the opportunity to work directly with Bureau officials. The diagram showing the organizational structure of the AFUC (Appendix A) illustrates the possibility of collaborative relationships occurring between organizations. This arrangement also indicated that the main organization (headquartered in New York) maintained dyadic relations with each subsidiary organization. Written communication (through letters) indicated that each auxiliary organization could and often did work directly with the Bureau. Branch organizations also worked with each other as evidenced by a situation that occurred when the New York Branch asked the Pennsylvania branch to assume responsibly for its schools (Lowell to Manly January 18, 1870).

Overall, it appeared that there were two organizational structures. The Freedmen's Bureau, a federal agency within the War Department, functioned as a bureaucracy with a hierarchical structure. Aid organizations maintained varying structures. The two largest organizations, AFUC and AMA, maintained organizational structures that looked more like networked arrangements. The main organization and its branch organizations each associated with auxiliary organizations. The organizations received funding for their school operations (especially teacher salaries) through donations made by church congregations and auxiliary organizations.

### *Communication*

Education reports, circulars and letters, meetings, and in-person discussion (during visits and inspections) comprised most of the communication tools used by teachers, principals, organization leaders, and Bureau officials. Although the written communication patterns between officials were robust, it could not approximate face-to-face communication indicated as a benefit to collaboration. However, teachers communicated daily, in-person, and through letters to their sponsoring agencies, the face-to-face communication needed to sustain these partnerships often occurred (Ansell and Gash 2008). To see which organization leadership exchanged letters frequently with Bureau leadership (at least ten letters a year).

## Relationships Resolved Resource Dependencies

Resource dependency theory explains well the need for the Union Army and later the Freedmen's Bureau to reach out to any number of civil society actors to obtain access to teachers and other aid workers needed to provide social provision for the hundreds of people who entered into Army installations. The addition of teachers, aid workers, and donated goods helped to

alleviate the lack of resources and helped resolve the uncertainty caused by the humanitarian crisis, and the indecision over a resolution in the War Department.

The specific programs (providing aid and education) that the Union Army conducted resulted from "mission creep" as it found itself squarely in the center of a humanitarian crisis (thousands of people migrating in and near Army encampments). The Army's use of civil society partners to provide humanitarian aid provided precedents for the Freedmen's Bureau, rather than a generalized pattern of collaborative governance (Balogh 2009). Prior to the building of so-called "contraband camps," individuals and families attempted to construct self-sustaining communities, often near where the Union Army camped in Virginia. These communities were not suitable for extra-organizational collaboration because of their temporary nature and the potential for danger (Eaton 1863). Not surprisingly, I found a few instances of cooperation between organized entities and such communities prior to the existence of refugee camps.

Likewise, resource dependency theory explains that when the Freedmen's Bureau was instituted, these same extra-organizational relationships helped to alleviate the uncertainty caused by the lack of appropriations, a hostile President Johnson, and the changes in oversight and authority that occurred with the change in the law. Specifically, the Bureau collaborated with church-supported charitable organizations because it lacked expertise, manpower, and money. The pressures of vague and unfunded legislation, the President's opposition, and the attacks by the citizenry created a great deal of external pressure. Because of external pressures and the lack of education funds, Howard quickly found and applied physical and human resources from the same well-tried sources that the Army had relied.

Throughout its term, the Bureau was temporary, unfunded, and under attack. The need to resolve resource dependencies explains why Howard contacted and connected with organizations

that were currently in the field. Church-supported charitable organizations, as legitimate social assistance providers, supplied teachers, educational expertise, and curricular materials while the Bureau provided land, buildings, building materials, and administration. As a result, the external pressures created by Congress, the President, and the War Department were lessened. In this way, the Bureau's collaborative arrangements met the challenge of providing some social provision and education to thousands of black and white refugees.

**Institutional Logics Influenced the Relationships Between Organizations**

An institutional logics framework helped describe the norms and values of the Bureau, the societies, and the motivations for the collaborative relationships that formed. As several Bureau officials had served as Union Army Chaplains, cooperation with officials of most religious charitable organizations was easy because at least some of the Army chaplains turned Bureau agents had been pastors of protestant denominations and therefore shared the beliefs of the charitable organizations which were associated with those denominations.

The Bureau operated according to the institutional order of the state, adhered to a regulation logic of social control. Bureau personnel felt that any provision of aid or assistance to formerly enslaved persons required some level of social control of African-Americans. Many of the elements of "free labor" illustrated less about encompassing aspects of the freedom to work and become self-sufficient, but more about structuring elements of labor contracting and supporting the southern agricultural economy (namely cotton). Bureau policy supported the social structure that was in place by supporting policies such as travel passes signed by (white) employers, allowing annual labor contracts to restrict travel and time off. These and other restrictive policies affected the way schooling could be provided and required the establishment of alternate forms or uses of schooling (night schools, short terms, Sabbath Schools).

From the documents examined, it was difficult to ascertain whether Bureau officials in Virginia refused to cooperate with any particular society that did not align with some form of the "elevation" logic. It may be extrapolated that this could have been the case, because of a letter detailing the situation where a Bureau official in North Carolina was prepared to withhold assistance from a Catholic organization which operated a school. Commissioner Howard resolved the issue by stating that any organization could organize a school without proselytizing. One incident, however, does not make a pattern. Examination of more letters may or may not illuminate a pattern. Likewise, it did not appear as though an African Methodist Episcopal Church school refused Bureau assistance because of differing logics, rather that assistance was refused because of a long history of discrimination and racially motivated violence at the hands of government officials and other citizens (Thorp 2017; King and Smith 2005).

***Blended logics***

Osei-Amponsah, Van Paassen, and Klerkx (2018) found that organizations can blend institutional logics in order to achieve an agreed upon goal. Based upon his reports, letters, and circulars and his essay on education, it appears that Howard adhered to both "elevation" and "social-control" logics. Much of his rhetoric reflected these two logics, from his description of his interest and support of industrial schools to his defense of African-American education (Howard 1877). An argument can be made that he (and therefore the Bureau) adhered to a blended logic that combined "elevation" and "social control" which may be reflected in the common school curriculum as well as the presence of industrial schools although the sample is too small to support this assertion. Most schools supported by Howard and the Freedmen's Bureau throughout the state were not industrial schools, but common schools. However, in the

years after the Bureau was abolished (after 1870), many secondary institutions and institutions of higher education, which were not examined for this dissertation, functioned as industrial schools.

## Racial Orders

An examination of race and racial construction were of primary importance for this project. Not only did the documents examined frequently highlight the issues of racial discrimination but they also highlighted the evolution of racialization, chronicling the descent from an era of emancipation toward the era of apartheid, known as "Jim Crow." King and Smith's (2005) view of race as a type of institutional order gives greater depth to the understanding of race during this time period. Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) could only point to race as a "source of identity." Yet, Howard, in his essay on education as well as in his letters, challenged the dominant "white supremacist institutional order" (King and Smith 2005, 77).

Barbara Fields and Karen Fields (2014), as mentioned previously, have provided a compelling case for race as a socially constructed idea that often is used to serve the interests of policymakers. Their explanations were useful in examining race construction on an individual level. Omi and Winant (1986) described the construction of parallel social structures by non-whites when there are barriers to political, social, and economic structures. The framing of King and Smith "racial institutional orders" helps describe the construction of race at the institutional level.

The story of the Freedmen's Bureau and collaboration is embedded in problems associated with racialization in America. Because of the highly racialized nature of slavery in America, the relationship between color and status (political, economic, and social) continued to be perpetuated even as the institution died. Neither enslaved nor free

men and women could vote, move freely, or obtain education or employment equivalent to those of their white counterparts (with few exceptions in northern states). Further, as the Freedmen's Bureau and aid organizations implemented education policy, its leaders failed to fully understand or appreciate the barriers experienced by African-Americans that were caused by oppressive laws and racially-motivated terrorism. The lack of understanding frequently causing Bureau officials to misunderstand the responses African-Americans had to their programs (School reports of assistant superintendents and sub-assistant commissioners, Mar 1867-July 1868).

Schools were established, during this period, as predominately or exclusively African-American. Support for this practice could be explained by the survival of the social order of the antebellum south, explained as the supremacist institutional order by King and Smith (2005). This system of apartheid remained intact for another one hundred years and kept intact an unequal system of schools. This oppressive institutional order fostered a status quo of segregation and racial inequality.

## Limitations

Limitations emanated from problems encountered during the data collection, and data interpretation errors, that affected the accuracy and precision of the findings. Using published agency archives, aid societies, and contextual information about the period did help to substantiate some but not all findings. The Commonwealth of Virginia hosted the largest number of societies of any state (an average of twenty organizations 1865-1870). African-American societies did not form cooperative relationships with the Bureau to any appreciable extent in Virginia. It may be a coincidence, however, because the Bureau did not maintain working relationships with any church congregations. Rather, aid organizations served as mediators,

maintaining relationships with churches and with the Bureau. When African-American congregations did not associate with an aid organization, they tended to operate schools independently or worked in cooperation with other organizations such as the American Missionary Association (AMA). Access to a greater number of American Missionary Association records would have enhanced the picture of African-American societies, as the AMA assisted some African-American churches and aid societies, the African Episcopal Church, and others. Further, African-American institutions, especially the African Methodist Episcopal Church (Philadelphia), established schools in northern states, as well as some southern states after the war, as evidenced in the Christian Recorder and other manuscripts (Handy, J. 1902).

Due to the Bureau's filing system (as well as missing or unreadable documents), letters sent from various officials were located in separated folders from letters received. This separation made it extraordinarily difficult to find a set of letters exchanged that formed entire conversations. Matching similar "conversations" to reports and finding letter writing patterns that were associated with prolific letter writers, helped to infer some patterns of organizational values and behavior.

# CHAPTER 9: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

## Discussion

An integral question for this dissertation was to determine whether the relationships between the Freedmen's Bureau and charitable organizations constituted collaboration according to the work of Mattessich and Monsey 1992; McNamara 2012; Thomson and Perry 2006; Crosby and Bryson 2010). The relationships between the Bureau and aid organizations did constitute cooperation but certain elements of collaboration occurred as well. Finding that these relationships began because of prior relationships between aid organizations and the Union Army aligned with the concept of antecedent conditions for collaboration (Bryson, Crosby, and Stone 2015). The Bureau and its civil society partners each retained their existing organizational structures and remained autonomous. No new entity (constituting the Bureau and associating organizations) was created to pursue their mission. Between the Bureau and aid organizations, both formal and informal agreements outlined roles and responsibilities for each entity and the overall mission to build and manage schools. Information was shared through letters, official orders, reports, in-person meetings, and other documents. By all notable accounts, the relationships that formed between the Bureau and several of the organizations that managed schools appeared to resemble some aspects of collaborative relationships.

Equally as important as the relationships built between the Bureau and various charitable organizations, were the structures and relationships built by the organizations. The larger organizations, the AFUC, the AMA, and the Friends' Societies were organized in network-like structures. Also important was the large number of organizations that participated in school

construction and management. Potentially, these two factors may have facilitated the strength of the system of schools. A unified mission of constructing and managing schools to support southern citizens, black and white, bound together organization officials, teachers, and Bureau officials and supported the implementation of the policy. Even though not every organization cooperated with the Freedmen's Bureau, and even though the Bureau did not support every organizations that needed funds, schools were built in each one of the eleven districts in Virginia.

Further, at least twice between 1865-1870, organizations conferred with each other in a conference in order to maintain unity over matters of importance.

## Implications

This project adds to the scholarship on collaboration. Examining a historical and extinct agency which developed relationships with several church-supported charitable organizations shows that facets of collaborative governance occurred much earlier than presently identified, especially as it pertains to the antecedent and initial conditions for collaboration as well as turbulence and previous relationships. In particular, this project led to an understanding of the importance of preexisting relationships and the leaders that championed education policy implementation through collaboration.

It also adds to the study of public administration field by extending the timeline of the practice of public administration. Specifically, it adds to the story of nineteenth-century governance that includes the Civil War and Reconstruction. This project also adds to the public administration scholarship by examining the interaction between government entities and faith-based organizations, long before the advent of twentieth-century faith-based initiatives. This project also adds to the scholarship on the impact of race on policy implementation and administrative practice. Education policy was forwarded based on a stratified system of

schooling. Although organizations established schools for African-Americans (and poor whites), the process of schooling (and therefore curricula) were often constrained by a desire for social control. Toward the latter years of the Freedmen's Bureau tenure, it appeared (in commentary at the time) that organizations were changing their views to align with local governments led by former secessionists who felt they should handle the education of African-Americans, although it was discovered that some voices in the American Freedmen's Union Commission and the Society of Friends understood that African-American education needed continued support and protection from white supremacist viewpoints.

## Areas for Further Study

New questions arose during the course of this dissertation research that requires more study. Further studies could investigate whether path dependence is useful to explain the use of civil society actors by government agencies in the nineteenth century. Path dependence is concerned with how institutions remain stable in the face of a crisis or other change in condition over time, and how this stability responds to various forces and creates value, legitimacy, and institutionalization and inevitably (Pierson 2004).

An exciting area for more study would be to determine the nature of organizational networks (formal and informal) between charitable organizations that existed during the nineteenth century. Through an examination of organization written communication such as periodicals, newsletters, pamphlets, and letters, the extent to which networked relationships existed, could be determined. A study of Bureau officials as public administrators, especially African-American Bureau agents, would constitute an interesting look at leadership in turbulent times. With regards to race and its effect on the collaboration between the Bureau and individual organizations in the Freedmen's Aid Movement, comparative studies between states would be

useful to determine more effectively its uneven effects. More examination of interactions between teachers and between organization officials and teachers could determine how women fostered collaboration. It appeared as though many resources needed to build trust, foster the sharing of information and resources, and enable shared decision-making were facilitated by teachers and educational administrators (who were mostly women) as they fulfilled and defended the needs of their pupils and their pupils' communities. Further, ideas concerning racial and gender issues appeared to be contested around schools. How did women such as Josephine Griffing, Sojourner Truth, Harriett Tubman, who worked for the Bureau or who administrated Bureau schools, engineer their roles as professionals working for both the government and for organizations in the voluntary sector?

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Table 5: Organizational Periodicals

| Name of Periodical | Publishing Organization or Church |
|---|---|
| The American Freedmen | The American Freedmen's Union Commission |
| The American Missionary | The American Missionary Association |
| The Christian Recorder | The African Methodist Episcopal Church |
| The National Freedmen | American Freedmen's Union Commission -NY |
| The Pennsylvania Freedmen's Bulletin | American Freedmen's Union Commission -PA |
| The Freedmen's Record | The New England Freedmen's Aid Society |
| The Torchlight | The African Civilization Society |

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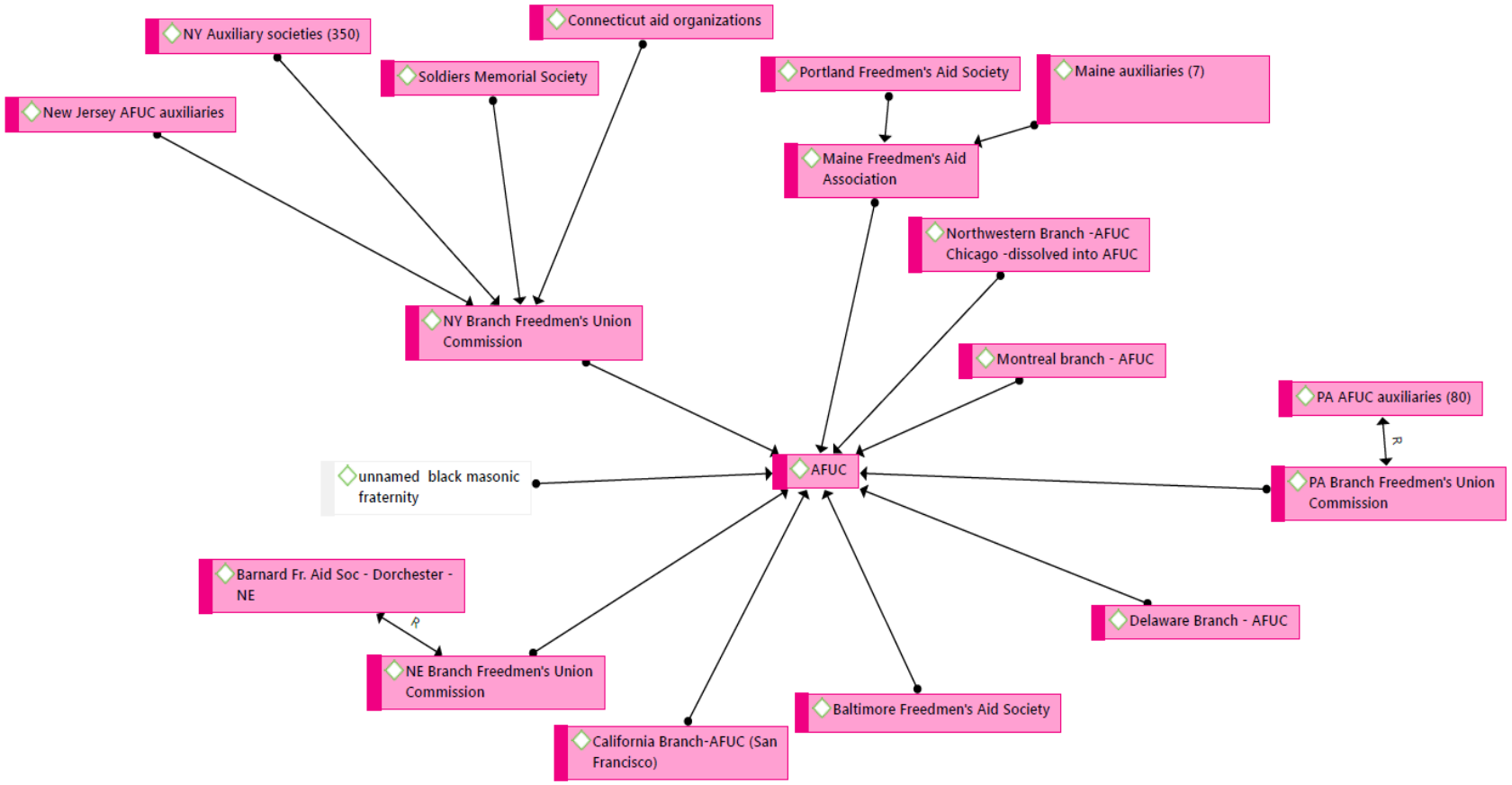
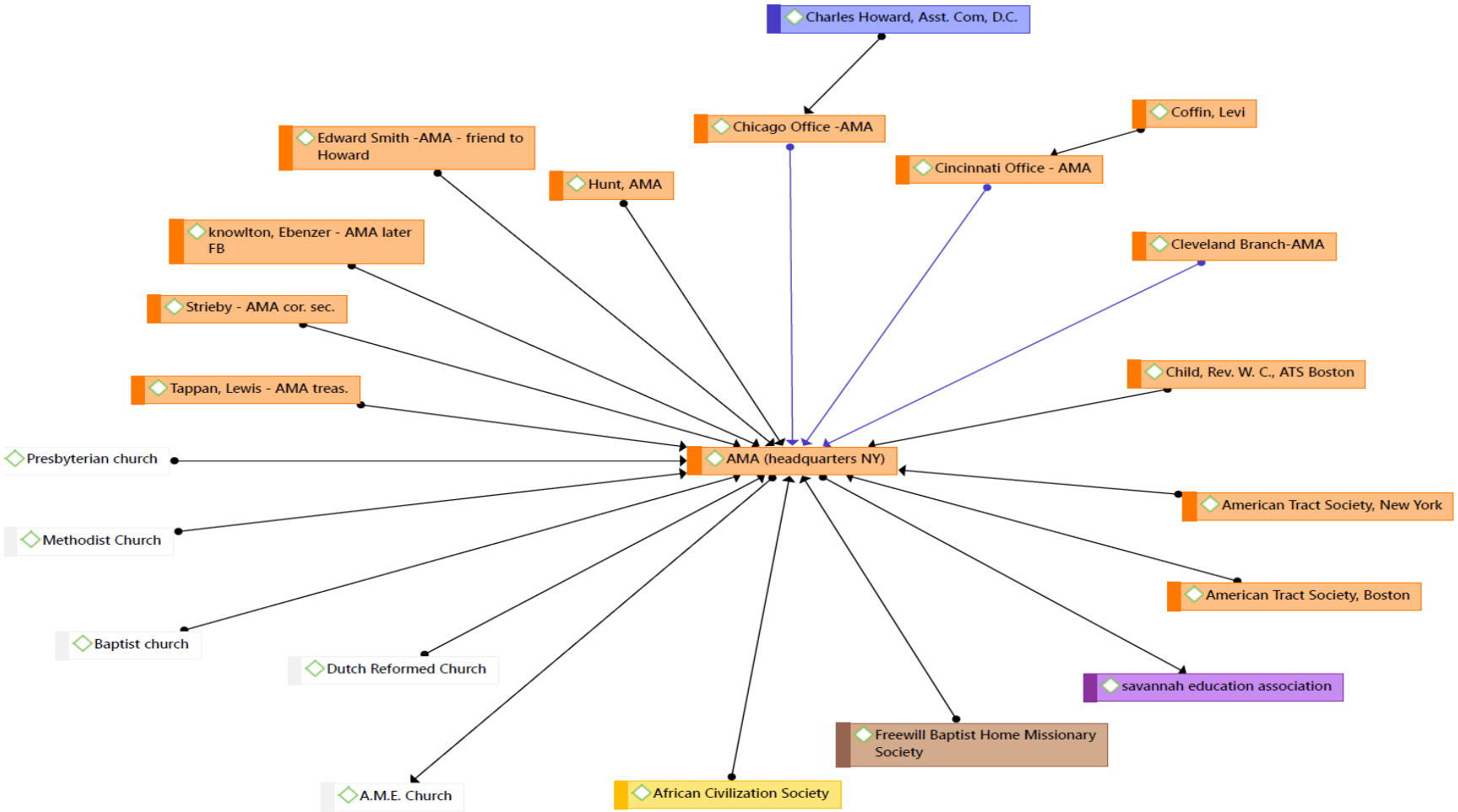
# APPENDIX A

Organizational Structure for the American Freedmen's Union Commission



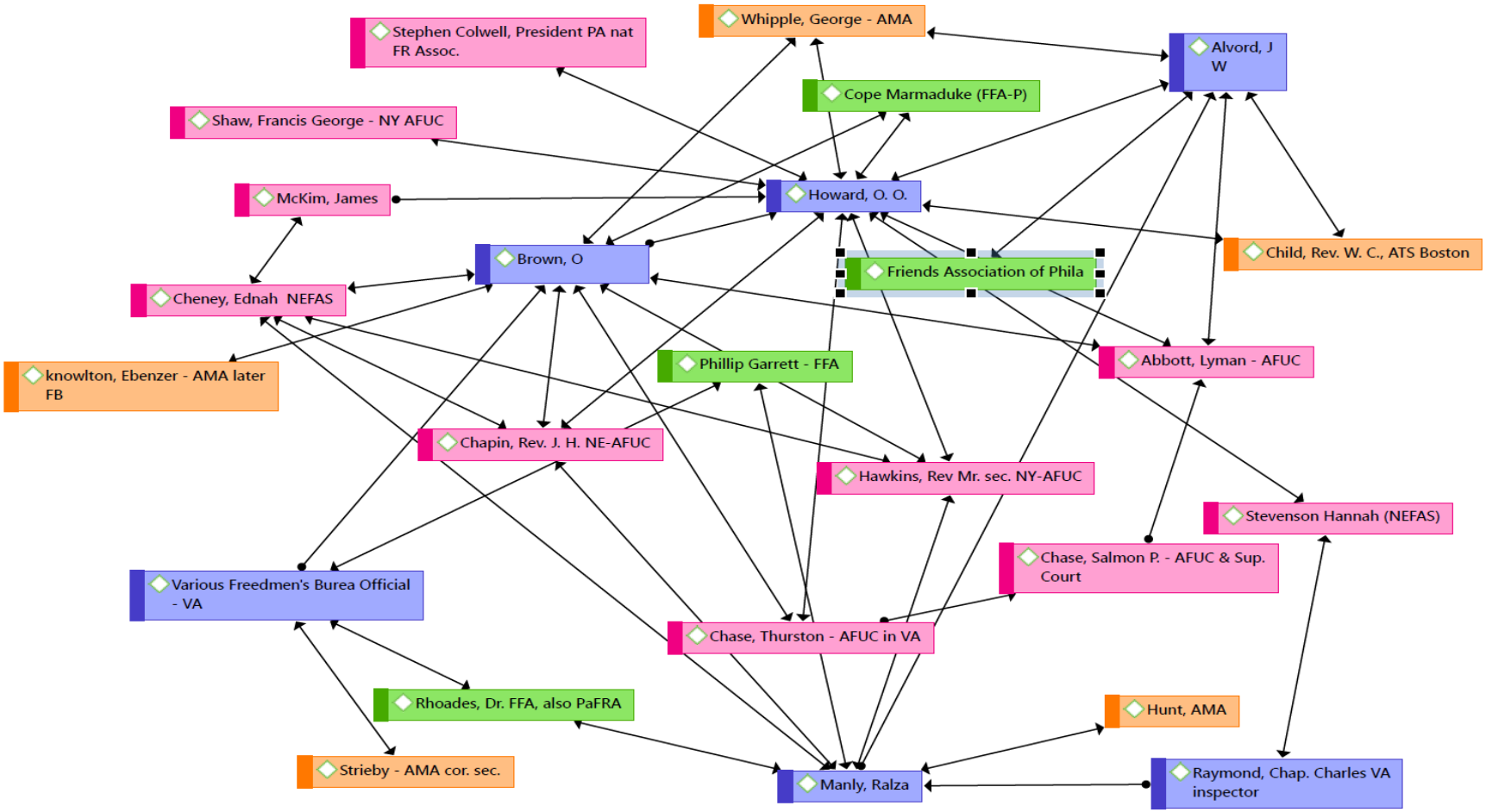
# APPENDIX B

Organizational Structure of the American Missionary Association



# APPENDIX C

Letters exchanged between officials of the various organizations, as well as the Bureau. Diagram shows letters exchanged between key personnel, representing various organizations, 1865-1870. Freedmen's Bureau (blue), AMA (orange), AFUC (pink); Friends' Freedmen's Association Philadelphia (green).



# APPENDIX D

This chart shows the organizations that established schools across Virginia, by district, in 1865-1866.

| | | | | 1865-1866 | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DISTRICT | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| SOCIETY | Norfolk | Petersburg | Richmond | Gordonsville | Fort. Monroe | Fredericksburg | Lynchburg | Wytheville | Winchester | Alexandria |
| ABHMS | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | | ■ | ■ | | ■ | ■ |
| AFUC | | | | | | | | | | |
| AMA | ■ | | | | ■ | ■ | | | ■ | |
| FFA NY | ■ | | | | | | | | | |
| FFA Phila | | | | | | | ■ | ■ | ■ | |
| Free Will Baptists | | | | | | ■ | | | ■ | |
| FREEDMEN | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | | | ■ | ■ | ■ | |
| NEAFUC | | | | | | | | | | |
| NEFAS | ■ | | ■ | ■ | | | | | | ■ |
| NYAFUC | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | | | | | | ■ |
| PAFUC | | ■ | | | | | ■ | | | |
| PEFC | | ■ | ■ | | | | | | | |
| Presbyterians | ■ | | | | | ■ | | | | ■ |

# APPENDIX E

This chart shows the organizations that established schools across Virginia, by district, in 1866-1867.

| | | | | 1866 - 1867 | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DISTRICT | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| SOCIETY | Norfolk | Petersburg | Richmond | Gordonsville | Fort. Monroe | Fredericksburg | Lynchburg | Wytheville | Winchester | Alexandria |
| ABHMS | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | | | | | | ■ |
| AFUC | | | ■ | | | | | | | |
| AMA | ■ | | | | ■ | | | | | |
| Baptist | | | | | | | | | | |
| FFA NY | ■ | | ■ | ■ | | | | ■ | | |
| FFA Phila | ■ | | ■ | ■ | ■ | | | | | ■ |
| Free Will Baptists | | | | | | ■ | ■ | | ■ | |
| FREEDMEN | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | |
| NEAFUC | | | ■ | ■ | | | | | | ■ |
| NEFAS | | | ■ | ■ | | | | | | ■ |
| NYAFUC | | ■ | ■ | | ■ | | | ■ | | ■ |
| PAFUC | | ■ | | | | | ■ | | | |
| PEFC | ■ | ■ | ■ | | | | | | | |
| Presbyterians | ■ | | | | ■ | | | | | ■ |

# APPENDIX F

This chart shows the organizations that established schools across Virginia, by district, in 1867-1868.

| | | | | 1867-1868 | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DISTRICT | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| SOCIETY | Norfolk | Petersburg | Richmond | Gordonsville | Fort. Monroe | Fredericksburg | Lynchburg | Wytheville | Winchester | Alexandria |
| ABHMS | | | | | | | | | | |
| AFUC | | | | | | | | | | |
| AMA | | | | | | | | | | |
| Baptist | | | | | | | | | | |
| FFA NY | | | | | | | | | | |
| FFA Phila | | | | | | | | | | |
| Free Will Baptists | | | | | | | | | | |
| FREEDMEN | | | | | | | | | | |
| NEAFUC | | | | | | | | | | |
| NEFAS | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYAFUC | | | | | | | | | | |
| PAFUC | | | | | | | | | | |
| PEFC | | | | | | | | | | |
| Presbyterians | | | | | | | | | | |

# APPENDIX G

This chart shows the organizations that established schools across Virginia, by district, in 1868-1969.

| | | | | | 1868-1869 | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DISTRICT | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| SOCIETY | Year | Norfolk | Petersburg | Richmond | Gordonsville | Fort. Monroe | Fredericksburg | Lynchburg | Wytheville | Winchester | Alexandria |
| ABHMS | | | | | | | | | | | |
| AFUC | | | | | | | | | | | |
| AMA | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Baptist | | | | | | | | | | | |
| FFA NY | | | | | | | | | | | |
| FFA Phila | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Free Will Baptists | | | | | | | | | | | |
| FREEDMEN | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NEAFUC | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NEFAS | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYAFUC | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PAFUC | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PEFC | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Presbyterians | | | | | | | | | | | |

# APPENDIX H

Location data for Contraband Camps in Virginia (Cooper 2014)

| Organization with a Presence | Name of Contraband Camp | Latitude | Longitude |
|---|---|---|---|
| African Methodist Episcopal Church | Camp Hamilton | 37.01453 | -76.3181 |
| African Methodist Episcopal Church | Harrison's Landing, Virginia | 37.31795 | -77.1796 |
| African Methodist Episcopal Church | Fort Norfolk | 36.88451 | -76.3109 |
| American Missionary Association | Fort Monroe | 37.00267 | -76.3071 |
| American Missionary Association | Gloucester Point | 37.26067 | -76.4972 |
| American Missionary Association | Princess Anne, Virginia | 36.75181 | -76.053 |
| American Missionary Association | Rolleston (Henry Wise Farm) | 36.82186 | -76.164 |
| New England Freedmen's Aid Society | Craney Island | 38.61317 | -78.6723 |
| New England Freedmen's Aid Society | Fort Norfolk | 36.88451 | -76.3109 |
| Society of Friends | Acretown | 37.23195 | -76.5484 |
| Society of Friends | Alexandria, VA | 38.81323 | -77.0441 |
| Society of Friends | Camp Rucker (Major Nutt's Farm) | 38.88395 | -77.1712 |
| Society of Friends | Camp Wadsworth (on Cooke's Farm) | 38.94639 | -77.1589 |
| Society of Friends | Contraband Camps A & B, Alexandria | 38.80774 | -77.057 |
| Society of Friends | Freedmen's Village, Arlington Heights | 38.87057 | -77.0661 |
| Society of Friends | Old School House, Alexandria | 38.80484 | -77.0469 |
| Society of Friends | Rope Walk (Norfolk, VA) | 36.85077 | -76.1319 |
| Society of Friends | Sabletown | 37.23149 | -76.5147 |
| Society of Friends | Slave Pen, Alexandria | 38.80989 | -77.0448 |

# APPENDIX I

Organizations that managed schools in Freedmen's Bureau owned buildings (May 1867)[43]

| District | Societies_supporting | Total Schools | Freedmen Full Support | Freedmen part support | Freedmen Owned Building | FB Owned Buildling |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | ABHMS | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 3 | ABHMS | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 3 | ABHMS | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| 1 | AMA | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| 1 | AMA | 16 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 5 |
| 5 | AMA | 17 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| 10 | AMA | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 3 | Amer Freed. Union Comm. | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 1 | FFA- NY | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 8 | FFA- NY | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 4 | FFA of Phila | 4 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| 7 | FFA of Phila | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 6 | Free Baptist Home Mission. Soc. | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 7 | Free Baptist Home Mission. Soc. | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 1 | freedmen | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | freedmen | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 6 | M E Church | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 4 | NE Branch Freed Union Comm | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 4 | NE Branch Freed Union Comm | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| 10 | NE Branch Freed Union Comm | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 2 | NY Branch Freed Union Comm. | 4 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| 5 | NY Branch Freed Union Comm. | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 8 | NY Branch Freed Union Comm. | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 8 | NY Branch Freed Union Comm. | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 10 | NY Branch Freed Union Comm. | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 7 | PA Branch Freed Union Comm | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 1 | PE Freed Comm | 5 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| 2 | PE Freed Comm | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

[43] Monthly Statistical School Reports of District Superintendents, July 1865-April 1869, Jan. 1870, roll 12.

# APPENDIX J

Ownership of School Buildings, October 1866- June 1870 (Figure 7)
by the Freedmen's Bureau and by African-Americans (individuals or groups)