

Winter Term - November 11. 1860.

Names.	Towns.	Counties.
61. Sarah M Birdsall	Kashaguma	Schenectady
62. James A Curtis	Dumeshugh	Schenectady
63. Elizabeth Smith	Cobleskill	Schoharie
64. Charlotte Smith	Schoharie	Schoharie
65. James M Foster	DeWatts	"
66. Mary A Conkling	Hooverhead	Suffolk
67. David M Wells	Hooverhead	Suffolk
68. George W Corwin	"	"
69. Wm W White	Southampton	Suffolk
70. Mary Williams	Mamakating	Sullivan
71. Mary Pelt Broughton	Fat Run	Washington
72. Lucy Harris	Hartford	"
73. Anna M Lighthall	Albany	Albany
74. Cornelia J Wilbur	"	"
75. Lucy Smith	"	"
76. Wm Louis Campbell	"	"
77. Mary Jane Livingston	"	"
78. Thomas Spencer	"	"
79. George P W Kildershouse	Guildford	"
80. Susan M Carter	Chautauque	Chautauque
81. P. F. Morse	West Sand Lake	Rensselaer
82. Hannah M. Wilbur	Postkill	"
83. Charon Carpenter	Schoadack	"
84. Sarah J. Cattmore	Moreau	Saratoga
85. Margaret Elizabeth Stenberg	Cobleskill	Schoharie
86. Lucinda Schermerhorn	Schodack	Rensselaer
87. Julia M. H. Jett	Spent	Columbia
88. Margaret B. Shuffelt	"	"
89. Mary A. Fox	Athens	Greene
90. Charles M. Mearns	Brookfield	Madison

29th Term Sept 20, 1858 - Feb 3^d 1859

	NAMES.	Towns.	Counties	
59	Harrist E. Scanlan	Albany	Albany	11
60	Margaret L. Conley	Albany		16
61	Augusta E. Parker.	Albany		10
62	Martha M. Lord	Albany		10
63	Martha A. Winne	Albany		10
64	Amy A. Kingolton	Albany	Albany	14
65	Joseph N. McDonald	Albany		18
66	Barrett B. Steers Jr	Albany		14
67	Charlotte V. Plaha	Albany	1 st African American student	10
68	Pamelia L. Weatherway	Pennselaer	West-Sand Lake	10
69	Martha Mine	West Sand Lake	Pennselaer	18
70	Elizabeth Ann Mull	Bethlehem	Albany	2
71	Sarah Ann Skill	Benjamin	Albany	16
72	Kate Benjamin	Albany	Albany	16
73	Josephine Kellmer	Albany	Albany	18
74	Olivia Jane Ferguson	Albany	Albany	18
75	Mary Martin	Albany	Albany	14
76	Sarah E. Gibson	Albany	Albany	14
77	Helen L. Reid	Albany	Albany	14
78	Helina C. Eaton	Hempstead	Queens	14
79	Helen Dakota Bronnell	Schoharie	Schoharie	14
80	Anna E. Wood	Congruet	Cayuga	14
81	Mary E. Wood	Congruet	Cayuga	14
82	Margaret C. Baker	N. Henrieville	M. from Hon S.S. Randall	14
83	Laurastem L. Smith	Newark N.Y.	" " " "	14
84	Eliz. Matilda E. Wilbur.	Easton	"Washington"	14
85	Anna M. Courtney	Albany	Albany	14
86	Dennie L. Haznes	Albany	Albany	14
87	Mary Salina Ship	Waterliet	Albany	14



UNIVERSITY AT ALBANY
STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

July 18, 1994

Russell Irvine
30 Pryor Street
Department of Educational Policy
Georgia State University
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Russell,

Please forgive my delay in forwarding these material relating to the presence of African-American student at the then New York State Normal School. We have been very busy trying to recover from our sesquicentennial celebration and I am falling way behind in answering reference requests.

As I mentioned to you on the phone I have previously searched for some mention of a Mary Elizabeth Miles in our records but have been unable to turn up any trace of her attendance. Due to a devistating fire in 1906 that burned our building to the ground we have very few official 19th Century records. I have again searched both the President's Registration Book and Annual Reports of the Executive Committee, the two best, and infact almost our only surviving 19th Century documentation for the 1840' and 1850's looking for any mention of a Mary Miles. There are quite a number of students named Mary and a fair number with the name Mary E. and even a few Mary Elizabeths listed in the President's Registration Book, but none of these individuals has Miles as a last name. None of the entries gives any indication of the ethnicity of the students.

The first page of the Registration Book is missing so it is possible that Miles might have registered with the first group of students and if she did not graduate she would not appear on any of the published lists of graduates or the lists of students. We do have a Ledger book from 1844-45, however, that lists all the money's given out to students. The "state" students received both a travel and a room and board allowance. "Voluntary" students received neither of the stipends. Miles' name is not listed in the Ledger which unfortunately covers only 1844-45. While that is not conclusive evidence that she did not attend during the first term, it considerably reduces that chances that she was a student.

The strongest possibility that Miles may have attend the Normal School is that she may have attended and even graduated from the Model or Experimental School school which was founded in 1845 by William Phelps as a practice teaching school. Unfortunately we have no information from the 1840's about either the names of the students or the graduates.

As I mentioned on the phone Miles might very well have taught without a diploma from the Normal School. There was no requirement in NY State that teachers have any degree or certificate in the 1840's and 1850's. If Miles attended but did not graduate that is not surprising. About 60% of our 19th Century students only attended for a semester or a year to improve their teaching skills.

If I knew the town Miles came from I could cross-reference the entries for Mary, Mary E. and Mary Elizabeth in the Registration Book on the off chance that her last name may have changed.

We do know that Charlotte V. Usher did attend the Normal School for the term commencing September 20, 1859. There is no indication in the registration book of her ethnicity. She did not graduate nor is she listed as a student in the President's Registration Book for 1860. Attached is a copy of the President's Registration Book pages for September 20, 1859. Usher was the 67th student registered. She was 16 at the time of her registration and from the City of Albany in Albany County. I have photocopied the pages from the Albany City Directory for 1956-57 and 1859 that list the Usher families. You may be able to get more detailed information about Usher from the U.S. or the New York State Census. The New York State census was conducted between the federal censuses.

Our first known African-American graduate, thanks to the work of Carlton Mabee, is Evelena Williams, Box 23, Westbury Station, N.Y., class of January 25, 1884. For nine years was the principal and sole teacher at the primary and intermediate one room black public school in Jamaica, N.Y., Public School # 2. There she was responsible for the education of 75 pupils in grades one through seven. Ms. Williams apparently lost her teaching job in 1895 when the black residents of Jamaica boycotted the black school because they insisted that their children were receiving an inferior education and demanded that they be admitted to the white school. Carleton Mabee, Black Education in New York State (Syracuse University Press, 1979), p. 288. The last entry for her in the Historical Sketch of the State Normal College, 1894, p. 283, notes that she was working as a typist and stenographer, but had previously worked for nine years as a teacher. Again, there is nothing in our records to indicate that she was African-American.

As I think I mentioned on the phone the only mention of the ethnicity of student was the admission of Native American student, all members of the Iroquois Confederacy, in the early 1850's. The experiment lasted from 1851-54 and was a disastrous failure from the point of view of graduating students. A total of 26 students attended but none graduated. I have photocopied the best written description of the experiment from the history of the College by French & French. We know nothing about where Harriet Twoguns taught in the South. We do know that she returned to New York State and taught on the Cattaraugus Reservation in western New York. I believe that the special legislation was necessary because the Native American students were not New York State citizens, but rather citizens of the Iroquois Confederacy reservations in New York. The Normal School was only for the education of New York State citizens.

Should you discover any additional information about Miles or Usher I would be delighted to receive it. Again I wish you luck in your research and apologize for the delay in getting these materials to you.

Sincerely,

Geoffrey P. Williams
University Archivist

University at Albany and the Education of African-Americans

List of African-American Students attending or graduating from the University at Albany, SUNY, or its predecessor institutions.

The list of African-American students attending or graduating from the University at Albany or its predecessor institutions was compiled from a visual survey of graduates photographs in the Pedagogue and the University Archives and Alumni Memorabilia photograph collections. Since the list was compiled primarily from visual observations of photographs or school yearbooks there is no way of telling how comprehensive the list is. African-American students, like many other students, may not have been photographed for the yearbook. In the days before official school yearbooks their photographs may not have survived. In a number of cases it is impossible to tell from the photograph whether the student was African-American or white, in that case the name of the individual is followed by a question mark in parentheses. In all cases the year cited is the year of their graduation yearbook. The commencement lists should be checked to see whether the students actually graduated or graduated in the year of their yearbook. Information on African-American students in at the New York State Normal School or the New York State Normal College, our predecessor institutions, comes primarily from Carleton Maybee, Black Education in New York State From Colonial to Modern Times (Syracuse University Press, 1979). [gpw, 10/90]

1858-59 Charlotte V. Usher of Albany is listed as a student in the Annual Circular for the year ending July 14, 1859 contained in the "Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the State Normal School," State of New York, No. 19, In Assembly, January 18, 1960. There is no indication in this document that she was African-American. She is not listed before or after as a student and is not listed as a graduate. Carleton Mabee, Black Education in New York State From Colonial Times (Syracuse University Press, 1979), p. 108 and fn. states that a C. V. Usher, an African-American woman, studied at the Albany State Normal School in the 1850's and later taught at an African-American public school in Poughkeepsie. Maybee cites a claim by Martin R. Delany, The Condition... of the Colored People (Philadelphia, 1852), p. 132, that a Mary Elizabeth Miles, who taught at the Albany African-American public school in the 1840's, graduated from the Albany State Normal School. A thorough search of the Signature Book and the lists of students and graduates contained in the Circular's of the school contain no evidence that Ms. Miles either attended or graduated from the Normal School. It is possible that she attended one of the Summer Institutes conducted by the faculty and/or graduates of the State Normal School or that she attended the Experimental School, the teaching school of the Normal School. No lists of attendees at Institutes exists at the University at Albany, SUNY.

- A researcher confirmed that she was a graduate of one of the Normal Schools

GPW 4/24/91

University at Albany and the Education of African-Americans

Early U. at A., SUNY graduates assist in educating African-Americans.

Harriet Twoguns, Class of 1865

Harriet Twoguns, a Native American, was born on the Cattarugus Reservation in western New York. She attended the State Normal School from 1863 to 1865. She was the first Native American to complete the Normal School training course. Subsequent to her graduation she moved to the South and taught African-American children for twenty years. [Historical Sketch of the State Normal School, Albany, N.Y., 1844-1888, Albany, N.Y., 1888. With interleaved annotations by William Murdoch, class of 1977]

Ada C. Pollock, Class of 1888, June 1863-1917

Ada C. Pollock, born in Patria, New York, 1863, attended the State Normal School from 1886-88. After graduation she taught briefly at the Whipple School in Lansingburg, New York (16 weeks) until her health failed. In 1887 she attended the Franklinton, N.C., Theological Institute's Instructional Department. She subsequently married the Reverend Frank C. Blunden, Headmaster of the Live Oak Preparatory School at Baton Rouge, L.A., a school for African-American (at the time called colored) children. [Historical Sketch of the State Normal School, Albany, N.Y., 1844-1888, Albany, N.Y., 1888. With interleaved annotations by William Murdoch, class of 1977] In February 1889 Ada and Frank founded a Methodist Episcopalian Church school in Wesley Chapel, L.A. for the education of African-American children. Their first permanent building was erected in 1892. It was subsequently destroyed by fire in 1902. Despite this setback, the school continued to grow. In 1916 the school was incorporated under the control of the Ada C. Pollock-Blunden Association. In 1917, the year of Ada Pollock's death, the Association succeeded in erecting a boys dormitory. [Vertical File: Alumni: Ada C. Pollock Folder]



BLACK WOMEN ABOLITIONISTS

*A Study in Activism,
1828-1860*



Shirley J. Yee



Mary Elizabeth Miles

1884 Evelena Williams, Box 23, Westbury Station, N.Y. The first know African-American graduate of the State Normal School. She graduated with the Seventy-Eighth Class on January 25, 1884. For nine years was the principal and sole teacher at the primary and intermediate one room African-American public school in Jamaica, N.Y., Public School # 2. There she was responsible for the education of 75 pupils in grades one through seven. Ms. Williams apparently lost her teaching job in 1895 when the African-American residents of Jamaica boycotted the African-American school because they insisted that their children were receiving an inferior education and demanded that they be admitted to the white school. Carleton Mabee, Black Education in New York State (Syracuse University Press, 1979), p. 288. The last entry for her in the Historical Sketch of the State Normal College, 1894, p. 283, notes that she was working as a typist and stenographer, but had previously worked for nine years as a teacher.

1859 -

~~1889 Isabella Hyde (?), Stottville, Columbia County~~

*Miss Mabee
Carter, Kyles
Says Hyde is
all black
American*

1905 Bessie Josephine Fugett (?), Baldwinsville, Onondaga County, Photo in 1904 Yearbook in Alumni Memorabilia

1911 - *George Lewis "Williams", B Am 19*

Grace Hogeman 1911-1915? possibly debut gal.

1930 Warren Cochrane, Saratoga Springs

Harriet Lewis Van Ratten 1929? - supposedly first attended in 1911? not sure is true.

1932 Helen C. Craig (?)

1933 Augusta Baker, 40 Spring Street, Albany

1937 Arlene Ruth Kemp, 716 Second Ave., Troy

1938 Kirkland L. Irvis, 312 South Orange St., Albany

1939 Mildred Mosier, Darien Center

1942 Rita Kell

1944 (issue needs to be checked)

1946 Marion Carter, Albany

Founding member of Inter-Group Council (a group students and faculty interested in improving relations between religious and ethnic groups)

1948 James Taylor, 42 Spring St., Albany

1949 John Jennings, Albany

President, Inter-Group Council, 1948

President, Student Association, 1949

Myskania, 1948-49

Edward E. Potter Club, Fraternity

- 1950 Margaret R. Howard, Greensport
Benjamin A. Jackson, Rome
- 1951 Phyllis Harris, Riverhead
President, Womens' Athletic Association, 1951
Inter-Group Council
Myekania
Belva McLaurin, Inwood
Psi Gamma Sorority
- 1952 James Butts, Mt. Vernon
Norine Cargill, East Elmhurst
Inter-Group Council
Psi Gamma Sorority
W Warren Gibson, Troy
Daniel Webster Joy, Glen Cove
Vice President, Senior Class
President (?), Math Club
Phi Gamma Mu
- 1954 Frances R. Bathea, Albany
Irene H. Johnson, Brooklyn
- 1955 Hannah Arlene Banks (?)
Mildred Marie Williams
- 1956 Shirley P. McPherson
- 1957 Clyde Payne
President, Student Association, 1956-7
Myekania
Board of Student Finance, 1956
Vice President, Student Association, 1955-56
Kappa Mu (mathematics honorary society)
Sigma Lambda Sigma Fraternity
Barbara Baker
Psi Gamma Mu
Beta Zeta Social Science Honorary Society
Patricia Hall
Song Leader, Student Association, 1956-7
James Lockhardt
Vice President, Student Association, 1956-57
Edward E. Potter Club, Fraternity
Betty King
Treasurer, Student Association, 1956-57
Mary Knight
President, SMILES (student service organization
working with the community)
Joyce Shelton
Psi Gamma Sorority

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GPW 4/24/91

Activism, 1828-1860

abolitionists who advertised... Garrison noted in *The*... powerful tendency to beget... prejudice."24 James L... a black abolitionist, *the Liberator*.

warding for most black... private schools, and even... gged financially. Moti... opportunities for blacks as... constantly to keep their... ing became vital to her... family also relied on her... upported, in addition to... dia Maria Child, a lead... as a schoolteacher was... for she also worked as a... she [Paul] has taught a... orted her and a widowed... n school are diligently

or antislavery societies... h the racially integrated... d her to obtain financial... Abolition Society, when... the school during the... ociety also contributed

educators, challenged... activities. As a result,... ent from male abolition... participated in "male"... eagues, as was the case... to black education and... the free black commu-

re winter of 1851, op... th the emigrationists.

Working for the Welfare of Our Race

Runaway slaves and free blacks had sought refuge in Canada since the 1810s, but the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, which made it a federal crime to assist escaped slaves, intensified the frustration that had been building for at least a decade among black abolitionists and created a heightened sense of urgency for the safety of all blacks living in the United States. Between 1850 and 1860 the black population in the Canadian provinces rose from approximately forty thousand to sixty thousand.26

Ex-slaves Mary and Henry Bibb, who had helped establish the Windsor settlement the year before Shadd arrived, were among many black activists who considered Garrison's policy of "moral suasion" a failure and who resented the racism and myopia of white abolitionists in the United States. Shadd had agreed with the Bibbs that education was vital to the new community, but she disagreed about the types of schools needed and the source of financial assistance to keep the schools open. Part of the conflict involved the issue of integration and separatism, but it quickly became a personal feud that would last until Henry Bibb's death in 1854.

While the Bibbs favored government-sponsored schools for blacks, Shadd favored private schools that made no color distinctions. In 1851, the Bibbs exercised their right under Canadian law to petition the government for segregated schools, a decision probably based on financial constraints as well as a desire to build an independent community. Their own experience with the hardships of running private schools probably convinced the Bibbs that their schools could sustain themselves only with government assistance.

Mary Bibb was an experienced teacher who had graduated from the Normal School in Albany, New York. Born Mary Elizabeth Miles in Boston, she taught school in Massachusetts, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati, Ohio. She met her future husband in 1847 and married him a year later. After arriving in Canada in 1850, Mary Bibb had opened a small school for fugitive slave children in her home. Within a year, increased enrollment forced her to move her students to a nearby schoolroom, and she soon encountered financial problems. In February 1851, she reported that though enrollment in both her "day school" and the Sunday school had increased, the physical condition of the schoolrooms, the Canadian weather, and the absence of adequate supplies were grim realities: "The day school in this place has increased from twelve to forty-six, notwithstanding the embarrassing circumstances under which it started, namely,

This collection is not correct in many instances. Mary Bibb's name is not in it. C. P. W. B. 1851

Southern author Ark. Aug 87
Check the usher 1859
Albany
Black Education in N.Y.
Madre.

a dark, ill-ventilated room, uncomfortable seats, want of desks, books and all sorts of school apparatus." She reported similar problems with a new Sunday school class: "We commenced a Sunday-school four weeks ago; present, thirty-six; there are now forty members, and much interest is manifested both by parents and children, some coming in inclement weather the distance of two or three miles. We are entirely destitute of bibles, there being four testaments in the school, one of these being minus several chapters."²⁷

Within a few months, she clearly felt a financial bind. In April she reported that most of her pupils had quit school after the winter term to hire themselves out to farmers for the spring and summer. Bibb complained publicly that the parents whose children had attended that winter had failed to pay her salary, adding that she would have accepted partial payment, "but even this has not yet been given."²⁸ The Bibbs must have been suffering at home as a result of the non-payment of school fees, for in addition to supporting themselves, they often sheltered several fugitive slaves in their home. In 1852, Mary Bibb reported in *The Liberator* that within ten days, they had given shelter to twenty-three fugitives.²⁹

During Shadd's first year in Canada, she wrote to George Whipple, secretary of the American Missionary Association, that Windsor was "by universal consent, the most destitute community of colored people." In Sandwich, a small village south of Windsor, according to Shadd, "the school . . . though a government affair, does not afford apparatus nor anything for instruction, nor support to the teacher; the very trifling sum to be paid by parents is not furnished, and they even express the inability to provide firewood."³⁰

The poor condition of black public schools in Canada convinced Shadd that the Canadian government could not be counted on for help in the building of their settlements. Mary Bibb had eventually sought aid from organizations in the United States, such as the American Missionary Association, when the Canadian government had refused financial assistance to the fugitive slave communities in its provinces. Throughout the 1850s, Shadd argued that though both white and black parents paid taxes to Canadian public schools, white leaders in the boroughs used the money for good schools for the white children, while black schools remained shabby and lacking in supplies. The black inhabitants of St. Catharine, Shadd reported in 1855, were "debarred equal school privileges."³¹

The following year, she wrote in the *Provincial Freeman* that in Canadi-

an boroughs "large and hand children of the whites, while building is set apart for the children of the colored people in the town." She also pointed out that often traveled far from their homes, usually employed only one black man, had little hope of advancing their education. School, are not promoted to the next grade, led to hope that they might be employed by the more prosperous black Canadians paid their taxes, in order to obtain a

The Bibbs' proposal for the school" for blacks met with strong opposition. Shadd was a staunch emigrationist and opposed segregated or "caste" schools. "I will not consider my effort to break with the caste. I am utterly opposed to Shadd's opposition to black separation with the A.M.E. church. In her eyes, black support for racial segregation ate the custom of segregation for centuries, and public "caste" schools for blacks. Thus, she opposed the

Shadd even hesitated to accept segregated schools, fearing that once black support would stop paying altogether. She eventually resigned and finally accepted the grant from the black community, Henry Bibb's newspaper. Bibb later defended

We heard her say that she was the mother of each of her pupils, which sum of money had granted her the sum of \$1000. We even used to give publicity to our people in Windsor as they were in the time . . . and not knowing the names of the children from the parents of the children

the work of black organizations. Wright was a firm believer in political action and, in 1840, sided with the Tappan wing of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Wright also believed in black unity. Thus, when the AAS split in 1840, Wright tried to keep all groups of blacks in New York City united in pursuing their abolitionist goals and "the practical needs of the colored people." See Sorin, *The New York Abolitionists*, 84. Oberlin College in Ohio, founded in 1826, was the first college to admit blacks and women.

11. *Colored American*, Oct. 31, 1840, BAP, reel 3, fr. 0682.
12. Perlman, "Organizations of the Free Negro in New York City," 190.
13. *The Liberator*, July 21, 1832, p. 114.
14. Sarah M. Douglass to William Lloyd Garrison and Isaac Knapp, Dec. 6, 1832, BPL.
15. *The Liberator*, Jan. 7, 1832, p. 2.
16. *Ibid.*, July 21, 1832, p. 114.
17. *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, 1832, p. 163.
18. William Lloyd Garrison to Sarah M. Douglass, Secretary of the Female Literary Association of Philadelphia, March 5, 1832, BPL: Rare Books and Manuscripts.
19. *The Liberator*, Dec. 1833; *Ibid.*, March 1, 1834, p. 36.
20. (Samuel Cornish) to (Charles B. Ray), *Colored American*, Dec. 2, 1837, BAP, reel 2, fr. 0290.
21. *Weekly Anglo-African*, July 23, 1859, BAP, reel 11, fr. 0869.
22. "A Tribute of Respect to the Veteran Teacher" ca. 1898, Slaughter Coll., Trevor Arnett Library, Atlanta Univ. Center Library.
23. *The Liberator*, Jan. 4, 1834, p. 3.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Lydia Maria Child to Jonathan Phillips, Jan. 23, 1838, Schlesinger Library.
26. See Landon, "The Buxton Settlement in Canada," "Henry Bibb," and "Negro Migration to Canada," 22. See Henry Bibb, *Narrative*, 190-91, and Delany, *Condition*, 132, re Mary Bibb. *Black Abolitionist Papers*
27. *Voice of the Fugitive*, Feb. 26, 1851, BAP, reel 6, fr. 0836.
28. *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, April 12, 1851, BAP, reel 6, fr. 0899.
29. Landon, "Negro Migration to Canada," 24.
30. Mary Ann Shadd to George Whipple, Oct. 27, 1852, Windsor, Canada, BAP, reel 7, fr. 0160-0161. Dillard Univ., Amistad Research Center (hereafter cited as ARC), AMA Coll.
31. *Provincial Freeman*, Nov. 3, 1855, BAP, reel 9, fr. 0915.
32. *Ibid.*, July 26, 1856, BAP, reel 10, fr. 0238.
33. Mary Shadd to Whipple, Nov. 27, 1851, Windsor, AMA Coll., OBHS, box 2, envelope 4.
34. *Voice of the Fugitive*, July 15, 1852, BAP, reel 7, fr. 0657.

35. Alexander McArthur to George Whipple, Dec. 22, 1852, Windsor, AMA Coll., OBHS, box 2, envelope 4. Although McArthur may have truly supported Shadd, his attestation may be exaggerated. According to Robin Winks (*The Blacks in Canada*, 207), McArthur's testimony was unreliable, because Hiram Wilson, a friend of Bibb, had convinced the AMA to refuse McArthur's appointment as an agent.

36. Mary Ann Shadd Cary to G[eorge] Whipple, Dec. 28, 1852, Windsor, C[anada] W[est], BAP, reel 7, fr. 1039.
37. Shadd to Whipple, Windsor, June 21, 1852, AMA Coll., OBHS, box 2, envelope 4.
38. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1852.
39. *Ibid.*, Jan. 12, 1853, BAP, reel 8, fr. 0095.
40. *Voice of the Fugitive*, July 15, 1851, BAP, reel 7, fr. 0657.
41. Mary Ann Shadd to George Whipple, Dec. 28, 1852, Windsor, C(anada) W(est), BAP, reel 7, fr. 1039.
42. *Ibid.*, July 21, 1852, BAP, reel 7, fr. 0688.
43. *Provincial Freeman*, Jan. 28, 1859, BAP, reel 11, fr. 0553.
44. Reports on the progress of her school consistently referred to her "colored" school or her "colored" students.
45. *Provincial Freeman*, Jan. 28, 1859, BAP, reel 11, fr. 0553.
46. Mary Ann Shadd Cary to George Whipple, June 21, 1859, Chatham, Canada, BAP, reel 11, fr. 0795-0796, Dillard Univ., ARC-AMA Coll.
47. Mary Ann Shadd to The Executive Committee of the AMA, Windsor, 1852, AMA Coll., OBHS, box 2, envelope 2.
48. Mary Shadd to [George] Whipple, Aug. 18, 1852, Windsor, AMA Coll., OBHS, box 2, envelope 4.
49. Perlman, "Organizations of the Free Negro in New York City, 1800-1860," 181-82.
50. Horton and Horton, *Black Bostonians*, 28-29. The historian for the Society, black activist John Zuille, asserted that several other black men's benevolent societies in New York City eventually sprang from the African Society. Zuille claimed that the many members of the African Society eventually broke to form the Clarkson Society, the Wilberforce Benevolent Society, and the Woolman Society of Brooklyn; see John T. Zuille, "Historical Sketch of the New York African Society for Mutual Relief," (New York, 1892), 20, cited in Perlman, "Organizations of the Free Negro in New York City, 1800-1860," 184.
51. In 1787, Prince Hall, a black mason and Methodist preacher founded the first black masonic lodge, the African Lodge #459 in Boston. Horton and Horton, *Black Bostonians*, 29; Meier and Rudwick, *From Plantation to Ghetto*, 90-91.
52. James T. Holly to Lewis Hayden, Jan. 9, 1857, New Haven, Conn., BAP, reel 10, fr. 0485.

Citation about

BLACK EDUCATION IN NEW YORK STATE

From Colonial to Modern Times

CARLETON MABEE



"Kept In," painting by Edward L. Henry, 1888.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY PRESS • 1979

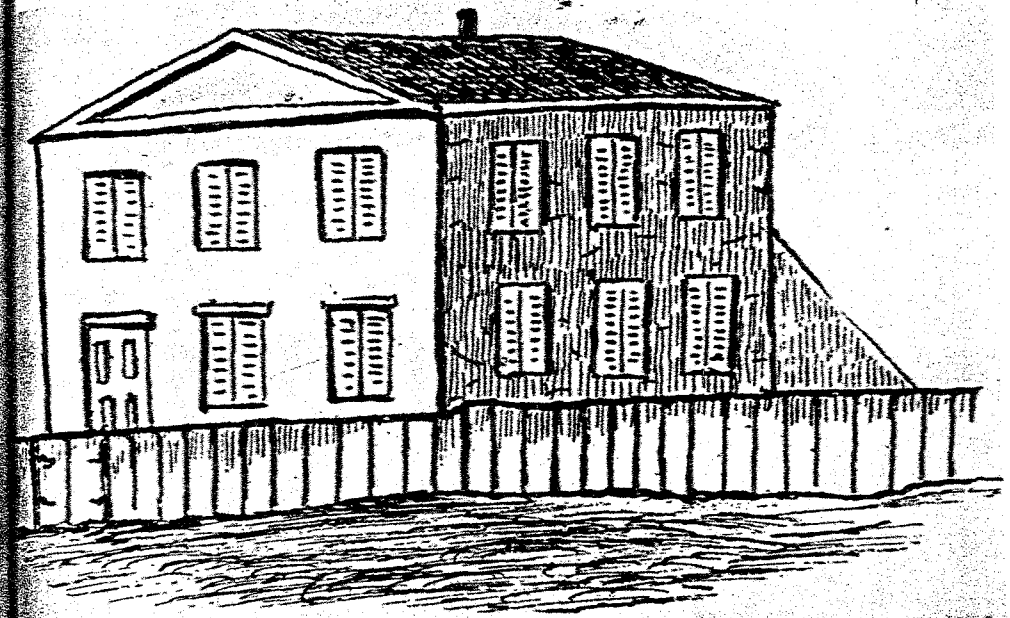
a white boy by requiring him to sit with a black child, which seemed such a terrible punishment to the white boy that he absolutely refused to sit there.⁷ The effect of this incident on both the children could have been scarring.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that black parents, white parents, and white school officials often asked for separate public schools.

As early as 1824 the state superintendent of schools recommended the creation of separate public schools for blacks. Beginning in 1841 New York State enacted general laws permitting local school authorities to create separate black schools.⁸ However, while Pennsylvania and Ohio required a separate black school in any locality where there were more than twenty black pupils, New York State, like Massachusetts, never required separate schools under any circumstances.

In 1845 the state superintendent of schools estimated that there were 11,000 black children in the state of school age, that is, five through fifteen. Of these, the proportion attending regular district schools with whites was "extremely limited," he said, and not over one quarter attended separate black schools, leaving many who attended no school at all. He urged the creation of more separate black schools, saying they would benefit both black and white children.⁹

At least until the 1840s, the majority in the state who favored black education at all seemed to agree that separate black schools were desirable wherever there were enough black children to make them practical—the majority seemed to agree, black and white, abolitionists and colonizationists, school officers and parents, even though some of them regretted the necessity of separate schools. The Buffalo superintendent of schools declared that blacks needed separate schools because blacks "require greater patience on the part of the teacher, longer training and severer discipline than are called into exercise in the district schools; and generations must elapse before they will possess the vigor of intellect, the power of memory and judgement, that are so early developed in the Anglo-Saxon race." On Long Island, a white newspaper was pleased that the blacks who attended Jamaica's recently-established black public school were "totally different" in "appearance and attainments" from the street blacks; Jamaica's "street denizens" are a "shiftless set" who should learn that whites, by providing a black public school, have opened up for them "the way to elevation." One of the state's major black abolitionists, Dr. James McCune Smith, called for more black public schools. When he found in 1846 that, of the first seventeen blacks in Westchester County to receive grants of land from philanthropist Gerrit Smith for set-



Colored Public School, Williamsburg, Long Island, about 1855. *Armbruster, Eastern District, 1912.*

tlement in Northern New York, only one could sign his name, he wrote Gerrit Smith: If in the next ten years there are as few black schools in rural areas as there are now, no matter how much progress blacks make in acquiring land, we will still continue to "form a lower grade in the classes of mind which make up our state."¹⁰

Gradually black public schools, operated by regular school districts, spread over the state, existing at various times from the 1810s to the 1940s in at least twenty-four different counties, in forty-three different cities, towns, or villages.

As we have seen, black public schools often came into existence through black initiative. In some places blacks, with the encouragement of whites, petitioned school officials to create black schools, as they did in Rochester, Lockport, and Buffalo. In many places blacks cooperated with public school officials by allowing their church buildings to be used at least for a time for black schools, as they did in Auburn and Haverstraw.



The Colored Public School of Geneva, New York, occupied this building from 1853, when the building was built, to 1873, when the colored school was abolished. *Courtesy of The New-York Historical Society, New York City.*

Sometimes, as far as available evidence indicates, black public schools came into existence primarily through white initiative. In Catskill the school was created when the white teacher of a district school insisted that both his black and white pupils would be better served if they were separated. In Newburgh the initiative was taken by a philanthropic white lawyer, working with the local school trustees.¹¹

Sometimes previously existing black schools seemed to prepare the way for black public schools, showing the public that blacks could usefully learn and could do so in separate schools. For example, Sunday schools for blacks seemed to prepare the way in Geneva and Rochester, private schools for blacks in Hillburn and Utica, and black-organized charity schools for blacks in Williamsburg and Troy. In the Long Island communities of Amityville, Huntington, and Jerusalem, the black public schools evolved directly from black schools established by a Quaker society; even for several years after these schools had become public, the Quaker society continued to donate funds to heat the buildings, pay the teachers, and shoe the pupils. The state superintendent of schools admitted in 1847 that because black parents were often too poor to pay the usual tuition fees, rural colored public schools can seldom be adequately funded "but through the efforts of charitable and benevolent individuals."¹²

In other places, especially larger ones, black public schools evolved directly from existing white-organized charity schools for blacks.

In Poughkeepsie, the Lancaster School Society opposed having its charity schools, both black and white, replaced by public schools. When, nevertheless, Poughkeepsie citizens finally voted in 1843 to create a new, unified public school system for the whole village, the Lancaster School Society thereby lost its public funds and abruptly closed its black school. The society simply "turned the children into the street," a Poughkeepsie newspaper charged.¹³ To set up a new black public school, the new board of education chose a sympathetic, three-man committee, two of its members being active abolitionists. But it wasn't until a year later that the committee had acquired the necessary funds to rent a room and open the school.

In Schenectady the transition from the Lancaster society's black school to a public black school was smoother. The Schenectady Lancaster school trustees, unlike those in Poughkeepsie, favored the creation of public schools to take the place of their charity schools. In 1854, when Schenectady's public schools came into existence, two members of the Lancaster school trustees became members of the new public board of education. The new board promptly repaired a building for a black school, and the black children continued to have a separate school to attend without interruption.¹⁴

New York City by the late 1840s already had two small public schools for blacks, located in suburban Yorkville and Harlem. But in 1853, when the white-organized Public School Society turned over its many charity schools, both those for blacks and those for whites, to the board of education, there were soon nine black public schools scattered

about Manhattan. As in ~~the~~ Schenectady, there was no significant argument about ~~whether~~ schools ought to be continued as separate schools—it ~~was~~ as inevitable. As in Schenectady, the transition was ~~not~~ interruption of school sessions to the children.

In many places ~~the~~ schools were transformed into black public schools, ~~but~~ ~~it~~ ~~was~~ hoped that the quality of the schools would improve. ~~Sometimes~~ sometimes meant a shift from the use of Lancasterian ~~to~~ the use of older and better qualified assistant teachers ~~meant~~ meant a change to more financial stability, with ~~more~~ support.

Like white public schools gradually moved toward becoming tuition ~~and~~ charity schools were transformed into black public ~~schools~~ usually became free if they had not been entirely ~~so~~ when the black public schools had been part of the ~~system~~ the black pupils, like other pupils, had been ~~expensive~~ however, when the schools were reorganized under ~~the~~ education system, as in Rochester in 1841, Brooklyn ~~in~~ 1852, and Jamaica in 1853, all the public schools ~~in~~ places, children in public schools were sometimes ~~charged~~ tuition fees in the early 1860s, as in the black ~~schools~~ in Huntington, Long Island, and Fishkill Landing, ~~or~~ ~~in~~ 1867, however, the state ceased to permit tuition ~~fees~~ now trend was developing to provide pupils with ~~free~~ children—both black and white—were finding it ~~easy~~

Once a black ~~school~~ school officials usually required all the black ~~children~~ to attend that school. The desire to keep ~~the~~ to keep their cost per pupil in control would be ~~the~~ requirement, if nothing else. But in some places ~~the~~ requirements were only half-heartedly enforced. ~~In~~ Buffalo, and Brooklyn in the 1850s, if a black ~~school~~ school, or was regarded as especially bright, ~~white~~ white, school officials might allow him to attend ~~other~~ sometimes caused tensions. Blacks pushed ~~to~~, and whites pushed to close them off. ~~But~~ the 1870s, and in many places long after ~~the~~ maintain that they had a right, if they wished ~~to~~ to attend black schools.

By 1855 ~~the~~ day black schools of the state—whether about ~~to~~ private—had been closed

or transformed into public schools. At that time state school officials, using statistics which were admittedly not accurate, reported that there were 5,243 pupils in black public schools in the state, most of them in New York City.¹⁵

Unfortunately, after 1855 state education reports do not give the numbers of children in black public schools, but they do give the expenditures for such schools. From those reports it is probable that the numbers of children in black public schools rose only slightly from 1855 into the early 1870s. Expenditures for black public schools hit their peak year in 1874, and then, as the movement to abolish black public schools gained momentum, gradually declined.

During the nineteenth century, school officials appointed as teachers in the black public schools mostly blacks (69%) and females (also 69%). However, the proportion varied sharply by region. The highest proportion of blacks among the teachers was downstate (97 percent in Manhattan), where the black population was heavy, while in the Hudson region the proportion was 55 percent black, and in the central and western part of the state was only 23 percent black. Similarly, the highest proportion of females was downstate, and the lowest proportion was in the central and western parts of the state. In Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Flushing, a pattern was to appoint blacks not only as regular teachers but also as principals. In Troy a pattern was to appoint a white male principal with one black female assistant teacher. In the latter part of the century, in the one-room black schools of Hempstead, Roslyn, and Lockport, a pattern was to appoint poorly paid, inexperienced young women, whether black or white, some of them just out of high school.

Was there a tendency for the salaries of the teachers in the black schools to be less than the salaries of the teachers of the white schools in the same school systems? Meaningful comparison is difficult because, though schools often did not have clear policies, they seemed to allow salaries to vary by such factors as the teacher's sex, race, experience, educational level, and number of pupils. In Albany and New York in certain years about the middle of the century for which salary schedules are available, there seemed to be a pattern of lower salaries for teachers in the black schools than in the white schools, while at the same time in Brooklyn there seemed to be a pattern of equal salaries. By the 1870s there was a pattern of equal salaries in New York City too. In the state at large, there were regional variations. Using the limited records available from 1840 to 1917 to compare three different regions, four towns on Long Island (including Roslyn and Hempstead) together had the worst record, giving most of the teachers in their black schools the lowest salary of any of their

“shows that our colored fellow citizens are asserting their natural right to be as foolish as their white brethren have been in times past.” However, the Staten Island black parents soon obtained what they wanted. School officials replaced the white substitute teacher with a black one.

Altogether, among these seven campaigns to secure black rather than white teachers in black schools, each in a different locality in the state, in four of the campaigns some blacks favored a white teacher, or at least opposed the appointment of a particular black teacher being considered for appointment. However, the blacks who desired the appointment of black teachers were directly successful in five out of the seven campaigns. Such campaigns helped to cause a substantial rise in the proportion of blacks among the teachers in black schools in the state, from 33 percent in the first decade of the nineteenth century to 76 percent by the last decade (see Table 7 in the Appendix).

During the nineteenth century as a whole, New York State blacks were often vocal on issues that concerned them. They were vocal not only on national issues like the abolition of slavery and state issues like the equal right to vote, but also on local issues like who should teach in the black schools. Blacks sometimes spoke out and acted firmly in campaigns for the appointment of black teachers, and they did so even in their own home towns, where their jobs might be threatened or patronage for their businesses might fall off. They were often not the obsequious Uncle Toms that later generations have imagined them to be. And they often won what they asked for, including black teachers.



PREPARING TEACHERS

NEW YORK STATE'S BLACK LEADERS often argued that the teachers of black children were not well qualified. They especially argued so in the early and middle part of the nineteenth century. The black *New York Freedom's Journal* complained that “dull and stupid instructors” who would not be allowed to teach whites were allowed to teach blacks. The black Reverend J. W. C. Pennington charged that “adventurers” among black teachers had hurt the education of blacks. Black editor Samuel R. Ward mourned that few black teachers “have the interests of the rising generation sufficiently at heart to be well qualified.”¹

For their part, school boards in New York State—whose vision was doubtless blurred by the usual white prejudice—often reported it was difficult to find qualified black teachers. A committee of the Rochester board said in 1849 that it was an “almost utter impossibility” to secure them. At various times both the Troy and Poughkeepsie boards said, as we have seen, that they were forced to appoint white teachers in their black schools because they could not find suitable black teachers. The New York City board lamented in 1874 that it had “great difficulty” in providing schools for blacks with “cultivated teachers of their own color” and gave this as an explanation for the poor showing of black pupils scholastically.²

In much of the nineteenth century, education for teachers, whether they were black or white, was thin, aimed at keeping teachers just above the level of their pupils. It was a popular view that almost anyone who had acquired elementary knowledge was competent to teach, but officials concerned about schools kept pushing for higher standards.

In the first half of the century, many teachers, both black and

white, were only in their teens or early twenties and regarded themselves as teaching temporarily. Many of them began to teach when they had only just completed grammar school—in the 1830s and 1840s nearly half of the black teachers in black schools for whom the information is available had only attended grammar school. But other teachers were already being prepared for teaching by attending academies for a year or so. In the normal departments of academies, they were given intensive drill in the elementary subjects they were expected to teach, as well as a little instruction in teaching methods. They were taught to live by a severe discipline imposed from both within and without, including elaborate school rules, personal soul-searching, and self-consciousness about their behavior and dress. They were taught to accept the increasing split between male and female roles, assuming that men were inherently more materialistic and dominant while women were more delicate and self-sacrificing, and that it was natural that women teachers be paid half of what men teachers were paid.

Students from poor families found it difficult to attend academies both because they required tuition fees and because students often had to live away from home to attend them. In any event, few academies allowed blacks to enter. From 1840 to 1860, of the more than 150 academies in existence in the state, only eight can be cited as either certainly or probably open to blacks—two downstate in Huntington and Flushing and six upstate in Clinton, Varysburg, Whitesboro, Newburgh, Nyack, and Rochester.

From about the middle of the century, as public high schools began to come into existence, private academies began to be transformed into high schools or otherwise to disappear, and high schools sometimes organized their own normal departments. At first blacks were often refused at high schools as they had been at academies. However, as early as the 1860s at least one black girl had secured her teacher education in the public high school in Troy, and in the 1880s at least three had in Flushing.³

Meanwhile, early in the century the Lancasterian method of preparing teachers was in vogue, particularly for teachers of poor children. In New York City in the 1820s and 1830s in accordance with Lancasterian practice, the Manumission Society selected a few of its black pupils to become monitors or assistant teachers in its black schools. Lancasterian theory, emphasizing economy, held that to prepare teachers, it was necessary to give them teaching practice but scarcely any teacher education.

By 1834, however, when the New York Public School Society took over the Manumission Society's black schools, the Lancasterian system was being criticized for the "mechanical" teaching it fostered, and

support for special education for teachers was growing. From soon after this time the Public School Society ran two part-time normal schools, one for whites and one for blacks, and later the New York City Board of Education continued these two normal schools.⁴ Though the black normal school—which was the only significant separate normal school for blacks in the history of the state—was much the smaller of the two, school officials made some effort to make the black normal school comparable to the white one.⁵ Both normal schools usually met only on Saturdays so that beginning teachers could attend them. Both schools at first, like the academies, devoted nearly all their time to drilling in subject matter, but gradually they abandoned the Lancasterian system, and as the age and preparation of their pupil-teachers advanced, they gave some attention to teaching methods, especially methods which were less mechanical than Lancasterian methods.

For some thirty years, the black John Peterson headed the Saturday Colored Normal School. Peterson, who came from a poor family, graduated from Charles Andrews' Manumission Society school and never received any formal education beyond it. After continuing to study under Andrews privately for about two years, he became an assistant teacher in Andrews' school and from that position gradually rose to become one of the city's most beloved black principals. Peterson was modest, courtly, and sure of his Christian faith—in his later years he served as assistant pastor of the black St. Philips Episcopal Church in addition to teaching school. Like other teachers of normal schools in the state at the time, Peterson gave his normal school a moral and elevated tone, and like them, he emphasized that teachers should drill pupils thoroughly in the fundamentals. He was not a great scholar, but according to his former pupil Alexander Crummell, "rarely has there been a schoolmaster who exercised such a strong personal influence upon his pupils as he. His pupils took up unconsciously his tones, his manner, his movements, his style, and his faults, so that oft times, they were copies of their old master."⁶

By the late 1850s, Peterson was assisted as head of the Saturday Normal School by Charles L. Reason. Like Peterson, Reason was born in New York City and attended Andrews' black school. At the age of fourteen, Reason became a monitor or assistant teacher in that school. Over a period of years he studied with private tutors. At one time he tried to enter the Episcopal General Theological Seminary in New York City, but because of his color the seminary refused to admit him except as a listener, a status which he declined as demeaning; he withdrew his Episcopal Church membership in protest. Nevertheless, apparently without any more formal education than grammar school, he eventually became a



Charles L. Reason taught black schools in New York City most of the time from 1832 to 1892, frequently as a principal. *Simmons, Men of Mark, 1887.*

principal of a New York City black school and succeeded Peterson as head of the city's Saturday Colored Normal School. Like many normal school teachers, Reason conveyed to his normal pupils a high sense of the purpose of teaching and a conviction of the virtue of discipline. He impressed his pupils, as one of them who became a teacher afterward recalled, as being intolerant of mediocrity. More of a scholar than Peterson—as suggested by his having at one time taught in the predominantly white New York Central College—his major impact on his pupils was in developing in them a love of study for its own sake. The black President Daniel Payne, of Wilberforce University, said that he had never seen a better teacher.⁷

In the 1850s, the New York City Board of Education required all its teachers in the lower ranks to attend one of its Saturday normal schools. In the 1860s, many of the city's grammar schools, both white

and black, offered "supplementary classes" for prospective teachers, and the graduates from these classes could also attend the Saturday normal schools. The number of pupils in Peterson's and Reason's black normal school—they were mostly female—ranged from about sixteen to thirty.

At times all the students in the Saturday normal schools, whether black or white, wrote the same examinations prepared by city school officials. At times they heard the same lecturers, including Assistant Superintendent Norman A. Calkins, who by the 1860s had become nationally known for championing new teaching methods. What Calkins advocated, as well as much of what the normal students heard and read by this time, was intended to lead them away from the robot method of teaching which the Lancasterian system had popularized. Calkins appealed to the example of the Swiss educator Pestalozzi who had maintained that a child should be taught not by making him a passive recipient, but by calling his powers into action. Calkins advocated the "object" method of teaching, based on Pestalozzi, which emphasized the advantages of giving small children direct experience of real objects—such as animals and plants—rather than abstractions; it encouraged more classroom discussion and less dependence on books and memorizing.⁸

Despite the influence of such new methods, the mechanical, clockwork style of teaching tended to persist in New York City as well as elsewhere in the state through much of the century. Public apathy, political obstruction, and overcrowded classrooms encouraged it to persist. So also did the system by which school officials graded teachers on the basis of the performance of their pupils in annual public examinations: such grading tended to push teachers into preparing for the examinations by devoting much of their time to drilling their pupils in singsong recitation of multiplication tables, definitions, and set answers to questions, rather than encouraging each pupil to develop his own capacities.

In New York City, school officials, while retaining their confidence in Peterson and Reason personally, were often dissatisfied both with the Colored Normal School and the colored schools generally. In 1857 they reported that the "general proficiency" of the Colored Normal School was "not satisfactory." In 1864 the city superintendent complained of the poor qualifications of the black teachers in the black schools and recommended that "white teachers of superior qualifications" be appointed in place of black principals, but his recommendation was not carried out.⁹

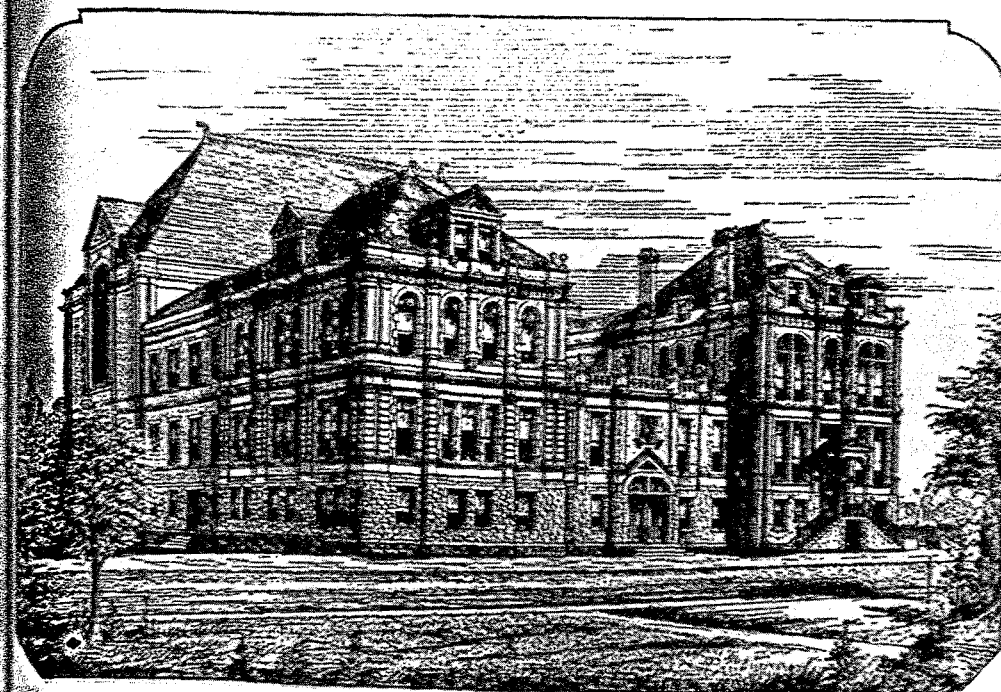
Before the Civil War, blacks who sought advanced education to help them become teachers found that not only few academies but also few colleges were open to them. Several black men who afterward became teachers in New York State were only allowed to study at colleges without

being admitted as regular students: they were tolerated only in the guise of janitors, visitors, or special assistants to professors. But at least nine black men who afterward became teachers in the state studied as regular students at Oneida Institute, the abolitionist-supported interracial school near Utica which gave the equivalent of a two-year college education. Oneida educated more blacks who became teachers in the state than any other college, until in 1844 it was forced to close in considerable part because of white hostility to its policy of accepting black students as equals.

In 1844 New York State followed the example of Massachusetts by establishing its first full-time normal school, a tuition-free one, at Albany. In the 1850s a young black woman apparently studied at Albany state normal and afterward became a teacher in the black public school in Poughkeepsie;¹⁰ but up to 1890, far more whites who were to become teachers in black schools had studied at Albany normal than blacks had. By the 1860s, the state had opened several other tuition-free state normal schools, including one at Oswego which became famous for popularizing the "object" method of teaching, but only one black is definitely known to have attended Oswego normal before the 1890s—she afterward became the head of the normal department at Wilberforce University in Ohio.¹¹ Through most of the nineteenth century, blacks were seldom admitted as equals with whites into New York State's normal schools or colleges, helping to lead, as we shall see, to recurrent attempts to establish a black college in the state.

As part of the trend toward normal schools, in 1870 New York City established a tuition-free, full-time normal school for girls, and with high aims, called it the Normal College. Its first president was the Irish-born Thomas Hunter (it was later named Hunter College in his honor). President Hunter believed, more than most normal school administrators at the time, in a thorough liberal arts education for teachers. In teaching children, he recommended that teachers avoid giving corporal punishment, avoid drilling in memory work, reduce the use of texts and lecturing because they encouraged children to be lazy, and instead emphasize the direct exercise of children's observation and reasoning powers.

In 1873, shortly after the Normal College opened, a new state law required equal opportunity for all races in public education. Before it became apparent that the new law was not to be strictly enforced, black Principal Reason decided to take advantage of the law by trying to enter his best pupils in the Normal College, even though he was undercutting his own Saturday Normal School by doing so. Reason prepared several of his girls to take the written entrance examination, and other black principals followed suit. President Hunter dared to admit a considerable



Albany State Normal School, second building, built 1885. By 1890 at least two blacks had graduated from the normal school and afterward taught in black schools in Jamaica, Roslyn, and Flushing, Long Island. At least ten whites had also graduated there who afterward taught in black schools, as in Albany, Buffalo, New York, and New Rochelle. *Howell*, *Bicentennial History of Albany*, 1886.

proportion of the black applicants—nine out of fifteen in one group—including some with the lowest passing scores.¹² Meanwhile, because the Normal College was now open to blacks, in 1874 the New York City Board of Education discontinued its Saturday Colored Normal School.

President Hunter received the black girls at the Normal College gingerly. The first ones he carefully separated, placing not more than two in a class. He observed that the faculty accepted the black girls less easily than the students did—to keep the more obstreperous faculty in line, he assigned the blackest girls to their classes.

As generations of black girls succeeded each other at his college,

Schools, *Statutes . . . Relating to Common Schools . . . with Forms and Regulations* (1847), p. 149.

13. *Poughkeepsie Telegraph*, April 5, 1843; March 6, 1844.

14. *Schenectady Reflector*, March 7, 1851; George R. Howell and John H. Munsell, *History of the County of Schenectady* (New York, 1886), p. 125; Schenectady Board of Education, Minutes, July 1, Sept. 13, Oct. 11, 1854, at Schenectady Board of Education office.

15. New York State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Second Annual Report*, for 1855, pp. 6, 133.

16. For example, in Albany in 1869 the cost per pupil in the black school was \$32, in all schools \$19 (Albany Board of Public Instruction, *Third Annual Report*, 1869, p. 38); in Buffalo in 1852, for the black school it was \$15 per pupil, for all schools, \$8 (Buffalo Superintendent of Public Schools, *Sixteenth Annual Report*, for 1852, p. 27).

17. *New York Weekly Anglo-African*, June 23, 1860.

18. *New York Weekly Anglo-African*, March 22, 1862.

19. New Rochelle Board of Education, Minutes, July 12, Oct. 11, 1870, at New Rochelle Board of Education office; *Kinderhook Rough Notes*, Jan. 13, 1859; *Hudson Daily Star*, Feb. 20, 1869.

20. New York State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Code of Public Instruction* (1856), p. 344.

21. New York State, *Laws*, 1864, chap. 555, title 10.

22. *New York Times*, Jan. 18, 1911.

CHAPTER 6—Mobbing a Teacher

1. James W. C. Pennington, *Text Book of the Origin and History . . . of the Colored People* (Hartford, 1841), p. 79.

2. *Rochester North Star*, April 17, 1851; Brooklyn Board of Education, *Proceedings* (1869):191-92; (1873):55. In Rochester "about a dozen ragged white children" attended a black public school, their parents explaining that they did so "because it is convenient." *Rochester North Star*, Dec. 21, 1849.

3. *New York Weekly Anglo-African*, June 23, 1860.

4. Advertisements in *Newburgh Daily News*, Dec. 31, 1860, and *Newburgh Weekly Telegraph*, Feb. 12, 1863; interview with a white woman who attended the academy, by James Sanders, Newburgh, March 25, 1975; *Newburgh Evening News*, April 28, 1969, p. 13B.

5. *Rochester Frederick Douglass' Paper*, March 10, 1854.

6. John A. Dix, *Decisions of the Superintendent of Common Schools of the State of New York* (Albany, 1837), pp. 139-40.

7. William G. Allen, *American Prejudice Against Color* (London, 1853), pp. 4-87, 94.

8. *New York Globe*, May 5, Oct. 6, 1883, Jan. 26, 1884.

CHAPTER 7—Should Whites Teach Blacks?

1. American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, *Minutes* (New York, 1969), convention of 1805, p. 34.

2. William J. Brown, *Life* (Providence, R.I., 1883), p. 88; Carleton Mabee, *Black Freedom: The Nonviolent Abolitionists from 1830 through the Civil War* (New York: Macmillan, 1970), p. 154; J. Reuben Sheeler, "The Struggle of the Negro in Ohio for Freedom," *Journal of Negro History* (April 1946): 217-18.

3. Frederika Bremer, *Homes of the New World*, 2 vols. (New York, 1853), 1:586; Brooklyn Board of Education, *Proceedings* (March 2, 1869):192; Frances Blascoer, *Colored School Children in New York* (New York, 1915), p. 87.

4. Lockport Board of Education, Minutes, March 31, 1871, at Lockport Board of Education office; *Hudson Daily Republican*, Jan. 12, 20, 1877; *Flushing Journal*, March 7, 1891; Joseph Henry, *Papers*, I (Washington: Smithsonian, 1972), p. 285.

5. William Hamilton, *An Oration Delivered in the African Zion Church* (New York, 1827) in Dorothy Porter, *Early Negro Writing* (Boston: Beacon, 1971), p. 103.

6. *Boston Impartial Citizen*, June 28, 1851.

7. *Christian Recorder*, July 12, 1883; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, July 8, 1863.

8. *New York Weekly Anglo-African*, Aug. 12, 26, 1865.

9. *New York Emancipator*, Dec. 1, 1836, p. 122; *New York Freeman*, March 12, 1887.

10. Buffalo Superintendent of Public Schools, *18th Annual Report*, for 1854, p. 23.

11. Troy Board of Education, *Proceedings* (Aug. 7, 28, 1855); Troy *Northern Budget*, Sept. 5, 1855; Troy Board of Education, *Manual* (1855):4; Mabee, *Black Freedom*, ch. 11; *Troy Daily Whig*, Aug. 14, 1855.

12. Troy Board of Education, *Proceedings* (Oct. 2, Nov. 8, Dec. 4, 1855).

13. *New York Weekly Anglo-African*, Nov. 19, 1859; Feb. 25, June 2, 9, 1860; Albany Board of Education, *Annual Report*, for 1859-60, p. 11; for 1860-61, p. 38; for 1861-62, p. 14.

14. *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle*, Jan. 4, Feb. 8, 1872; Oct. 23, Nov. 13, 1873.

15. Brooklyn Board of Education, *Minutes* (1869):189-91.

CHAPTER 8—Preparing Teachers

1. *New York Freedom's Journal*, June 1, 1827; *Rochester North Star*, May 19, 1848; *Boston Impartial Citizen*, June 28, 1851.

2. *Rochester Daily Democrat*, Aug. 11, 1849; New York City Board of Education, *Annual Report*, for 1874, p. 28.
3. Ada Boseman in Troy High School, and Emma Fox, M. Lena Smith, and Ada L. Townsend in Flushing High School.
4. A. Emerson Palmer, *New York Public School* (New York, 1905), p. 89. Other black schools which claimed to be normal schools included: (A.) the New York Conference High School which existed from about 1887 to 1890 in Jamaica. It was founded by Horace Talbert, an AME pastor who had studied at Wilberforce College and Boston University. (B.) The Binghamton Normal, Industrial, and Agricultural Institute which existed from about 1912 to 1914 on a farm outside of Binghamton. It was founded by Fred C. Hazel, a graduate of Hampton Institute.
5. New York City Board of Education, *Annual Report*, for 1854, appendix on normal schools, p. 6.
6. Alexander Crummell, "John Peterson, for Fifty Years School Teacher in African School No. 1," 1886, sermon no. 395, Crummel papers, Schomburg Center.
7. Anthony R. Mayo, *Charles Lewis Reason* (Jersey City, N.J., 1943), p. 11.
8. New York City Board of Education, *Annual Report*, for 1857, appendix, p. 138; for 1858, appendix, p. 202; for 1865, appendix, pp. 35, 71; Henry Kiddle, Thomas F. Harrison, N. A. Calkins, *How to Teach* (New York, 1874).
9. New York City Board of Education, *Documents*, for 1857, doc. 19, p. 4; New York City Board of Education, *Annual Report*, for 1864, appendix, p. 16.
10. Although Miss C. V. Usher is not in the published list of graduates of the Albany Normal School, an Albany correspondent in the *New York Weekly Anglo-African*, Feb. 18, 1860, claimed that she had just completed several years work at the school (see also *ibid.* March 24, 31, 1860). Martin R. Delany, *The Condition . . . of the Colored People* (Philadelphia, 1852), p. 132, claimed that Mary Elizabeth Miles, who taught at the Albany black public school in the mid-1840s, had graduated from the Albany Normal. However, she is not in the published list of graduates; she had already attended the state normal at Lexington, Mass.; and the archivist at the State University at Albany (formerly the Albany Normal) wrote me, Feb. 1, 1974, that he could not find any record of her as a student.
11. Sarah C. Bierce (later Mrs. W. S. Scarborough) graduated 1875. (Eileen Poucher, State University College, Oswego, to CM, May 16, 1974.)
12. Samuel W. Patterson, *Hunter College: Eighty-Five Years of Service* (New York: Lantern Press, 1955), p. 17; Thomas Hunter, *Autobiography* (New York: Knickerbocker, 1931), pp. 231-32; *Washington New National Era*, June 26, 1873; New York City Board of Education, *Annual Report*, for 1873, pp. 42, 355, 357; President of the Normal College, *Annual Report*, for 1873, pp. 9, 45; for 1874, pp. 61-63; for 1876, pp. 68-72; for 1877, p. 86.

13. Hunter, *Autobiography*, pp. 230-34; *New York Times*, June 6, 1897.
14. *New York Freeman*, Nov. 21, 1885; June 25, 1887; Brooklyn Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Annual Report*, for 1888, p. 34.
15. Brooklyn Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Annual Report*, for 1887, p. 34; *New York Freeman*, June 25, 1887.
16. Booker T. Washington, *Papers*, IV, Urbana, University of Illinois, 1975, pp. 131-32, 361-62, 364; William L. Bulkley, "The Industrial Condition of the Negro in New York City," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* (1906), pp. 595-96; Nancy J. Weiss, *The National Urban League* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 24, 27.
17. Frances Blascoer, *Colored School Children in New York* (New York, 1915), pp. 13, 48; *Milestones* (April 1907):1-2, 8; (May 1910):8; U.S. Bureau of Education, *Negro Education* (1917):2:696; Carleton Mabee, "Charity in Travail: Two Orphan Asylums for Blacks," *New York History* (Jan., 1974):70-76.
18. Maritcha R. Lyons, "Memories of Yesterdays," Brooklyn, 1928, pp. 17-20, Lyons family papers, Schomburg Center.
19. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 7, 1901; *New York Age*, July 22, 1909.

CHAPTER 9—How Much Freedom for Black Teachers?

1. In counting protesters, the author excludes protest directly related to the teachers' own school or school system on the ground that such protest might be merely self-serving and thus not relevant to the present purpose. Of the comparable 252 white teachers who taught in the black schools in the state in the same period, only 4 percent were protesters.
2. *Rochester North Star*, July 14, 1848.
3. Of the 104 protesters, only 24 percent were women. If women teachers whose fathers, brothers, or husbands were protesters were themselves counted as protesters on the nineteenth century assumption that the men would be the natural spokesmen of the views of the women in the family, the percentage of protesters would rise sharply.
4. *New York Colored American*, March 13, 1841.
5. *New York Weekly Anglo-African*, Dec. 3, 1859 (text of letter in James Redpath, *Echoes of Harper's Ferry* [Boston, 1860], p. 419); Dec. 17, 31, 1859; Feb. 11, 1860.
6. William Levington, *An Address Delivered Before the Female Benezet Philanthropic Society of Albany*, Albany, 1822, p. 3.
7. Martin E. Dann, *The Black Press, 1827-1890* (New York: Putnam's, 1971), p. 28; *New York Age*, Dec. 14, 1889.
8. *New York Age*, April 7, 1888.

LONG ISLAND'S BLACK SCHOOL WAR

TO ILLUSTRATE THE STRUGGLE against separate schools in New York State in the 1880s and 1890s by concentrating on Manhattan and Brooklyn alone would give a false impression. Most of the twenty places in the state which still had black public schools in this period were more rural than urban. Moreover, the impetus that led in 1900 to a new state law against segregation in schools came not from Manhattan or Brooklyn but from more nearly rural Long Island.

In the 1890s a few blacks in the more rural parts of Long Island moved to break their long tradition of separate schools. These blacks did not, like metropolitan blacks, make a point of trying to keep their black schools open for those who wanted to attend them. In small communities this would not be likely to be practical. These blacks also did not, like metropolitan blacks, show concern about what would happen to the black teachers. They were simply trying to secure what they considered to be a better education for their children.

Blacks moved against segregation in the villages of Amityville, Hempstead, Flushing, Roslyn, and Jamaica. In Jamaica, blacks developed a notable anti-segregation campaign.

Among historians, the Jamaica campaign has characteristically been mentioned, if at all, largely in terms of one court case.¹ In fact, the Jamaica campaign deserves to be known for its numerous court cases, for its school boycott, and for the open participation in the campaign of many poor blacks at the risk of their jobs. Anyone who easily assumes that, in the nineteenth century, obscure, small-town blacks supinely accepted the denial of what they understood to be their rights should consider the story of the Jamaica black "school war."

The Jamaica war came to a climax in 1900 in the "Roosevelt" state law to limit school segregation. Historians have claimed that the law was passed on the "initiative" of Governor Theodore Roosevelt, which this author believes to be misleading. They have described the law, even recently, as abolishing all the black public schools in the state,² which is certainly wrong. Nevertheless, especially because the law was a landmark in the history of black-white relations in the state, the story of the Jamaica campaign and the state law to which it led deserve to be better understood.

Jamaica in the early 1890s was still a semi-rural village, but it was tied to the metropolitan area by railroad and trolley lines, and it was rapidly being suburbanized. New York City was already eyeing it and the surrounding farm land for annexation. The proportion of blacks in Jamaica was 6 percent, far higher than in either the state as a whole or New York City.

Since slavery days, considerable numbers of blacks had lived in Jamaica and in the surrounding Long Island towns as farm laborers and domestics. In 1854, after a local newspaper had published the complaint that Jamaica blacks were "untaught, except in wickedness, untutored, except in crime," Jamaica whites had led in establishing a separate one-room public school for blacks. Whites had apparently done so more out of a desire to protect themselves from blacks than out of confidence in black mental capacity. A major figure in establishing the school was the attorney Pierpont Potter, who served on the Jamaica school board almost continuously from its beginning in 1853 till his death in 1886. As a defender of slavery in the South, he tried to prove that blacks and whites were not equal in ability by pointing out that Africa was "the same unredeemed savage wilderness that she was 4000 years ago, except what the white man has done."³

In the late 1880s the Jamaica black school was still only a one-room school. Its teacher was Eveline Williams, a young black woman who had recently graduated from Albany State Normal School. The Jamaica correspondent of a New York City black paper believed that the seventy-five pupils she taught were too many even for the "energetic" teacher that she was and campaigned for the school to be divided into two rooms with two teachers.⁴ But the board of education, developing a reputation for stubbornness in regard to blacks, refused. Miss Williams was still the only teacher in the school in 1895 when a group of black parents decided to act against school segregation.

In doing so, the Jamaica parents had before them the example of blacks who had just succeeded in closing the black school in another Long

Island village, Amityville. Like Jamaica, Amityville had long had a one room black public school which local school officials required all black children to attend. When the Amityville school board proposed that a new school be built for white children, some blacks were persuaded to vote for it, they claimed afterward, on the promise that blacks would be allowed to attend the new school too. However, in early 1895 when the new school opened and Charles D. Brewster, a black laborer, sent his son to this school, he was refused admittance because of his color. Brewster and other blacks then became angry and refused to send their children any longer to the black school. They charged that the black school did not offer equal education as state law required. In the summer of 1895, Brewster startled a district school meeting by proposing that the black school be abolished. The meeting, already well aware of the high cost of the separate school, endorsed his proposal. However, when white voters not present at the meeting heard about it, they petitioned for the calling of another meeting, and when that meeting was held, it asked that the black school be kept open after all. But the school board, amid confusion and controversy, closed the black school and kept it closed.⁵

When the black victory in Amityville was becoming clear, several black parents in Jamaica decided to try sending their children to a white public school. Jamaica school officials refused to admit the children, directing them to the black school instead, and the children went home crying. As one of the parents, Samuel Cisco, said bitterly afterward, "I and my father and mother have paid taxes in Jamaica for eighty years." Yet my children are "denied a place in the school near my home, while Irishmen, Italians, and Dutchmen who have been here only three months, can go there, although covered with dirt."⁶ Some of the black parents then refused to send their children to the black school and petitioned a court for a writ to compel the board of education to admit their children to the white schools.

For blacks to appeal to the courts in an effort to desegregate schools was not new in New York State. As we have seen, they had done so as early as 1863 in Troy and soon after also in Buffalo, Albany, and Brooklyn. But for small-town blacks to appeal to the courts was new.

The Jamaica black parents—including a pastor, gardener, janitor, notary, and porter—were acting on the advice of Alfred C. Cowan, a black Brooklyn lawyer. Cowan had studied law at New York University and was now president of the state Colored Republican Association. Through him, the black parents argued in court that they wished to send their children to the white schools because only thus could they secure the equal education the state law required. The black school was inferior,

they said. Its one teacher was expected to teach the work of seven grades, and its location was too remote for some of the black children to reach. However, Jamaica school officials replied in court that the black school provided equal facilities; and soon they warned black parents that if they did not send their children to school as the state compulsory education law required, they would be arrested.⁷

Thus was established the pattern for Jamaica's "school war," as the struggle over the black school was popularly called. Over a period of five years, black parents boycotted the black school and made legal moves to try to force school officials to open the white schools to blacks; while white school officials resisted the opening of the white schools to blacks and moved to arrest black parents for not sending their children to school.

To avoid the penalties of the compulsory education law, some of the black parents had their children taught at home. Other parents sent their children to school in Brooklyn or elsewhere where they could enter school with whites. Those who sent their children to other schools claimed that they could see a marked improvement in their children's progress, further proving the inferiority of Jamaica's black school.

Nevertheless, Jamaica school officials brought about the arrest of black parents for deliberately refusing to send their children to school, as officials are not known to have done in school desegregation struggles anywhere else in nineteenth-century New York State. Officials caused the arrest of at least seven different Jamaica blacks whose names are known. One of those arrested—Annie Robinson, a grandmother whose husband was a waiter—was arrested twice. Three others were arrested three times each. These were Stephen White, an illiterate stableman, and Mr. and Mrs. Samuel B. Cisco, who operated a prosperous scavenger business and were the parents of six children. Several of these blacks were declared guilty and fined. Samuel Cisco refused to pay one of his fines, hoping, like Thoreau, to be sent to jail to witness more effectively against unjust law, but someone else paid it for him.⁸

The precise effect of the boycott on attendance at the black school is difficult to judge. It is impossible to separate completely those blacks who deliberately boycotted the black school as a protest from those who failed to send their children for other reasons. There had long been a pattern throughout the state for blacks to attend school less regularly than whites. Even before the boycott is known to have begun, the Jamaica superintendent complained that the principal trouble with attendance in his schools was from the black pupils.⁹

However, effect from the boycott is evident. In the spring of 1896, a meeting of over one hundred blacks all agreed not to send their

children to the black school. In the fall of 1896, the number of pupils still attending the school was reported at various times to be ten, ten to twelve, or only four; and the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* of November 9 said that "between eighty and ninety colored children of school age are now roaming the streets." In 1899 school officials reported that the "bitter feeling" of blacks in Jamaica still continued, attendance at the school was "very small," and "over sixty children of Negro birth were not in school at all"; they decided that "any attempt to enforce the compulsory education law was futile." In early 1900, when at least Mrs. Cisco, a robust Virginia-born woman, was still deliberately refusing to send her children to the black school as a protest against segregation, thirty-seven children were attending, which was said to be about half of the number of black children enrolled in the district.¹⁰ The boycott evidently had some impact during the whole five years of the Jamaica school war.

At the same time that blacks were boycotting the black school, they also brought altogether twenty different court actions against school officials. Samuel Cisco, who emerged as a leader in these blacks actions, explained that the superintendent of schools has carried "the war . . . into Africa and we now propose to carry it into Caucasia." Mrs. Cisco even committed the "outrage" of having the superintendent of schools arrested.¹¹

Nineteen different Jamaica blacks whose names are known participated in bringing these legal actions. A few additional blacks wrote open letters in support of the black school cause, or were officers of meetings held to further the cause, or spoke at such meetings, or were arrested for refusing to send their children to the black school, making a total of twenty-five different local blacks whose names are known as leaders in the Jamaica school fight. Of these twenty-five whose occupations can be identified, two were professionals, both pastors; two were in business, Mr. and Mrs. Cisco; one was a skilled worker, a notary; and twelve were unskilled workers such as laborers, coachmen, servants, and janitors. It was impressive that by far most of those who were conspicuous for participation in such drastic activity as boycotting schools and bringing legal actions were unskilled workers who were likely to be poor and vulnerable to economic reprisal.

Information is available to compare the methods blacks employed in Jamaica with the methods they employed against school segregation in local actions in eight other New York communities in the 1880s and 1890s—Buffalo, Stapleton, New York, Brooklyn, Flushing, Hempstead, Roslyn, and Amityville. While all the major methods Jamaica blacks employed were also employed in at least one other place, blacks in Jamaica employed more different methods than blacks are known to

have employed in any other place. What was notable about the Jamaica methods was not their uniqueness but their variety; and not so much the methods themselves as the blacks' open, noisy use of them, regardless of threats of arrest and loss of jobs. The Jamaica campaign was also notable for the persistence of the boycott, and because it enlisted more black parents than were known to have enlisted in such a boycott in any other place in the state during this period. It was notable, too, not so much because of the method of taking cases to court, as that the cases were largely brought by working class blacks, and that there were so many cases. In fact, by far most of the court cases brought by blacks to desegregate schools in nineteenth century New York State were brought by Jamaica blacks.

A court decision which went in favor of the blacks was made by a Republican county judge of old Dutch stock, Garret J. Garretson. As president of the Newtown Board of Education twelve years before, Garretson had led in the abolition of the black school there, stressing it would be a measure of economy. Now he dismissed an indictment of a parent for not sending his child to the Jamaica black school; Garretson accepted the argument of counsel that because the general state education law made public schools free to all children without regard to color, black children were entitled to attend any of them in their proper district. However, since contrary decisions in support of separate education still stood in the state's highest court, Garretson's ruling did not have the effect of opening the white schools to blacks.¹²

A Jamaica Democratic paper predicted that because the Republican Garretson had decided in favor of the blacks, many Jamaica voters would vote against him in his campaign to become a state Supreme Court justice. But in fact, Jamaica gave Garretson the highest vote it gave to any of the eight candidates, as Queen County as a whole did also, and Garretson won.

This vote suggests that there was some sympathy among Queens County whites for the blacks in their school fight, and another similar vote suggests so too: The Canadian-born George Wallace, who had a law office in Jamaica, served conspicuously as the Ciscos' lawyer in 1896 and 1897. In a public statement he declared he personally was in sympathy with the Ciscos in their school fight and opposed "any discrimination whatever on account of color in public institutions" because it robs blacks of ambition. Yet afterward in 1898 when he ran as a Republican candidate for Assemblyman from Queens, Wallace was elected.

However, still another vote suggests that many Jamaica voters opposed the blacks in their school fight. When Jamaica's truant officer, who had arrested blacks for not sending their children to school, was run-

ning for another local office, a meeting of the school boycotters resolved to ask their supporters to punish him by voting against him. Nevertheless, he was elected. A Jamaica Democratic newspaper interpreted his victory to mean that "the people are in favor of the colored children attending their own school."¹³

Newspaper comment on the school war sometimes but not always followed partisan lines. Among Republican papers, the *New York Tribune* and the *Rockville Center South Side Observer* presented the views of Jamaica blacks sympathetically; and the *Brooklyn Times* declared flatly that Jamaica should abolish her colored school "as an anachronism." Among Democratic papers, the *New York Times* declared that Jamaica's whites supported their school board and insisted that, "Nobody, apparently, believes that the colored school is inferior to the white school except the Negroes themselves." But the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, also Democratic, defended the opening of the white schools in Brooklyn to blacks as working well and gave friendly coverage to the activities of the Jamaica black protesters.¹⁴

The one Republican newspaper published in Jamaica, the *Standard*, regretted that the board of education was prosecuting so many blacks for not sending their children to school, recommending instead that the board carry one case as a test case through the courts to settle the matter "once and for all." Of the two Democratic papers published in Jamaica, one, the *Long Island Farmer*, at first was sympathetic to the blacks, saying the black school was not in reality equal to the local white schools; but later this paper became more hostile to the black boycotters, saying whites would respect them more if they obeyed the law by returning their children to the black school. The other Democratic paper published in Jamaica, the *Long Island Democrat*, consistently opposed the black cause. It warned black parents who were engaged in the school fight that they might lose their jobs.¹⁵

Despite the sharp divisions of opinion reflected in the newspapers, the black protest movement in Jamaica won enough support to help produce some incidental gains for blacks. In one legal action, George Wallace, as counsel for Mr. Cisco, had objected to a panel of jurors on the ground that it had no Negroes; later in the course of the school war, for the first time ever in Jamaica, a black was drawn for jury duty. Early in 1896, the board of education, in its defense of its actions in court, was maneuvered into promising that if black children passed the proper exams they would be admitted into the high school; by 1898 a black was attending the high school for the first time. Furthermore, the school authorities, responding to criticism of their administration of the black

school, finally increased the number of its teachers; though the number of pupils attending at the time scarcely seemed to justify such an increase, by 1896 the number of teachers had grown to two, and by 1899 to three.

It is possible that awareness of the Jamaica school war helped to bring about the closing of small black schools elsewhere in the state. The one-room school at Stapleton, Staten Island, closed about 1897 after blacks had criticized it as an inferior school, and after the building burned—it was suspected that someone intentionally set it on fire. The one-room black school in Haverstraw, on the Hudson River, closed about the same time, one reason given by a local white commentator soon afterward being belief that it did not give the black children equal advantages.¹⁶

It is also possible that Jamaica's school controversy helped to encourage blacks elsewhere on Long Island to try to open white schools to blacks. In Roslyn, a black pastor whose daughter had completed all the courses of study offered by the local black elementary school, tried in 1897 to enter her in the Roslyn high school, but the school board would only allow her to be instructed there by herself, after regular school hours. In Hempstead it is possible that the Jamaica school war had some effect in 1898 in inducing the board of education to open its upper white grades to black pupils; a black pastor attended an annual school meeting and spoke in support of such a move. The Hempstead board even considered that if this particular desegregation step was successful, it might abolish its black school altogether.¹⁷ But there is no available evidence that a black protest movement developed to push the Hempstead board further, and in fact the board moved so slowly that in early 1900 it had still not abolished its black school. In all four of these small communities, if white school officials and black parents read area newspapers, they scarcely could escape being aware of the Jamaica school war. Besides, blacks who led the Jamaica war also led Jamaica's black churches, black political clubs, and black social organizations, thus having numerous paths of communication to blacks in neighboring towns. But there is no evidence available that Jamaica blacks spread their school war into any of these four communities.

Nor is there evidence that Jamaica blacks spread their school war into nearby Flushing village. Flushing was larger than the villages of Jamaica, Hempstead, or Roslyn. Moreover, Flushing had a larger proportion of blacks than Jamaica and had more recognized black leaders as well. This provides all the more occasion to ask, why didn't Flushing blacks, in sympathy with Jamaica blacks, also develop a protest movement against their separate black school?

A basic reason may well have been that Flushing had a longer tra-

dition of support for black education than Jamaica had. One factor in developing such a tradition was that Flushing had an influential Quaker element in its early population. Beginning in 1814 the Quaker-led Flushing Female Association ran a racially-mixed charity school. After 1855, when this school had evolved into a separate black public school, the Association continued to provide a building for it; and even in the early 1890s the Association was paying for a free evening school for blacks. Other factors in Flushing's tradition of encouragement to black education were that Flushing had an unusually high proportion of professionals in its population, as Jamaica did not; that Flushing's public schools, of a high standard, had prepared pupils for admission to top colleges like Columbia, Cornell, and Yale, as Jamaica's never had; and that as early as 1881, the Flushing school board, under Republican leadership, had already permitted blacks to enter its high school, while the Jamaica board, even though it had established a high school in 1892, had not yet done so in 1895 when the school war began.

Probably another reason why Flushing did not develop a protest movement against the black school was that the Flushing black school, unlike the one in Jamaica, had in the 1880s and early 1890s a dynamic black principal, Mrs. John W. A. Shaw. She and her husband had previously taught blacks in the South for the American Missionary Association. Mr. Shaw had been the editor of a black newspaper in New York City; at other times he became the chairman of the State Colored Democratic Association and a Queens deputy tax commissioner. Mrs. Shaw was active in the community, as in helping to establish the Flushing Free Library. At her school she had the distinction at times of having white as well as black teachers under her. She held graduation exercises which were attended by as many as five hundred people. At one such gala event the superintendent of schools paid high tribute to Mrs. Shaw's management of the school, the scholars exhibited their competence in recitations and singing, and a reporter was so overcome by the success of the occasion that he concluded that all those present "must have felt satisfied that the so-called race problem is solved." The quality of Mrs. Shaw's school was further suggested by the fact that the first three blacks to enter the Flushing High School were all from her school, and all themselves became teachers. Meanwhile in Jamaica no black child was ever known even to have graduated from the black school, much less to have become a teacher. As lawyer George Wallace wrote, it was hard to believe that in Jamaica black children were not graduating from the black school because they were all too dull, while in Flushing black children were graduating "with the highest honors."¹⁸



Mrs. Mary Shaw, principal of the black public school of Flushing, Long Island from about 1879 to 1892. *Courtesy of The Queens Borough Public Library.*

Probably neither Jamaica, Roslyn, Hempstead, nor Amityville had the black leaders of the stature of Mr. and Mrs. Shaw. And certainly not of the national stature of the eloquent Reverend William B. Derrick, who in 1896, while living in Flushing, became an African Methodist Episcopal bishop. As we have seen, before Derrick came to Flushing, he had led in trying to desegregate the New York City schools without the black teachers losing their jobs in the process. While living in Flushing, Derrick owned his own romantically-gabled house (his detractors considered him too nimble in handling money), edited a black church paper, and became a member of the Republican State Committee. About 1891 the prestigious Derrick tried to enter his son in a Flushing white public school, but the board of education, though controlled by Republicans, refused.¹⁹ Derrick, however, did not lead a movement in protest, either then or later after the Jamaica school war broke out. A weighty figure with experience elsewhere in battling for school desegregation, Derrick made a stab for desegregation in Flushing, but did not lead Flushing blacks into a battle for it, while nearby Jamaica, without any known black leaders of statewide reputation, developed a school war. This suggests that the difference between the two localities, both in the quality of schools and in the whole social context, was more important than black leadership in determining where a black desegregation movement would arise.

While Jamaica's black protest movement did not kindle similar movements in other nearby small communities having black schools, it did lead to a state law to limit school segregation. That is a story in itself.

April 17, June 4, 1873; *Troy Daily Times*, May 7, 15, June 4, 1873; Schenectady Board of Education, Minutes, June 2, 1873, at Schenectady Board of Education office; *Schenectady Weekly Union*, May 22, 1873.

19. *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle*, in *Newburgh Daily Journal*, May 8, 1873.

20. *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle*, Sept. 2, 3, 10, Oct. 9, 1873.

21. New York City Board of Education, *Annual Report*, for 1877, p. 32; for 1878, pp. 50-51.

22. New York City Board of Education, *Journal* (1878):545-46, 817-18; *New York Times*, May 23, 1878.

23. Brooklyn Board of Education, *Proceedings* (1873):92, 158, 201-204; *Washington New National Era*, Nov. 20, 1873.

24. Brooklyn Board of Education, *Proceedings* (1873):180, 190-91, 234-36; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Sept. 14, 1875.

25. *Hempstead Inquirer*, Jan. 2, 1874; Hempstead Board of Education, Minutes, Oct. 12, 1880, at Hempstead Board of Education office.

26. New York City Board of Education, *Journal* (1879):258-60, 309-10; *New York Times*, March 25, 1879.

CHAPTER 15—Protection for Teachers Downstate

1. *New York Times*, June 18, 30, 1895.

2. *New York Globe*, Jan. 27, 1883.

3. *Ibid.* Jan. 20, 1883; New York City Board of Education, *Journal* (Jan. 17, 1883):79-81.

4. Seth M. Scheiner, *Negro Mecca: A History of the Negro in New York City, 1865-1920* (New York: New York University Press, 1965), p. 176; *New York Sun*, Feb. 13, 1883; *New York Globe*, Feb. 17, 1883.

5. The report of the case in H. E. Sickles, *Reports of Cases Decided in the Court of Appeals of the State of New York*, vol. 48 (Oct. 1883), p. 438-66, gives no first name for King. The *New York Times*, Sept. 16, 1964, quotes a Brooklyn principal as identifying the parent as William King, a laborer. I believe the parent is more likely Simon King. I do so especially for two reasons. (1). In Sickles, *Reports*, p. 438, the colored child, the appellant, is called "Theresa B. King"; and, p. 441, she is described as about twelve years old. The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Oct. 9, 1883, in reporting the case, calls her "Theresa W. B. King." The manuscript U.S. Census, 1880, Brooklyn, Ward 11, reports that Simon King, mulatto, had living with him a step-daughter, also a mulatto, whose name was "Theresa Brookfield," aged 10, at school. (2). In the *New York Globe*, Dec. 22, 1883, Simon King was praised for being instrumental in opening all Brooklyn schools to black children.

6. *New York Globe*, Dec. 1, 1883, Jan. 19, 1884.

7. *New York Globe*, Jan. 5, June 21, 1884; Brooklyn Board of Education, *Proceedings* (1883):683-84.

8. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 8, 1893; *New York Globe*, July 5, 1884.

9. *New York Globe*, Dec. 1, 1883; *New York Freeman*, Dec. 13, 1884; Feb. 28, May 9, 1885; *New York Age*, March 1, 1890.

10. *New York Globe*, April 19, 26, 1884; New York State Assembly, *Journal* (1884):915, 1022, 1029; New York State Senate, *Journal* (1884):561, 590, 723; Lawrence Grossman, *The Democratic Party and the Negro: Northern and National Politics, 1868-92* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), pp. 65-67.

11. *New York Globe*, April 7, 1883; May 3, 10, 1884.

12. *New York Tribune*, Sept. 10, 1884; *New York Sun*, Sept. 10, 1884; Anthony R. Mayo, *Charles Lewis Reason* (Jersey City, N.J., 1943), p. 10; *Christian Recorder*, Aug. 14, 1884; *New York Freeman*, Jan. 24, March 7, 1885; April 2, 1887; New York City Board of Education, *Journal* (1887):192-93, 198-202, 274-75.

13. *New York Daily Tribune*, Oct. 17, 30, 1895; Mary White Ovington, *Half a Man: the Status of the Negro in New York* (New York, 1911), p. 18.

14. *New York Age*, Oct. 25, Nov. 1, 15, 1890; Oct. 10, 1891; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Dec. 2, 1892; Brooklyn Board of Education, *Proceedings* (1890):793, 873; (1892):340-41; *New York Times*, June 8, 1893.

15. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Sept. 30, 1892; March 8, 1893; May 20, 1894.

16. *Ibid.* March 8, 1893; Brooklyn Board of Education, *Proceedings* (1893):183-87.

17. Maritcha R. Lyons, "Memories of Yesterdays," Brooklyn, 1928, pp. 20, 30-31, at Schomburg Center.

CHAPTER 16—Long Island's Black School War

1. A. Emerson Palmer, *New York Public School* (New York, 1905), p. 292; Seth M. Scheiner, *Negro Mecca: A History of the Negro in New York City, 1865-1920* (New York: New York University Press, 1965), p. 179; Charles Z. Lincoln, *Constitutional History of New York*, 5 vols. (Rochester, 1905-1906), 4:708; Diane Ravitch, *The Great School Wars: New York City, 1805-1973* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), pp. 25n-26n.

2. Palmer, *New York*, p. 292; Mary White Ovington, *Half a Man: The Status of the Negro in New York* (New York, 1911), pp. 18-19; Eve Thurston, "Ethiopia Unshackled: A Brief History of the Education of Negro Children in New York City," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* (April, 1965):223; Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto* (New York, Harper & Row, 1968), p. 36.

3. *Jamaica Long Island Democrat*, April 26, 1853; Feb. 21, 1860.

4. *New York Freeman*, July 2, 30, Aug. 20, 1887; *New York Age*, Oct. 29, 1887; April 14, 1888.

5. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Feb. 27, Aug. 7, 11, 14, Sept. 7, Oct. 12, 25, 1895; School District No. 6, Town of Babylon (Amityville), Records, Aug. 6,

Jamaica

The Jamaica Commission Having
trouble over new school
plans
About the school plans were building

Jan 21 - 1895

March 10 - 27 - 7 - 31 1895

July 1 - 1 - 2

Oct 15 - 1 - 2

12

Sept. 6, 1895; Aug. 4, 1896, at Amityville Union Free School District office; *Babylon South Side Signal*, March 2, 9, Sept. 7, 21, Oct. 12, 26, Nov. 2, 1895.

6. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 28, 1896. *State Library*

7. *Jamaica Long Island Democrat*, Sept. 10, 24, Oct. 29, 1895.

8. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 26, 1896; *New York Times*, April 5, 1896; *Jamaica Long Island Democrat*, March 31, 1896.

9. New York State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *42nd Annual Report*, for 1894-95, p. 691.

10. Queens Borough Superintendent of Schools, *First Annual Report*, for 1898-99, p. 45; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 5, 1900; *Jamaica Long Island Farmer*, March 6, 1900.

11. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 8, 1896; *Jamaica Long Island Farmer*, May 15, 1896.

12. *Newtown Register*, Oct. 11, 1883; Aug. 28, 1884; *Jamaica Long Island Democrat*, July 7, 1896; March 23, 1897; Oct. 25, 1898.

13. *Jamaica Long Island Democrat*, April 28, Nov. 3, 10, 1896; Feb. 15, 1898; *Jamaica Long Island Farmer*, May 1, 29, 1896.

14. *Brooklyn Times*, in *Jamaica Long Island Democrat*, Dec. 5, 1899; *New York Times*, April 5, 15, 1896; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Sept. 25, 1899.

15. *Jamaica Standard*, in *Jamaica Long Island Farmer*, May 1, 1896 (the *Standard* for the years of the Jamaica school war is not known to be extant); *Jamaica Long Island Farmer*, Sept. 27, 1895; April 24, May 29, 1896; *Jamaica Long Island Democrat*, April 28, July 7, Nov. 3, 1896.

16. *St. George Staten Islander*, May 23, 27, 1891; Evelyn M. King and Joseph N. Marone, "The Black Man in American History," (School District 30, Richmond, New York City Board of Education), 1970, p. 99; interview with Mrs. Catherine Johannes Browne, by Gail Schneider of the Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences, June 28, 1972; Arthur S. Tompkins, *Historical Record of Rockland County* (Nyack, 1902), p. 317.

17. *New York Times*, Dec. 13, 1897; Roslyn Board of Education, Minutes, Oct. 12, 18, 21, Nov. 1, 1897, at Roslyn Board of Education office; Hempstead Board of Education, Minutes, Aug. 2, 1898, at Hempstead Board of Education office.

18. G. Henry Mandeville, *Flushing* (Flushing, 1860), pp. 127-28; *History of Queens County* (New York, 1882), pp. 104-105; *Flushing Journal*, March 30, 1889; Jan. 25, June 28, 1890; Jan. 3, 1891; *Jamaica Long Island Farmer*, May 29, 1896.

19. *New York Age*, Nov. 7, 1891.

CHAPTER 17—Elizabeth Cisco Wins

1. *Jamaica Long Island Democrat*, March 23, 1897; the Greater New York City charter, which was New York State, *Laws* (1897), chapter 378.

2. Seth Low to "Prof. Sanford," Feb. 26, 1914, Seth Low papers, Co-

lumbia University; *Reports of the New York City Charter Commissions of 1896 and 1900* (New York, 1907):57; *Flushing Evening Journal*, Sept. 11, 1897. In an early draft of the charter, colored schools were mandatory; in later drafts they were permitted. The question of colored schools received little attention from the commission according to its records and Low's correspondence, both in the Seth Low papers.

3. Queens Borough School Board, *Journal* (Sept. 6, Nov. 1, 1898); *Jamaica Long Island Democrat*, Nov. 6, 15, 1898; April 18, Sept. 12, 1899.

4. People ex rel. Cisco vs. School Board, 161 *New York* (1900); *New York Daily Tribune*, Aug. 23, Sept. 26, 1899; *Jamaica Long Island Farmer*, Jan. 12, 1900; *Flushing Daily Times*, Jan. 18, 1911.

5. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, April 2, 20, 1900; *Rockville Center South Side Observer*, April 6, 1900 (this paper was edited by George Wallace's brother Charles); William Henry Johnson, *Autobiography* (Albany, 1900), p. 78.

6. *New York Times*, Jan. 18, 1911; *Jamaica Long Island Farmer*, March 13, 20, April 3, 1900. Unfortunately no runs of Flushing papers are known to be extant from February to April, 1900.

7. Johnson, *Autobiography*, p. 79; New York State Senate, *Journal* (1900):1306-1307, 1464; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 30, 1900.

8. George Sinkler, *The Racial Attitudes of American Presidents: From Abraham Lincoln to Theodore Roosevelt* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1972), p. 428; Theodore Roosevelt, *Letters*, 8 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951-1954)2:1306.

9. New York State Assembly, *Journal* (1900):3023-24, 3195; New York State Senate, *Journal* (1900):1465; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 30, 1900; New York State, *Laws* (1900), chapter 492.

10. Johnson, *Autobiography*, pp. 91-93.

11. New York City Board of Education, *Annual Report*, for 1899-1900, p. 85; Hempstead Board of Education, Minutes, Aug. 7, 1900, at Hempstead Board of Education office; A. Emerson Palmer, *New York Public School* (New York, 1905), p. 292; Mary White Ovington, *Half a Man: The Status of the Negro in New York* (New York, 1911), p. 19; Seth M. Scheiner, *Negro Mecca: A History of the Negro in New York City, 1865-1920* (New York: New York University Press, 1965), p. 179; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (third edition) (New York: Knopf, 1967), p. 549.

12. Borough of Richmond School Board, *Minutes* (1899):47, 213, 412; (1900):143-44.

13. *AME Church Review* (April 1900):420.

CHAPTER 18—Black Schools Revive

1. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., *Marching Blacks* (New York: Dial Press, 1945; 1973), p. 47; Emmett Coleman, *The Rise . . . of Adam Clayton Powell* (Bee-Line Books, 1967), p. 18.

March 29, ^{Pg.} 9, col 4 1896

headline

No color Line in Jamaica

A decision has at last been given in the long-pending suit of the colored people in this village to compel the Board of Education to admit their children to the new schools.

Didn't Find
March 7,

October 15 1895
1-2

Negroes and Public School (headline)
Justin Cullen holds that separate institutions
for them are lawful

Cochrane
Warren R
272 Nelson Ave
584-6973

memoranda

NEW YORK TEACHER.

Vol. VI.]

ALBANY, SEPTEMBER, 1857.

[No. 12.

TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW YORK STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.

This association convened at Brigham Hall, Binghamton, August 4th, at 10 o'clock A. M. It was called to order by the President, T. W. VALENTINE of Brooklyn, who commenced the exercises by reading portions of Scripture. Prayer was offered by the Rev. S. N. Stimson, of Binghamton.

The President introduced EDWARD TOMPKINS, Esq., of Binghamton, who welcomed and thrice welcomed the association to the beautiful valley, village and homes and hearts of the people.

In the absence of the Recording Secretaries and Treasurer, WHEATON A. WELCH of Catskill, and E. DANFORTH of Erie, were elected Recording Secretaries, and E. S. ADAMS of Brooklyn, Treasurer, pro tem.

The President delivered his annual address. On motion of Mr. Cruttenden, a copy of the address was requested for immediate publication.

Dr. Lambert moved that the executive committee be requested to draft resolutions of thanks to all the speakers who should address the association during its session, and present them at the close, also that the publication of the addresses be left to the Board of Editors of the New York Teacher, and the individual speakers. The motion was laid upon the table.

Professor Davies moved that this association will express no opinion of approbation or disapprobation, by passing resolutions, in regard to addresses. Laid upon the table.

Adjourned till 2 o'clock P. M.

Afternoon Session.—The association was called to order at a little past 2 P. M.

Rev. A. D. MAYO of Albany, was introduced, who addressed the association. His subject was "New York and Her Common Schools."

After the address a recess of five minutes was announced by the President. At the expiration of the time the association was again called to order, and the following committees appointed:

Committee to Nominate a Board of Editors for the New York Teacher, for the ensuing year.—Messrs. Thomson of New York, Pitcher of Owego, Farnham of Syracuse, Atwater of Lockport, Cochran of Albany.

Committee on Time and Place of Holding the Next Meeting of the Association.—Messrs. McElligott of New York, Dailey of Elmira, Gildersleeve of Buffalo, Rouget of Brooklyn, Weller of Oswego.

Finance Committee.—Messrs. Clark of Homer, Cavert of Amsterdam, Fanning of New York, Morehouse of Albion, Arey of Buffalo.

Committee on By-Laws.—Messrs. Bulkley of Brooklyn, Snyder of Albany, Johonnot of Syracuse, Van Valin of Poughkeepsie, Vosburgh of Rochester.

Report of the Treasurer, Mr. Anthony, was read by Mr. Cruikshank. There was in the treasury, \$54. Report accepted.

Miss Anthony submitted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the exclusion of colored children from our public schools, academies, colleges and universities, is the result of a wicked prejudice against color.

Resolved, That the expulsion of Miss Latimer, delegate from Saratoga county, from the N. Y. Normal School at Albany, when after six months of successful scholarship in that institution, the fact was discovered that *colored blood* coursed in her veins, was mean and cruel.

Resolved, That a flagrant outrage was perpetrated against the teachers and pupils of the colored schools of New York city, in that no provision was made for their attendance at the free concerts given by Professor Thalberg to the public schools of that city.

Resolved, That the recent exclusion of Miss Helen Appo and Miss Elizabeth Jennings, graduates from the Colored Normal School of New York city, from the public diploma presentation at the Academy of Music, was a gross insult to their scholarship and their womanhood.

Resolved, That *all* proscription from educational advantages and honors, on account of color, is in most perfect harmony with the infamous decision of Judge Taney, that "Black men have no rights which white men are bound to respect."

Various motions were made, and considerable discussion ensued as to what should be done with these resolutions. It was finally moved and seconded, that they be referred to a select committee. After some discussion the motion was carried.

The committee was appointed by the president: Messrs. Partridge, Foster, Clark, Hutchings, Cruttenden, Miss Julia Wilbur and Miss Mary Booth.

Association adjourned till 7 P. M.

Evening Session.—The association convened at the appointed hour, and was addressed by Professor HENRY FOWLER of Rochester. Subject: "The Labor of Hands, Head and Heart; or, Live and Let Live."