

“Bringing Light to our Land... When She was Dark as Night”: Northerners, Freedpeople, and Education during Military Occupation in North Carolina, 1862–1865

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When Union armies arrived in eastern North Carolina in 1862, they encountered escaped slaves eager to acquire education. Soon after the armies occupied the region, missionaries and teachers arrived seeking to educate and uplift these former slaves. They brought their own preconceptions of helpless blacks, and a blind confidence in a New England system of education. But they also brought very different ideas of how the educational mission should be accomplished. Disagreements led to conflicts within the benevolent societies, replete with nasty bickering, reprisals for insults, and much uncivil behavior. During wartime occupation, freedpeople utilized their northern benefactors to gain autonomy over their lives and institutions. However, given the often combative nature of the northerners' relationships with each other, it is remarkable that the freedpeople were able to acquire the educational skills and degree of autonomy that they did.

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In March 1862, a Union expeditionary force under the command of General Ambrose Burnside captured the coastal towns of New Bern and Beaufort, North Carolina, located at the southern tip of the Outer Banks, and commenced a military occupation that would continue for the remainder of the Civil War. The northern soldiers encountered a dynamic black population, who aggressively sought their freedom and took advantage of the presence of Union forces to seek out their own autonomy and independence. Slaves took great risks to escape to Union lines, with some coming from over 200 miles away. Within the Union lines, many slaves sought autonomy through employment, either by the Federal government, or by trying to establish individual farms. Thousands more enlisted in the Union army, hoping to get a chance to fight against their former oppressors and have a hand in winning their own independence. Yet, nearly all former slaves considered education to be the ultimate symbol of independence – a repudiation of the oppressive heritage of slavery – and they exerted supreme efforts to acquire the knowledge that had been so long denied them. Hearing of these efforts, dozens of northern missionaries and teachers embarked for the coast of North Carolina to engage in the noble undertaking of uplifting this supposedly degraded and brutalized race.¹

The African American search for autonomy is a familiar story by now. Scholars such as Ira Berlin, Vincent Harding, and Steven Hahn, just to name a few, have argued that African Americans were the agents and nascent political actors who forced the Lincoln administration to make emancipation one of its war aims. In seeking their independence, former slaves also sought autonomy and control over their own community institutions, which included schools and churches. James

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D. Anderson, Ronald E. Butchart, Janet Cornelius, and Heather Andrea Williams, among others, have argued that black assertions of educational desires in slavery and freedom channeled the efforts of northern benevolent societies during and after the Civil War. Many historians, notably Hahn, Eugene Genovese, and John Blassingame, have also argued that black desire for autonomy was not suddenly a wartime phenomenon, but had deep roots in the slave communities. Given these historical precedents, it was only natural that African Americans would negotiate with Union soldiers and especially northern missionaries who came South during and after the war, in order to gain a greater degree of autonomy over their lives and institutions.²

Thanks to recent scholarship, the narrative of the northern benevolent societies' attempts to uplift the former slaves is also rather well known. Scholars generally agree that evangelical missionaries hoped to remake freedpeople in an idealized northern middle-class Christian image, thereby ignoring the freedpeople's own cultural mores. Joe Richardson argues that reformers like the American Missionary Association agents "longed for a literate, thoughtful, temperate, godly society which, they believed, could be produced only through a religious education. Therefore, the AMA went South with the book, the Bible, and the New England Way." These self-righteous teachers were blinded by their own cultural values and their innate sense of superiority. North Carolina's Superintendent for Negro Affairs, Horace James, confirmed such scholarly assertions when he proclaimed shortly after the war: "The only manner in which the South is to be regenerated and its society rejuvenated and made what it ought to be, and hence the country saved, is by reproducing New England and its institutions" throughout the backward South. Historian Patricia Click has concluded that "the negative consequence of the missionaries' belief in the total rightness of what they were doing is that they failed to recognize that the freedpeople had any cultural heritage of their own." Allis Wolfe perceptively observes, "It never occurred to them that a middle class Yankee code of values and behavior might not be the best, indeed the only, model for the South and its people."³

Northerners agreed that their way of life was best, but often strongly disagreed on which code of values to assert, which spiritual message to impart, and more importantly, who would control the imparting. While northern racial condescension is a familiar story, the internal fighting, social bickering, and strong sectarian disagreements have not been explored in great depth. Northern missionaries and teachers undeniably aided the freedpeople by establishing a foundation for future educational efforts, but the constant squabbling among these supposed benefactors only reduced their potential effectiveness, as they failed to unite in purpose and direction for the benefit of the freedpeople.⁴

This article utilizes the occupied region Carteret and Craven counties (with their county seats of Beaufort and New Bern, respectively) in eastern North Carolina as a case study to examine the interactions between freedmen and the northern benevolent society members and the resulting friction. This is a study of the developments in the days before the advent of the Freedmen's Bureau, when northern societies first ventured south and started laying the foundation for their post-war work. Studying the efforts in wartime reveals the difficulties of starting freedmen aid programs in the face of many different and competing interests. The freedmen's societies experienced severe growing pains during those years.

The Carteret-Craven region also presents a unique opportunity to view the nature of relations between northern benefactors and their charges. Unlike the South Carolina Sea Islands experiment, the Carteret-Craven region offered no vast tracts of land or abandoned plantations on which to settle freedmen. Carteret-Craven was also very different from the Roanoke Island experiment in northeastern North Carolina, for there was no real opportunity to set up a self-sustaining freedpeople's colony in the contested lands around Beaufort and New Bern. Another difference was that many native whites remained in occupied Carteret and Craven counties, constantly contesting the efforts of the northerners. As a result, northern missionaries would not be working in relative

isolation, but in a region populated by many blacks, native whites, and Union soldiers, and subject to Confederate attack at any time.⁵

The most distinctive aspect of the Carteret-Craven region was the massive influx of black refugees to the region during the war, making the area the perfect proving ground for northern evangelical work. Beaufort, whose total white and black antebellum population numbered about 1,600 (including 600 blacks), became home to nearly 2,500 blacks by January 1864, and over 3,200 by 1865, while New Bern housed over 8,500 freedmen in January 1864 and nearly 11,000 a year later (compared to about 3,000 blacks in 1860). Most refugees lived in temporary camps near the towns. Many freedmen worked for the government, while others engaged in their own private business endeavors often enjoying profitable livelihoods as barbers, grocers, coopers, carpenters, blacksmiths, or as laborers in the naval stores industry. It was into this region of active and determined freedpeople that northern benevolent society members entered beginning in 1862.⁶

Northern missionaries and teachers arrived with preconceptions of a helpless, completely brutalized, and puerile race of individuals. They also brought blind confidence that installing a northern middle-class, Protestant evangelical system of education – with a properly paternalistic attitude – would be the best way to lift up the downtrodden former slaves. They were surprised and occasionally disappointed to find quite autonomous black individuals. Northern agents tried to enable black assertions of independence, but only if they could shape those assertions to meet their expectations. These whites wanted social control but in their own particular brand of religion and education. Missionaries especially wanted to correct what they perceived as the former slaves' abuses and ignorance of proper religion. While striving to enlighten the ignorant freedpeople, teachers had several internal conflicts over petty grievances; rifts developed between the competing benevolent societies over leadership positions, school locations, and fund-raising; and sectarian strife pervaded some of the region as missionaries of rival denominations disputed the proper spiritual message. These unattractive reactions to and relationships with their surroundings complicate our understanding of the nature of northern benevolent societies in the South.

The first Union soldiers to arrive in the region were often surprised to find that the escaped slaves had the capacity for learning. In July 1862, a Union officer in New Bern wrote the editor of the *New York Tribune* admitting that blacks were “capable of a much higher cultivation than is generally believed, I am convinced. They have a strong desire to learn, which will sometimes surmount the greatest obstacles.” The officer noted blacks' clever way of gaining knowledge, bred in the dependence of slavery: “they keep eyes and ears open to all that is going on around them, and in this way often learn much that is not intended for them to know.” Though slave literacy had been outlawed in the antebellum South, many enterprising slaves nonetheless had acquired some education. Historians have suggested that between 5 and 10 percent of southern slaves had at least some rudimentary degree of literacy by 1860. Union soldiers confirm these suspicions in the New Bern-Beaufort region. Henry Clapp, a Massachusetts soldier who would be part of the occupying force in New Bern in 1863, wrote: “I should say that about one in fifteen of the men, women, and children could read. We find that many learned or began to learn before they were freed by our army – taking their instruction mostly ‘on the sly’ and indeed in the face of considerable danger.”⁷

Former slaves appreciated the educational assistance northern agents offered. One female ex-slave described to her teacher, Susan Hosmer, how she had tried to gain literacy before the war. “When mistress was in good humor, I used to cry,” she related, “and then she would let me take a lesson, so I learned to read a little.” The woman asserted, “in my ignorance, I promised the Lord, if he would please let me learn enough, so that I could read the Bible, I would ask no more.” Exposure to this small drop of knowledge led to a greater thirst for more. “Now my desire is, to get more knowledge,” the ex-slave averred to Hosmer, “and I bless God that he has sent you out here. I want to do all that I can for you, now that you have come so far to teach us.”⁸

Due to the eastern North Carolina freedpeople's overwhelming desire to acquire literacy, some Union officers immediately established makeshift schools to be repairing the damage of slavery. In April 1862, the recently-appointed Superintendent of the Poor, Vincent Colyer, a northern missionary who had worked in Washington, D.C., under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association, set up a day school for whites and two evening schools for blacks in New Bern. The black schools were, as one northern officer-turned-teacher boasted, always "full to overflowing" with students who were "joyful and bright as any young learners." Within days over 800 freedpeople were enrolled in Colyer's school. Though the military governor ordered Colyer to close the schools in May, he received permission from President Abraham Lincoln to reopen the schools in July.⁹

Neither Colyer nor any Union soldier or northern agent who helped teach former slaves had any difficulty attracting students, as thousands of blacks of all ages sought entrance into classrooms. Susan Hosmer, one of the first New England teachers to come to New Bern, wrote in September 1863 that, for local blacks, learning to read "seems to be the height of their ambition." Many slaves, like George W. Jenkins, realized their ambition and thanked their benefactors. Jenkins wrote from New Bern in June 1864 to a former teacher, who had returned north on vacation: "We will never forget the kind teachers for bringing light to our land, when she was Dark as night. They came in spite of rebs. Their reward is not in this world, but a world to come."¹⁰

Building on what Colyer and the Union officers had started, northern missionaries and teachers began arriving in the coastal North Carolina region in the summer of 1863. The American Missionary Association (AMA), the first organization to send teachers to the region, issued an "Appeal for the Freedmen" in its monthly publication in January 1863, calling on Christian soldiers to come forward to help blacks in the great education crusade: "they need intelligent friends and counselors, to guard them against the insults, impositions, immoralities and various abuses of those who hate them, and are interested to prove that the Negroes are an improvident race, unfit to take care of themselves." The AMA opened its first two formal schools in New Bern on 23 July 1863.¹¹

Formed in 1846 in Albany, New York, the AMA, an abolitionist and educational society, became the largest aid organization not just in coastal North Carolina, but throughout the South, ultimately contributing over \$5 million to assist freedpeople during and after the war. The AMA was a leader among Northern Protestant evangelicals, who, in the words of Patricia Click, "emphasized the possibility that society and individuals could be perfected." Hoping in some way "to rectify the damage caused by slavery," the AMA began sending missionaries to the occupied portions of the South in 1861 (initially to Fort Monroe, Virginia), with its first emissaries arriving in North Carolina in the summer of 1863. As the leading scholar of the AMA, Joe M. Richardson, has written, the association "was motivated by religion and patriotism and its aim was full citizenship for blacks." Its leaders "called themselves 'Christian abolitionists,' and to them abolition meant not merely 'striking off the fetters of the slave' but freeing him of the shackles of ignorance, superstition, and sin."¹²

These Christian abolitionist teachers operated makeshift schools wherever opportunity afforded. The teachers faced many dangers – primarily from the threats of Confederate attacks, hostile local whites, and disease – as well as many difficult teaching conditions, including the lack of materials, classroom space, and living quarters. Throughout the wartime occupation, teachers held class in churches, army barracks, barns, abandoned plantation buildings, basements, or deserted jails; and one officer taught his pupils "in the rear of the Quartermaster's office." One teacher commented, "we teach in a barn fitted up with seats for nearly four hundred persons," which during winter months "is heated by only one Sibley stove, and having no sash in the windows." Students still attended despite the fact that it was so cold that the teacher "taught every day so far in a hood, blanket shawl, and thick gloves."¹³

Instructors also improvised teaching supplies. One soldier related in May 1862, "As primers were not at hand, an olive green window shutter served for a blackboard, the instruction being mainly oral." Teachers often utilized Bibles as standard texts. Union agents were improving the situation as quickly as possible, constructing new schools, and recruiting supplies and teachers from northern benevolent societies. Horace James, Superintendent for Negro Affairs for the Department of North Carolina, who had spent many years actively engaged in fostering education in New England, reported on 25 May 1863 of his efforts to get good teachers, stating that, for former slaves, "nothing short of 'yankee school ma'am's' will answer for their children." He actively and successfully pursued such teachers and pushed for the expansion of the number of schools in the New Bern-Beaufort region.¹⁴

James, a former Congregationalist minister from Worcester, Massachusetts, could not help but admire the poetic justice of some of his efforts. After an AMA agent had established a school at remote Clubfoot's Creek twenty miles north of Beaufort, the first teacher sent to instruct the former slaves was "a cultured lady" from West Newton, Massachusetts, by the name of Caroline E. Croome. James related, "The rebels had slain her noble husband while in command of his battery at South Mountain [on 14 September 1862], and she would avenge his untimely death by teaching ignorant Negroes how to throw off the yoke which those dastardly rebels had put upon their necks." He mused, perhaps with a quiet smile at the workings of divine providence, "This was the sublime retaliation of the gospel."¹⁵

Dedicated teachers like Croome – who steadfastly taught in the New Bern-Beaufort region until 1872, despite repeated threats made against her by disgruntled white citizens – made an immediate difference in eastern North Carolina. By 31 March 1864, New Bern boasted 11 freedmen schools while Beaufort had three, and nine more existed in other occupied parts of North Carolina. The demand for teachers soon became acute as the number of students grew exponentially. July 1864 found 3,000 black students enrolled in classes in the region. Though the schools closed temporarily because of a yellow fever outbreak, they reopened in December, and by 1865, James could proudly claim that there were 19 day schools and eight night schools in operation in the region.¹⁶

Northern agents noticed the determination and joy that local blacks showed when attending school. Massachusetts soldier Henry Wellington wrote his sister about the freedpeople's enthusiastic reaction to learning: "You would think there was a thunder shower coming if you could see them coming out of the school." Horace James commented, "the children learn just as rapidly as children at the north." However, young Miss Carrie Getchell of the AMA, stationed in Beaufort, noted in February 1864 that teaching middle-class northern white children was a far different experience from teaching poor southern black children, whose enthusiasm and energy in the classroom called for a great deal of harnessing. "There are a very many things which will require much patience and perseverance to correct," Getchell admitted. "They are very pugilistic in their tendencies. I am at a loss to know why it is so." Black adults rejoiced more tractably in their educational opportunities. One female teacher wrote on 6 January 1865, after serving in Beaufort for a month, "I have a class of men, just beginning, some not knowing the alphabet. To witness their eagerness, their patience and perseverance, their gratitude for any aid afforded them, even for *one* night is more than an adequate reward for any privations one may be called upon to endure."¹⁷

While most freedmen worked long hours as laborers or skilled craftsmen for the Union army, they nevertheless used every spare minute to study. A soldier in the 23rd Massachusetts wrote, "Grown men, employed in 'dug outs' to catch and raft logs, brought, on their way to the saw mill... [their] spelling book[s] which [were] speedily whipped out and zealously studied at every break, however short, in their onerous task." An officer's wife, visiting her husband at New Bern in February 1863, wrote to a friend, "I have frequently seen in the street the Negro teamster[s],

poring over their primers and spelling books, while waiting for something or other.” AMA missionary William Briggs noted, “After a hard day’s work, they return to their homes, take their frugal meal, change their dress when they can make a change – come to the school & devote an hour and a half to earnest study.” Some adults sought individual arrangements for education, bartering practical goods for instruction. One Union soldier recounted, “Aunty Southwhite gave me a quilt tonight on condition that ‘I learn her how to read.’” Freedpeople also used their hard-earned money to provide opportunities for their further enhancement. When the Yale-educated Rhode Island minister George N. Greene arrived in Beaufort from New York in October 1863 to set up a school, he collected \$84.88 from local blacks to defray operating expenses. Residents of the Pine Grove settlement, one of several camps outside of town, raised \$95.00, and told Green that they would raise “another hundred if necessary in order to educate their children.”¹⁸

These self-sacrifices made by freedpeople to gain education and the assistance given them by northern teachers engendered resentment among the local white population. Efforts to create similar schools for whites were feeble and usually of brief duration because Northern agents determined that the native white hostility to black education would prohibit any full welcoming of those same whites to the privileges of education. In addition, local whites tried to intimidate northern teachers and discourage black students from attending schools. In 1864, three white men torched one of the black schoolhouses and threatened the female teacher with violence unless she promised to “never again teach the niggers to read.” Perhaps more than employment and enlistment, local whites feared the empowerment that education granted to freedpeople, because it reached even the youngest members of black society. This instruction held dangerous implications, as the northern benevolent society teachers taught ideas that transcended spiritual lessons and charitable efforts to bring literacy to the region.¹⁹

Northern teachers persevered in spite of these hostile conditions. In addition to threats of violence and weather difficulties, the exigencies of wartime often halted classes. One teacher commented in early 1865 from New Bern, “we are in hourly expectation of an order for the opening of our churches for hospital purposes.” When a Rebel army under George Pickett threatened New Bern in early February 1864, Union officials forced a black school out of Fort Totten, and another school near the Trent River had to close for a week because the incessant cannonading made it too difficult to hold class. Despite the hardships that the female teachers had faced from the beginning, Horace James praised their perseverance, proclaiming them to be “both capital stuff, and true as steel. They are happy in the work & winning the favor of the community.”²⁰

Despite James’s optimistic remarks, many teachers in North Carolina were not happy with their work, especially as the danger of the region forced some to question the wisdom of traveling to a war zone to teach. “However light a matter the Northern papers may make of it, we were in great danger of being captured that first week of February, as New Berne was defended by an insufficient number of troops,” desponded Emily Gill to the secretary of the AMA. She concluded a week later, “The unsettled military state of this part of the country, and the consequent hasty and frequent changes submitted to by ourselves and our people have made me feel somewhat of ‘a poor soldier.’” She claimed the constant tension “subjected me to headaches... and strengthened a growing desire to come home and feel more at rest.” Indeed, Gill went north in April 1864, and did not return to North Carolina. Like Gill, several teachers left in frustration over the difficult conditions in which they lived and taught. When Pickett’s army threatened the region in February 1864, a secessionist resident exulted from Beaufort: “The negroe schools are suspended, and the teachers, male and female are evidently preparing to slink off. It does the heart good to see these intruders upon our soil, and violators of our laws, quailing before the sound of Confederate cannon.” Indeed, Susan Hosmer proclaimed that, while trying to do her work in the region, she “never felt the need of the sustaining grace of God so much before.”²¹

Non-military antagonists also took their toll on both the students and their teachers. In the summer of 1864, a yellow fever epidemic hit New Bern and Beaufort, killing hundreds of blacks and whites, and forcing many to flee or quarantine themselves in the cities. The freedmen schools shut down in July 1864 as a result, but opened again in December when the epidemic had passed. Yellow fever was not the only danger to the northern teachers. Carrie M. Getchell, a dedicated young AMA teacher who had taught extra classes to cover other sick teachers, fell violently ill herself in March 1864, and died rather suddenly from severe tonsillitis. When informed of her mortal plight only moments before the end, the 24-year-old Getchell bemoaned in disbelief, "Have I come down here to die?"²² Recently Getchell, who had grown frustrated with the slow movement of the military bureaucracy in granting her a room near her soon-to-open new school in Morehead City, had insisted on walking several miles from her lodging to the railroad depot near the school. "It will be a long walk to the depot," she wrote to George Whipple, "but I much rather do it than delay longer." Believing Getchell's death to be a result of this prolonged exposure and hardship, her loved ones at home castigated the administration of the schools in the region. A "display of energetic promptness on the part of those whose business it was to do the outdoor labor & provide easy & convenient boarding places for lady teachers might have retained Carrie much longer in her earthly labors," wrote one bitter correspondent to Horace James. The writer had heard complaints from other teachers who "talked of unpardonable inefficiency on the part of those men at Beaufort placed there just for the purpose of doing these things which they did not do & which the ladies must do or see their time wasting away without accomplishing their desired work." These excoriations of the authorities after Getchell's death illuminate the undercurrent of tension, incompetence, and spitefulness that characterized the northern agents' work.²³

Occasionally, missionaries and teachers complained over the assignments they were given. For some, such as Miss Antoinette L. Etheridge, the assigned location was not despairing enough. When learning that she had been assigned to teach at Clubfoot's Creek, she complained, "The people are self-sustaining, have never been slaves. This takes a little from the interest. I mean we can not feel that tender sympathy that we would have were they recently bondsmen." Teaching those merely destitute of knowledge was not nearly as motivating to her as teaching those former slaves, who, she presumed, needed to be nurtured and uplifted from their degraded condition.²⁴

Other northerners complained that their assigned destination was far too primitive. When Congregationalist minister Timothy Lyman and his wife arrived at Hatteras Inlet, they balked, finding the outpost "too crude." Mrs. Lyman remarked that she did not know "people could live as they do here, so few comforts." On 15 August 1864, Horace James disdainfully commented that the Lymans "appear to be thoroughly disgusted with Hatteras Inlet, without having so much as introduced themselves to the people with whom they proposed to labor." James remarked, "Feeling as *she* does, I have strongly advised them not to go there, for it would be a sin against the people and against God for them to enter upon their labors with so little faith as they have." While James was upset at the Lymans' lack of conviction, he seemed to forget his own first impression of Hatteras, given when he arrived there as part of Burnside's expedition in February 1862. "It is the most forlorn, forsaken, barren, wretched sand hole I ever looked upon," James had written. The Lymans merely agreed. Eleven days later James was still perturbed by the Lyman's supercilious attitude, decrying, "Probably Mr. & Mrs. Lyman expected to be met by a welcoming delegation and escorted publicly by a band of music to elegantly-furnished quarters within the fort, and there to be waited upon, as if they were in a position of authority only second to the commandant of the Post."²⁵

Such mordant observations were relatively common among the northern aid workers who all were in the region ostensibly for the same purpose. Conflicts emerged, personalities clashed, and the complaints about fellow missionaries or teachers were free-flowing both to local administrators, and to northern friends at home. Some female teachers grumbled at the intense scrutiny they

lived under. Nellie Stearns, who shared a house with seven other young women, wrote to a friend about the social stigmas they faced. Though she was writing from New Bern in November 1865, the societal rules she described applied from the moment northern women went south in 1862. “We have to be so careful how we behave here,” she began. “We are very closely watched by the Southerners and others too.” Stearns denounced the sexual indiscretions of a colleague, candidly reporting that one young northern soldier “came in the other night and had a regular romp with one of the girls. They made a great noise and I have just heard there have been remarks about it by people who passed. This young lady is very lively and rather coarse and rude, and I suspect she will get us all into trouble.” Stearns knew that any hint of sexual promiscuity by one could besmirch the reputations of all the young female teachers in the region, thereby undermining the elevated moral attitude they used as the reason why they were the best people to instruct the dissolute freedpeople. With this foremost on her mind, Nellie complained, “A few thoughtless girls bring scandal on all the rest of us, and I declare it makes me provoked. There are abominable stories about the teachers circulated and believed too even by sensible Northern people.”²⁶

Stearns was only one of many missionaries complaining about their compatriots. Reverend William Briggs, an AMA superintendent in Beaufort, wrote to the association’s chief secretary, George Whipple, on 3 December 1864, “I learn Miss Howe has written you unfavorable things in regard to Miss Spalding. I would suggest that if teachers are allowed to begin this game, the Lord only knows where it will end.” Two months before she died, Carrie Getchell wrote contritely to Whipple, apologizing for her negative comments about her fellow teachers: “I hasten to write you fearing that in my last I used language which conveyed more than I really intended it should. Your rebuke I acknowledge as just, and thank you for it.” She attempted to calm Whipple’s fears, declaring, “I assure you that there has no ‘root of bitterness’ sprung up among us. We are interested in each other’s welfare, and entertain the kindest feelings towards each other.”²⁷

Other letters from northern aid workers contradicted Getchell’s sense of amity. At the same time that Whipple read Getchell’s penitent pledge, he would have read Horace James’ less-than-compassionate appraisal of the AMA’s Beaufort agent, the Reverend George N. Greene. “Mr. Green is fast lapsing into utter imbecility and chronic nothingness,” began James’ disparaging epistle. “He does not *preach*, nor *teach*, nor do anything but *fuss* and laze around to the annoyance and contempt of all.” Another agent not only agreed with James that the Reverend Greene rarely preached, but also decried that he “was strangely inefficient in regard to the preparation of schoolhouses for the teachers and that he had drawn upon himself and to some extent on the whole establishment the wrath of the Army officers.” A few months after the war ended, the Superintendent of the North Carolina branch of the Freedman’s Bureau complained to the AMA home office that the inefficient and indolent Greene was “embarrassing the work in which we are engaged.”²⁸

Even the dogged and determined Horace James endured censure by other agents. The first time that visiting AMA emissary Reverend William Hamilton spoke of his meeting with James on 19 January 1864, he was effusive in his praise, claiming: “I could not but admire the untiring energy and perseverance with which this noble servant of Christ pursues his work of emancipation and enlightenment. May his reward be just in heaven.” However, only six days later, Hamilton’s tone had changed entirely. “To say that Mr. James received me coldly would not fully express the idea of my reception,” Hamilton wrote to the home office. “His manner was freezing – many degrees below zero.” Hamilton had unkind words for James’ wife as well, asserting that her “manner was invariably distant and forbidding” and that she was once “grossly insulting” to him. Further casting aspersions on them, he claimed, “I have been told that Mrs. James whose conduct was so strange towards me has been at times insane, but I fear she has infected Mr. James also with her antipathy.”²⁹

Hamilton's caustic comments about James reveals more about the strain James was under than it does about his purportedly poor social skills. News had just arrived that a large Confederate force was marching toward New Bern, threatening an invasion of the town, which forced James to cancel a planned trip to Roanoke Island just as Hamilton arrived. Beyond the military dangers, as Superintendent for Negro Affairs, James was dealing constantly with black demands for redresses of grievances. Hamilton noted that on 19 January, the day he arrived at James' office, "a succession of contrabands, male and female, presented themselves. One desired to have a grant of the use of some land near one of the forts confirmed. Several were making claims for unpaid accounts against the government contractors. Others were threatened with ejection from the houses they occupied. Each case was noted down and the claimant dismissed with assurances that his rights would be secured to him."³⁰

While trying to address each freedman's claim, James was engaged in a months-long campaign to get quality teachers into the region. Many freedpeople had made it known that they would like to have black teachers, and as the war went on they actively sought black teachers themselves, often out of the pool of black soldiers in the region. However, James had his own personal prejudices, including a strong preference for white teachers over black ones. When the home office informed James that they were recruiting black teachers to go south, James demurred. "As to *colored teachers* from the north," he wrote, "I do not see the way clear for them coming among us as yet." Part of James' opposition was political, as he undoubtedly feared the negative local white reactions if northern agents began setting up black schools to be taught exclusively by black teachers. This would weaken the already strained relations between occupied whites and the Union agents. James also believed blacks to be as unskilled as the freedmen in his midst and explained, "I want to bring to the system all the influence of efficiency and even e'clat which *white* teachers can give it, so as to accomplish the most in a short time." For similar reasons, he rebuffed a black minister from Boston who desired to send down colored preachers to the region.³¹

Despite his selective rejections, James had been continually distressed and frustrated by the scarcity of quality teachers. Only two weeks before Hamilton arrived to observe his operations, James had written Secretary Whipple, "I entreat you not to send any more except A No. 1 Teachers. *Privately*, while the first two you sent us possess a lovely & sweet christian character, they lack the promptness, energy... [and] force, which are highly desirable." James was also in the process of dealing with the ineffective George Greene, a problem he resolved on 20 January, by ordering Greene and his sister to go preach and teach at Clubfoot's Creek – as much to get him out of everyone's way as to help the black population in Clubfoot's.³²

His dealings with Greene revealed yet another difficult subject that James had to address delicately – that of coordinating and placating the different benevolent societies, many of which were quite sectarian in their views. For instance, Greene was a Baptist, and James, himself a Congregationalist like most members of the AMA, wrote wearily to Whipple on 16 January, "If the Baptist[s] will only send a man who is smart, and wide awake and *knows* something, we would welcome him. But if you were to withdraw [Greene], they would make a poor show of crying persecution." Indeed, balancing the different societies contributing to the cause of Freedman's relief could be a tricky business. In addition to the AMA, the National Freedman's Relief Association, the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, and the Education Commission of Boston (also known as the Boston Society) – all of which formed in 1862 – and many other private organizations contributed goods, money, and teachers to the relief efforts in North Carolina. It was a heavy burden, as all contributions ultimately flowed through James' office, and he made judgments on where to disperse money, clothes, teachers, books, and other supplies. These societies collectively provided an enormous amount of relief to freedmen in the region. For example, in the first four months of 1864, benevolent societies contributed so much clothing that James distributed nearly 13,000 clothing items worth over \$7,500.³³

The different organizations, though sharing similar goals, did not always get along or agree on how to implement those goals. While Greene had professed, "I am not so Sectarian that I cannot work with *any christian*," James still made a strenuous effort to send only Baptists to cooperate with him, a prospect Greene admitted he found "pleasant and agreeable." William Briggs gave voice to one of the rifts, claiming, on 6 January 1865, in response to the Boston Society's refusal to respond to James' entreaties: "The cause of the Boston Soc[iety] in ignoring the other societies and the Superintendent is unaccountable unless we imputed to them the most unworthy motives." "I have yet to find a class or clique more intolerant," he proclaimed of the Baptist organization, while acknowledging, "I have taken unwearied pains, knowing their jealousy, to avoid the *appearance* of sectarianism."³⁴

Regardless of denomination, those with ministerial proclivities had ample opportunity to aid the local freedpeople. Beaufort and New Bern became centers of black religious resurgence during the Union occupation. Susan Hosmer commented on 11 September 1863, "Here is an increasing religious interest among the colored people." She related how on the last Sunday in August 1863, 50 people were baptized: "A good old colored lady said there never was such a day in Newbern, and she blessed God that she ever saw a Yankee." Previously, whites had forced slaves to observe their own expressive mode of religious worship clandestinely, led by black preachers. Horace James noted that slaves had told him they had never enjoyed preaching by white ministers during slavery days. "The ministers we used to hear would always be telling us to be obedient to our masters on earth and then we should be accepted by our masters in heaven," James recounted. "They never told us we had any rights." As historian David Cecelski deduced, however, slaves must have kept up their own religious practices before the war: "That coastal slaves had worshipped in covert congregations seems certain considering how quickly their churches appeared in occupied Beaufort."³⁵

New Bern housed thousands of freedpeople eager for the establishment of churches as well. James informed the AMA in early June 1863, that "a good man would find full employment and a grand field in the colored camps about the city." He had already met one: Edward S. Fitz, a private in the 43rd Massachusetts, and a strong Methodist, "had been preaching in the largest colored church here ever since last December." Fitz had already decided that when his nine-month regiment was decommissioned in the summer of 1863, he would return to New Bern to continue his work. Indeed, Fitz returned and served in New Bern as a Freedman's Bureau agent through 1866. "They wish to have him, and have already pledged him ample supports," James wrote. He further opined, "This is better than any other way I think, and as the people have chosen their own minister, so let it be. It is their right."³⁶

Other northern ministers disagreed with James' democratic principles when it came to a church's leadership and its message. Congregationalist Reverend Timothy Lyman complained on 30 August 1864, "I am in no wise a sectarian in my feelings... But I claim that the greatest and most immediate demand of this people (the Blacks) is the *correction of some great errors and evils* in their modes of worship." He proclaimed that the errors could only be remedied by instituting a Congregationalist solution, which meant "introducing a new order of churches with educated ministers." Six months later, Lyman was still outraged at the resistance of black churches to submit to white preachers. Lyman lamented, "We seem to be driven to the policy of organizing new churches from the *difficulty* if not *impossibility* of white missionaries gaining access to their pulpits as teachers." Lyman blamed this development on the greedy "*ambition* of their leading men."³⁷

Lyman, as well as many other reformers, denounced what he saw as the ignorance of black preachers: "It is principally *one thing* that they strive to effect in their hearers and that is a *kind of happy personal experience*." He further lamented that "they carry the idea that religion consists chiefly in a kind of joyful exhilaration," instead of a dark denunciation of deathly sin. Indeed,

many northerners dismissed the highly emotional religious tradition of African Americans as “ludicrous and saddening,” and full of “strange, wild ideas.” They found the overwrought and zealous supplicants making their way to the altar and crying in their fevered emotion to be the complete opposite to a rational, ordered form of worship. Like Lyman, many northern missionaries favored an individual reflection on sins, emotional detachment and denial of temptations. However, these missionaries misunderstood the nature of the black communal experience. As Jacqueline Jones has pointed out, “the tenet of individualism was worthless, rarely if ever rewarded by the master class and potentially threatening to group solidarity.” Instead, “slaves religion was one of joy and collective hope, not self-denial and personal guilt.” Black ministers did not undertake the proper program of preaching that dour Congregationalists like Lyman thought absolutely necessary for the morally degraded former slaves: “They do not much preach against the evil habits of their people – as lying, thieving and unfaithfulness in their domestic vows to which they are prone.”³⁸

Despite the unequal nature of their relationship and the disdain northerners often showed for their religious practices, African Americans were quite practical, accepting a certain amount of northern proselytizing while utilizing the benevolent society members to garner the material possessions as well as intellectual lessons they needed to achieve autonomy. One northern missionary in New Bern, who had hoped to convert ignorant former slaves, learned that “Greater good might be done by holding a pair of shoes, or a new frock in one hand, and the Bible in the other.” She noted in January 1864, “It is wonderful how much more influence you can have over those who do not believe, by doing something for their souls and bodies at the same time.” The young woman did not understand that this was most likely part of the freedpeople’s plan. Many former bondsmen recognized the value of playing to northern stereotypes of their ignorance in order to help address their insufficient material possessions, just as they had acted the part of Sambo in slavery times in order to gain concessions from whites. The northern agents slowly began to realize how they were being used. One wrote from Roanoke Island in December 1863, “Yesterday a woman came asking for a flannel for her sick babe. She seemed honest, but there is so much wrongdoing that I am compelled to ascertain always.” However, blacks did gain a certain degree of hope from their interactions with northern missionaries. Though missionaries and teachers believed they were teaching moral and social values, they served as an example of how Reconstruction might offer positive opportunities for freedpeople.³⁹

While missionaries and teachers were trying to redeem former slaves’ spiritual souls and elevate their intellect, respectively, they were actually heightening freedpeople’s awareness of their political bodies, and the rights inherent in being a free person. They offered visions of a promising future in which African Americans could control their own destinies without being beholden to whites. A black soldier’s comment to an AMA agent reveals that African Americans heartily imbibed from this hopeful fount. “Do you know how responsible your situation is?” the soldier asked. “We listen to every word that you utter to us, so that nothing that you utter is lost to any of us. If we do just as you instruct us to do, and we lose our souls, whose fault will it be?” Though this soldier perhaps did fear he would be denied entry into heaven, his quote serves as an effective metaphor for those who did not dread their eternal damnation as much as a potential worldly one. Though freedpeople maintained a healthy dose of skepticism about what northern whites were offering, they still looked to them as the voice of the Federal government’s intentions of post-war aid. If freedpeople diligently followed the advice of their northern deliverers and the promise of respect, economic independence, and personal autonomy did not emerge, their betrayal would be demoralizing.⁴⁰

Ultimately, such betrayals would begin as soon as the war ended. During wartime African Americans had to negotiate with their white counterparts in the hostile world of occupation. After military hostilities ceased, freedpeople faced an equally difficult road, especially as native whites

returned to the area. They also had to deal with the continued and intensified political and religious infighting among the many northern benevolent societies, which hampered efforts at education and uplift in the postwar period. In North Carolina, the AMA competed with several other societies that served under the organizational umbrella of the American Freedmen's Union Commission (AFUC) to establish schools in the region. Rivalry immediately developed between the AMA and the AFUC over the nature of instruction; the AMA preferred a religious foundation, while the AFUC was more secular. While the AMA adhered primarily to a Congregationalist message, the AFUC had tried to avoid any denominational doctrine.⁴¹

Not only was there religious friction between organizations over the nature of the curriculum to be taught, but there was also conflict over finances and location. The AMA cultivated a close relationship with the Freedman's Bureau and, largely because of these connections, managed to obtain substantially more funds from the Bureau than any other aid organization, which caused jealousy among its competitors. Each society also sought to place its teachers in locations that would be both safest and most likely to enjoy success, especially in the face of white hostility. The AMA, as an older, larger organization tended to succeed at getting the choice spots, which also caused resentment among rivals. Joe Richardson relates the story of an envious teacher from the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, who smugly deprecated the AMA as "that modest association, which, having appropriated to itself the worlds above, claims as its own also the Whole of the United States."⁴²

Ultimately, freedpeople took advantage of northern internal dissensions to try to assert control over their community institutions, and such assertions mystified the northern missionaries and teachers. "There is a jealousy of the superintendence of the white man in this matter," acknowledged one teacher. "What [freedpeople] desire is assistance without control." Freedpeople had seen enough of the patronizing, often supercilious, northerners to realize that they needed to exercise their own control whenever possible. They needed all the assistance that missionaries and teachers could give, but as Jacqueline Jones has commented, they knew that "the aid came with strings attached." No matter their own spiritual or educational background, the northern benevolent society agents could not understand the culture of communal self-reliance that slaves had developed during the oppression of slavery.⁴³

The current scholarly consensus is that African Americans led their own educational programs in the Reconstruction era and beyond, with relatively little assistance from northern benevolent societies. Historian James Anderson has demonstrated that despite northern aid, "the foundation of the freedmen's educational movement was their self-reliance and deep-seated desire to control" their own schools. While they appreciated northern assistance, Anderson asserts, "the values of self-help and self-determination underlay the ex-slaves' educational movement." As a result, scholars echo W.E.B. DuBois's statement that, in the South at least, "Public education for all at public expense was... a Negro idea."⁴⁴

Though African Americans ultimately were leaders of their own social, political, and economic advancement, one must not forget the debt many felt they owed northern missionaries and teachers, who challenged institutionalized and cultural racism to aid the freedpeople. George Jenkins was in earnest when he professed his gratitude to his white teacher, writing in 1864, "We will never forget the kind teachers for bringing light to our land, when she was Dark as night." Yet, as this case study of eastern North Carolina reveals, the northerners who offered the educational and spiritual aid to freedpeople encountered many difficulties of their own making. In addition to doctrinal differences with black churches, northern missionary societies experienced serious sectarian conflicts of their own. Missionaries and teachers also bitterly complained about their environment, their duties, and especially their compatriots. Given the often combative nature of the northerners' relationships with each other, it is remarkable that the freedpeople like George Jenkins were able to acquire the educational skills and degree of autonomy that they did.⁴⁵

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Notes

1. Browning, "Removing the Mask of Nationality." For more on black education initiatives in other regions, see Span, "I Must Learn Now or Not at All"; Dollar, *Freedmen's Bureau Schools of Natchitoches Parish*; Crouch, "Black Education in Civil War and Reconstruction Louisiana". Heeding the advice of my friend and esteemed freedmen's education scholar, Ronald E. Butchart, I try to avoid lumping all teachers and missionaries together. While many missionaries were teachers, not all teachers were missionaries, and some (often serving under the auspices of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society and National Freedmen's Relief Association) objected to the narrow sectarianism of true missionaries like those with the AMA. Hence, I try to separate the northerners who came South into missionaries and teachers, recognizing that there was much overlap, but often were distinctions within the two groups as well.
2. Berlin, *Slaves No More*; Harding, *There is a River*; Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*; Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*; Butchart, *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction*; Cornelius, "When Can Read My Title Clear"; Williams, *Self-Taught: African American Education*; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*; Blassingame, *The Slave Community*; Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*.
3. Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 22 (first quotation); Horace James letter, *The Congregationalist*, 8 June 1866 (second quotation); Click, *Time Full of Trial*, 15 (third quotation); Wolfe, "Women Who Dared," 12 (fourth quotation); Butchart, *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction*, 23 (sixth quotation). James's attitudes (and the same quotation) can also be found in Reilly, "Reconstruction Through Regeneration," 159. See also Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love*; Butchart, *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks*.
4. For the best discussion of racism among the northern aid workers, see Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind*, 165–97.
5. For more on the Sea Islands, see Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*; for more on Roanoke Island colony, see Click, *Time Full of Trial*.
6. James, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina, 1864*, 3, 6, 12; 1860 U.S. Census, Carteret and Craven Counties, Population and Slave Schedules.
7. *The Liberator*, 11 July 1862 (first and second quotations); Henry A. Clapp to mother, 14 March 1863, in Barden, ed., *Letters to the Home Circle*, 150 (third quotation). W.E.B. DuBois suggested that about 5 percent of slaves learned to read, while Genovese believes it may be even higher. See Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 563.
8. Susan A. Hosmer to "Honored Father," 11 Sept. 1863, Doc. 99713, Roll 150, American Missionary Association Manuscripts (Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, La.; on microfilm at the University of Georgia Library; hereinafter cited as AMA).
9. Special Order No. 65, 30 March 1862, Part I, General Records, Correspondence, General and Special Orders, Department of North Carolina, Departments of North Carolina and Virginia, 1861–1865, RG 393 (Colyer's appointment); Charles M. Duren to "Mother and father," 2 May 1862, Charles M. Duren Papers (Special Collections & Archives, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, Ga.) (quotations); Jones, "A Glorious Work", 29–30; Horace James to "My dear friends at the O.S. Sabbath School," 21 June 1862, Horace James Correspondence (American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.; hereinafter cited as AAS) (Lincoln's permission).
10. Susan A. Hosmer to "Honored Father," 11 Sept. 1863, Doc. 99713 (first quotation), George W. Jenkins to "Sarah," 29 June 1864, Doc. 99895 (second quotation), Roll 150, AMA. Susan Hosmer was one of the four teachers who taught at the opening of the first two missionary schools in New Bern on 23 July 1863. See James, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina*, 39.
11. "Appeal for the Freedmen," *American Missionary*, 7, 1 (1863), p.13 (quotation); Drake, "The American Missionary Association and the Southern Negro," 1–7. For more on the teachers, see Butchart, "Perspectives on Gender, Race, Calling, and Commitment"; Small, "The Yankee Schoolmarm in Freedmen's Schools"; Swint *The Northern Teacher in the South*; Williams, *Self-Taught: African American Education*.
12. Drake, "The American Missionary Association and the Southern Negro," 1–7; Beard, *A Crusade of Brotherhood*, 23–32; Click, *Time Full of Trial*, 9 (first and second quotations); Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 20 (third and fourth quotations).

13. Jones, "A Glorious Work," 45–51; Valentine, *Story of Co. F, 23d Massachusetts*, 65 (first quotation); Miss Emily Gill to Reverend S.S. Jocelyn, 11 Jan. 1864, Doc. 99734, Roll 150, AMA (second, third, and fourth quotations).
14. Valentine, *Story of Co. F, 23d Massachusetts*, 65 (first quotation); Jones, "A Glorious Work," 47 (Bibles); Horace James to Old South Sabbath School, 25 May 1863, James Correspondence, AAS (second quotation). For more information on James's prewar educational activities, see J.B. Miles to Horace James, 7 Jan. 1861; Horace James to George Chandler, 14 July 1860; Robert Allyn to Horace James, 21 Jan. 1856, James Correspondence, AAS.
15. James, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina, 1864*, 20 (quotations); Reilly, "Reconstruction Through Regeneration," 73–74.
16. James, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina, 1864*, 39 (1865 schools); Fen, "Notes on the Education of Negroes in North Carolina," 25 (1864 schools and enrollment).
17. Henry Wellington to Abby, 15 April 1863, Henry F. Wellington Papers (typescript) (microfilm) (Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass; hereinafter cited as MHS) (first quotation); Horace James to Old South Sabbath School, 25 May 1863, James Correspondence, AAS (second quotation); Carrie Getchell to George Whipple, 29 Feb. 1864, Doc. 99777, Roll 150, AMA (third and fourth quotations); N.D. Francis to George Whipple, 6 Jan. 1865, Doc. No. 99932, Roll 150, AMA (fifth and sixth quotations).
18. Emmerton, *A Record of the Twenty-third Regiment Massachusetts*, 97 (first quotation); Mary Peabody to Livy, 23 February 1863, Oliver W. Peabody Papers, MHS (second quotation); William Briggs quoted in Jones, "A Glorious Work," 41–42 (third quotation); Entry for 16 Nov. 1864, Edmund J. Cleveland Diary, Edmund J. Cleveland Papers (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) (fourth quotation); Letter from Rev. G.N. Green, 23 October 1863, *American Missionary* 7, 12 (1863), p.280 (fifth quotation).
19. Rev. William Hamilton to "My Dear Rev. Jocelyn," 19 Jan. 1864, Doc. 99732, Roll 150, AMA (first and second quotations); Fen, "Notes on the Education of Negroes in North Carolina," 26n11 (third quotation).
20. W.T. Briggs to George Whipple, 3 March 1865, Doc. 99970 (first quotation), Horace James to [George Whipple], 24 Aug. 1863, Doc. 99710 (second quotation), Roll 150, AMA; Jones, "A Glorious Work," 48–51 (Fort Totten).
21. Emily Gill to Reverend S.S. Jocelyn, 24 Feb. 1864, Doc. 99775 (first quotation), Emily Gill to Reverend S.S. Jocelyn, 2 March 1864, Doc. 99784 (second and third quotations), George C. Whipple, Susan A. Hosmer, and Rev. S.S. Jocelyn to "Honored Fathers," 25 Aug. 1863, Doc. 99711 (fourth quotation), Roll 150, AMA; Entry for 3 Feb. 1864, James Rumley Diary, Levi Woodbury Pigott Collection, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, N.C. (third quotation); *American Missionary*, 8, 5 (1864), p.128–9 (Gill returns north).
22. Farnham and King, "The March of the Destroyer"; E.J. Harness to George Whipple, 15 March 1864, Doc. 99790 (quotation), Roll 150, AMA.
23. Carrie Getchell to George Whipple, 15 Feb. 1864, Doc. 99773 (first and second quotations), Roll 150, AMA; B.F. Maxwell to Horace James, 17 March 1864, James Correspondence, AAS (third and fourth quotations).
24. Miss A.S. Etheridge to Rev. S.S. Jocelyn, 30 Nov. 1863, Doc. 99721, Roll 150, AMA.
25. Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 171 (first and second quotations); Horace James to George Whipple, 15 Aug. 1864, Doc. 99877 (third and fourth quotations), Horace James to George Whipple, 26 Aug. 1864, Doc. 99880 (sixth quotation), Roll 150, AMA; Horace James letter, *The Congregationalist*, 7 Feb. 1862 (fifth quotation).
26. Nellie Stearns To "Lizzie," 5 Nov. 1865, Nellie F. Stearns Papers (Rare Book, Manuscript and Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, N.C.).
27. William Briggs to George Whipple, 3 Dec. 1864, Doc. 99910 (first quotation), Carrie M. Getchell to George Whipple, 18 Jan. 1864, Doc. 99744 (second, third, and fourth quotations), Roll 150, AMA; Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 28 (Briggs as superintendent).
28. Horace James to "Dear Bro," 16 Jan. 1864, Doc. 99742 (first and second quotations) (emphasis in original), William Hamilton to "Bro. Jocelyn," 25 Jan. 1864, Doc. 99756 (third quotation), Roll 150, AMA; Eli Whittlesey to George Whipple, 2 Aug. 1865, Letters Sent, Volume I, Roll 1, Records of the Commissioner for the State of North Carolina, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865 1870, Record Group 105, National Archives, Washington, D.C. [microfilm, M843] (fourth quotation).

29. Rev. William Hamilton to "My Dear Rev. Jocelyn," 19 Jan. 1864, Doc. 99732 (first quotation), William Hamilton to "Bro. Jocelyn," 25 Jan. 1864, Doc. 99756 (second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth quotations), Roll 150, AMA.
30. Rev. William Hamilton to "My Dear Rev. Jocelyn," 19 Jan. 1864, Doc. 99732, Roll 150, AMA.
31. Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 170–71; Horace James to Rev. George Whipple, 15 Sept. 1863, Doc. 99717, Roll 150, AMA (first, second, and third quotations) (emphases in original); Reilly, "Reconstruction through Regeneration," 69 (rebuffing black minister).
32. Horace James to "Dear Bro.," 4 Jan. 1864, Doc. 99731 (first quotation) (emphasis in original), Horace James to "Dear Bro.," 16 Jan. 1864, Doc. 99742, Horace James to "Dear Bro.," 20 Jan. 1864, Doc. 99746, Roll, 150, AMA.
33. Horace James to "Dear Bro.," 16 Jan. 1864, Doc. 99742 (quotation) (emphasis in original), Horace James to George Whipple, 15 Sept. 1863, Doc. 99717 (Relief associations); Drake, "The American Missionary Association and the Southern Negro," 13 (formation); Reilly, "Reconstruction Through Regeneration," 63–5 (relief statistics on p. 64). It is difficult to ascertain how many freedman's aid societies developed during and after the war. One scholar identifies 81 societies, but Richard Drake believes there were probably even more than that. See Drake, "The American Missionary Association and the Southern Negro," 14.
34. G.N. Green to "Bro. Jocelyn," 10 Oct. 1863, Doc. 99719 (first and second quotations) (emphasis original), William Briggs to George Whipple, 6 Jan. 1865, Doc. 99934 (third, fourth, and fifth quotations) (emphasis in original), Roll 150, AMA.
35. Susan A. Hosmer to "Honored Father," 11 Sept. 1863, Doc. 99713, Roll 150, AMA (first and second quotations); Horace James to "My Dear Friends of the O.S. Sabbath School," 21 June 1862, James Correspondence, AAS (third and fourth quotations); Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 167–9 (quote on p. 168–9).
36. Horace James to "Reverend and Dear Sir" [Reverend S.S. Jocelyn], 10 June 1863, Doc. 99702, Roll 150, AMA.
37. T. Lyman to George Whipple, 30 Aug. 1864, Doc. 99881 (first and second quotations) (emphases in original); Timothy Lyman to George Whipple, 27 Feb. 1865, Doc. 99958 (third and fourth quotations), Roll 150, AMA.
38. Timothy Lyman to George Whipple, 27 Feb. 1865, Doc. 99958 (first, second, and seventh quotations) (emphases in original), Roll 150, AMA; Hubbard, *The Campaign of the Forty-fifth Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia*, 82 (third quotation); Letter of H.S. Beals, August 1863, *American Missionary*, 7, no. 10 (1863): 230 (fourth quotation); Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love*, 67 (fifth and sixth quotations).
39. Letter from Miss Burnap, 18 Jan. 1864, *American Missionary*, 8, no. 3 (1864): 65 (first and second quotations); Letter from Miss E. James, [Dec. 1863], *American Missionary*, 8, no. 2 (1864): 39 (third quotation).
40. Letter from Chaplain Talbot, *American Missionary*, 9, no. 1 (1865): 6.
41. Alexander, *North Carolina Faces the Freedmen* 159–164; Drake, "The American Missionary Association and the Southern Negro," 17.
42. Alexander, *North Carolina Faces the Freedmen*, 154–159; Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 72–84 (quotation on p. 72).
43. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 5 (first and second quotations); Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love*, 4 (third quotation). See also Goldhaber, "A Mission Unfulfilled: Freedmen's Education in North Carolina"; Jones, "A Glorious Work."
44. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 5–6. See also Butchart, *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks*; Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love*; Jones, "A Glorious Work"; Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*; Morris, *Reading, Riting, and Reconstruction*; Williams, *Self-Taught: African American Education*.
45. George W. Jenkins to "Sarah," 29 June 1864, Doc. 99895, Roll 150, AMA.

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