

The History of Alabama State College

by

Harold A. Franklin

A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Auburn University
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of
Master of Art

Auburn, Alabama
May 3, 2020

[Alabama, Education, African Americans, Alabama State University, Historically Black
Colleges and Universities, Montgomery]

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Approved by

Keith S. Hébert, Chair Associate Professor, History Department
Jennifer E. Brooks, Associate Professor and Director of Graduate Studies, History Department
David C. Carter, Hollifield Associate Professor of Southern History, History Department
Austin McCoy, Assistant Professor, History Department

Abstract

Alabama State College, now Alabama State University, has played an instrumental part in providing exceptional educational opportunities for generations of African Americans in Alabama and beyond. The university has withstood the prevailing racial discriminatory public policies enacted by the State of Alabama to preserve a social order founded upon expressions of white supremacy and black inferiority. The many achievements of Alabama State University's faculty and students exposed the logical fallacies that supported Alabama's Jim Crow laws.

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List of Abbreviations

AMA	American Missionary Association
ACPU	Alabama Colored People's University
NSCS	Normal School for Colored Students
SAMC	State Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes

Introduction

Before 1873, the Alabama state government had made no provision for a Negro state college. Why Alabama had not thought about its colored citizens is a mystery. Maybe, Alabama felt that the Freedmen's Bureau and the American Missionary Association (AMA) would continue to do the job for them. Another reason could have been that the Negroes had not asked for an institution supported by state funds. Possibly, the state felt that it would be a waste of public funds to attempt to educate the ex-slave. Whatever the reasons were, Alabama did not provide for colored children as it was doing for white children.

Other southern states such as Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee had at least one state supported institution of higher learning for Negroes. Indeed, there was only one college in Alabama that accepted Negro students. This college was Talladega College, a private college sponsored by the AMA. At the same time, the state maintained two white colleges: the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa, and the Alabama Agriculture and Mechanical College (Alabama A&M) in Auburn, which had become a state supported institution in 1872.¹

Alabama's Negroes had sought an institution of higher learning supported by public funds as early as 1871, but they had not experienced much success. It was not until 1873 that the legislature made an appropriation for the establishment of a normal school and university. Negroes sought such an institution because they were not permitted to attend the white state colleges. It can be stated accurately that the small amount of funds voted by the legislature did not create a college much less a university for Negroes. However, this did not deter the efforts of those who saw the need for educating the colored race.

¹ Albert B. Moore, *History of Alabama*, (Tuscaloosa, AL: Alabama Bookstore, 1951), 682.

With the limited funds allocated by the legislature, a school for Negroes opened in Marion, Alabama as the State Normal School for Colored Students. Marion was chosen because the commissioners of Lincoln Normal School offered its building and land to the state at no cost. A graduate of this school would be given a certificate when all requirements were met. After four years of study, a student's mastery of requirements would be determined through oral examination over instructional materials.

While the institution was in Marion, the curricula consisted of the following courses: spelling, Latin, history, algebra, physiology, natural philosophy, reading, writing, geography, grammar, and arithmetic.² With the completion of these courses, the students were given a high school diploma.

In 1886, the legislature changed the name of the institution to the Alabama Colored People's University (ACPU). The university had been at Marion for more than ten years. However, at the time of the name change, the legislature provided for the school's movement to a new location. It was to be located wherever the white citizens of a city permitted or showed no objections to the establishment of a colored school. Why was ACPU removed from Marion? It appears that the officials of Howard College, a white institution sponsored by the Alabama Baptist Association in Marion, asked the legislature for the removal of the school for Negroes. It appears that as a result of a disturbance following a fire in downtown Marion, two white male students from Howard alleged that they were cut by a Negro student from ACPU. Since the white citizens resented the Negro institution in Marion, the legislature had been pressured to remove the school.

² Alabama Department of Education *Journal of the Board of Education of the State Alabama*, (Montgomery 1875), 48-55.

ACPU then moved to Montgomery because the Negroes there gave the proposed school the needed funds and land. Here, as in Marion, the school was rebuffed by some white citizens who even saw fit to have an injunction issued against the establishment of a university for Negroes.

Since the Negroes were without a building in which classes could be resumed, the president of the proposed school appealed to the Negro citizens for help. This appeal was heeded and the Negro ministers and their churches in Montgomery were used to continue the education of the colored young people.

To facilitate the establishment of the Alabama Colored People's University, the legislature passed subsequent legislation. With the passage of the new legislation and the help of the Negro citizens, the institution was finally moved and created. Today, it is known as Alabama State University.

Though the legislature created the institution as a college or university, it was only a paper education. A person who graduated from the ACPU would only have a high school education at best. It was not until 1919 that even a junior college curriculum was introduced at ACPU.

Chapter 1

On July 20, 1871, during a special meeting of the Alabama Board of Education and Regents, the subject of higher education for Negroes first became a major issue. This meeting was held on the campus of the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa. The board consisted of the following men: W.P. Miller of the First District; Peyton Finley and J.R. Ard of the Second District; Thomas Cook of the Third District; Joseph H. Speed of the Fourth District; B.I. Harrison and W.H. Clayton of the Fifth District; F.W. Henderson and E.F. Comegys of the Sixth District; and J.H. Sears and William Smith of the Seventh District. The members chosen for the Board of Education represented each congressional district of the state of Alabama.

Peyton Finley of the Second District was the sole Negro on the Board of Education.¹ Finley had no formal education, and according to Walter L. Fleming in *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, no ability. Yet, Fleming describes him as a sensible Negro and an improvement over his white predecessors on the board. A doorkeeper for the first Board of Education, Finley had been elected for a four-year term in 1870. Prior to this job, he had been a member of the Radical Republican Convention of 1867 and the legislature in the same year.²

Although not formally educated himself, Finley determined that Alabama should provide higher education for Negroes. When the time came in the roll call for matters pertaining to the Second District, Finley presented the following resolution:

W[herein], the public good demands the establishment in this state of a university for the education of the colored race of this state, and [whereas], the present financial condition of the state university is such as to prevent much aid to a university for colored people for some time to come; and [whereas], the colored race has no desire or inclination, nor would they under any circumstances attempt to interfere with the activity of the state university, by any claim or pretext to right thereto: Be it therefore [resolved],

¹ Alabama Department of Education. *Journal and Acts of the Board of Education and Regents of the State of Alabama*, (Montgomery 1871), 8

² Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1905), 617.

that the Superintendent of Public Instruction be, and is hereby authorized to make application as heretofore to urge upon the Congress of the United States, at its next session, in behalf of this Board, and the state of Alabama, for a grant of public lands and of such a university and an additional grant-in-aid of the public schools of this state.³

It appears that when Finley spoke of, “a grant of public lands and an additional grant-in-aid” he had reference to the Morrill Land-Grants Act of 1862, which provided for each state to receive thirty thousand acres of public lands for each of its congressional representatives.⁴ According to the Morrill Land-Grants Act, the proceeds from the sale of this land could be used for education in agriculture, engineering, and military science. The state could sell a portion of the land and use the money for educational purposes. The remainder of the land could be used to establish and build an institution.⁵

Apparently, nothing came of Finley’s resolution. However, he persisted. On November 28, 1871, Finley introduced an “act to establish a university for the education of colored students,” which was then read twice and referred to the Committee on Revision.⁶ The bill was reported out of the committee on December 2nd by Booth, and a discussion followed. Comegys spoke against the measure. He favored educating colored people, but he believed that the establishment of a university for them should be postponed to a more appropriate time. Therefore, he moved to lay the bill on the table, but his motion was defeated.

³ Alabama Department of Education. *Journal and Acts of the Board of Education and Regents of the State of Alabama*, (Montgomery 1871), 8.

⁴ Alabama Department of Education. *Journal and Acts of the Board of Education and Regents of the State of Alabama*, (Montgomery 1871), 8.

⁵ Land-Grant College Act of 1862, US Code 7 (1862) § 301 et seq.

⁶ Alabama Department of Education. *Journal and Acts of the Board of Education and Regents of the State of Alabama*, (Montgomery 1871), 48; Horace M. Bond, *Negro Education on Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel*, (Washington D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1939), 107.

Next, Booth moved that the bill be referred to a specialist committee of Finley, Smith, and himself.⁷ Smith was a Democrat from Auburn and was working for the location of a land grant college in that town.⁸

When the bill came up on December 11, 1871, Speed made a substitute amendment, which passed. Because it doubled state appropriations for Lincoln Normal School in Marion, this bill was seen as a viable alternative to creating a new state-funded university for colored people.⁹

Then Finley called up his bill, “to establish a university for the education of colored students.”¹⁰ To determine the bill’s passage, the Yeas and Nays were ordered, and the results were as follows: the Yeas included Ard, Booth, Finley, Miller, Sears, and Speed for a total of six votes, and the Nays included Clayton, Comegys, Cook, Harrison, Henderson, and Smith for a total of six votes. As the votes were tied, the President of the Board of Education, Joseph Hodgson, voted in the negative to break the tie.¹¹ It can be ascertained, without a doubt, that some members of the board had no desire at this time to establish an institution of higher learning for Negroes. On the other hand, there were those members of the board who favored Finley’s sponsored bill and fought for its passage.

Finley introduced a resolution for the creation of the university for the colored race on December 13, 1871. The resolution reads as follows:

To ask the General Assembly that in disposing of the funds arising from the donations of Congress to the State of Alabama for the purpose of aiding or establishing [an] agriculture College – they will give a portion of it for the aid of the university for the colored race of this state: Be it [resolved], that we ask and petition to the General Assembly to apportion a part of the final arising from the sale of land given by Congress

⁷ Alabama Department of Education. *Journal and Acts of the Board of Education and Regents of the State of Alabama*, (Montgomery 1871), 55; Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, 107.

⁸ Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 616.

⁹ Alabama Department of Education. *Journal and Acts of the Board of Education and Regents of the State of Alabama*, (Montgomery 1871); Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, 108.

¹⁰ Alabama Department of Education. *Journal and Acts of the Board of Education and Regents of the State of Alabama*, (Montgomery 1871).

¹¹ Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, 73-75.

to the State of Alabama, for the purpose of aiding in the establishing of an agriculture college for the colored race.¹²

The resolution passed the Board of Education but apparently had no effect on the General Assembly. Rather than provide for a state-funded Negro institution, the General Assembly established the East Alabama Male College in Auburn as a land grant college and changing its name to the Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College (Alabama A&M).¹³

The State of Alabama now maintained two institutions of higher learning for white students and none for colored students. To help persuade Alabama to support the education of its colored citizens, the commissioners of Lincoln Normal School at Marion, one of the many privately endowed institutions controlled by the AMA, presented a report to the Board of Education in 1873 requesting the establishment of a university for Negroes. They reported that they had:

...introduced practical grammar, history, physiology, natural philosophy, higher arithmetic, algebra and composition, and all of this work had been done by one teacher. This is three times the work now than there was at the organization of the school. They have been obliged to introduce the last named subjects, to satisfy the advancing conditions of the colored race, and in view of the fact that they have no state university. The fact can no longer be evaded, nor ignored, that if the colored people of the state have their just educational rights, they must have a university for higher instruction.¹⁴

Later in 1873, Sears introduced a resolution, “to locate a colored university.”¹⁵ It was decided by Alabama’s Board of Education to ask Congress to appropriate lands for maintaining a university for Negroes.¹⁶ It would appear from the statement above that Alabama’s legislators were again evading their duties by not attempting to finance a colored college.

¹² Alabama Department of Education. *Journal and Acts of the Board of Education and Regents of the State of Alabama*, (Montgomery 1871), 81.

¹³ Needs Citation

¹⁴ Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, 108.

¹⁵ Alabama Department of Education. *Journal of the Board of Education*, (Montgomery 1873), 16; Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, 108.

¹⁶ Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, 108.

Finley was not a member of the Board of Education when Sears introduced his resolution. He had lost his place in early 1873 when the board drew lots according to the law to select those men who should serve for two or for four years terms.¹⁷

On December 5, 1873, William Smith of the Third District introduced an act to provide for the location of a university for colored teachers and students. A substitute was adopted the following day as Act XVII. The act had five sections, which outlined requirements for the endowment of a Negro college. The first section provided that the establishment of the institution was contingent on the donation of the Lincoln Normal School to the state. The act also established only a state normal school and no university for colored students. Students who went to school had to sign a pledge that they would teach in Alabama for two years following graduation. However, a student could pay a rather liberal tuition of \$240 to be released from the pledge. The state appropriation for the normal school was only \$2,000 annually, which came from the Common School fund. The new school's board of directors which consisted of seven men included five Negroes: Porter King, John Harris, A.H. Curtis, John Dozier, John T. Dozier, and two white members, Superintendent Speed and J.H. Sears. The bill's aim was expressed as follows: "The act was intended to provide for liberal education of the colored race in the same manner as was provided already for the education of the white race."¹⁸

Foster was an ordained Baptist minister, and for a number of years, he was the pastor of the First Baptist Church for Negroes in Montgomery. Curtis and Dozier had been prominent in the Republican Party during the Reconstruction era.¹⁹ Harris and King were successful businessmen in Marion as well as being "good" Republicans. The Board of Education normally

¹⁷ Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, 108-109.

¹⁸ Alabama Department of Education. *Journal of the Board of Education*, (Montgomery 1873), 16-19; See also: Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, 109.

¹⁹ *Marion Commonwealth* (Marion, AL), March 26, 1874.

selected the Negroes from the business field and from the ministry. This group of men was considered outstanding at this time. Sears, the white man, was also a businessman who gave rise to the Sears-Roebuck Department stores throughout the South.

Act XVII contained several notable features. First, it cost the state no appropriations for the support of a school fund for Negroes. Next, there was no vote regarding the act, so it can be said that this oversight was a political maneuver on the part of both the Democratic and Republican parties. By giving the institution the name of a university to a school, the legislators attempted to appease the Negroes.²⁰ Finally, Alabama's Board of Education changed its attitude by sanctioning the idea of an institution of higher learning for Negroes even though the project was a delusion for the members of the Negro race.²¹ At this time, the whites had no intentions of making attempts to provide for equal education of both races.

Act XVII does cause one to wonder, because this institution was neither a college nor a university. According to Webster's dictionary, "a university is an institution organized for teaching and study in the higher branches of learning and empowered to confer degrees in special departments such as theology, law, medicine, arts."²² Yet the only degrees conferred at the State Normal School for Colored Students (State Normal) would be for completed normal courses. The receipt of this degree would require a study of two years. Furthermore, it was stated in Act XVII that a certificate would be conferred on the graduation from the normal school. Likewise, the \$2,000 annual appropriation could not maintain an institution of higher learning.

²⁰ Alabama Department of Education. *Journal of the Board of Education*, (Montgomery 1873), 16-19.

²¹ Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, 107.

²² Grove, Philip Babcock. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language. Unabridged*, (Springfield, MA: G&C Merriam Co, 1968), 20502.

The next step came when the Board of Directors met to implement Act XVII. This meeting occurred in Marion on December 13, 1873. They elected Speed, president of the board, Harris, secretary, and W.R. Brown, a local Negro minister, treasurer.

The board then elected George N. Card, a Negro, as the superintendent of the newly established Normal school. Card was also to be sole instructor in the newly created Department of Languages and Literature. Willis's education background consisted only of completion of Normal courses offered at Oberlin College in Ohio. He was a member of the white race. During this period, it was not uncommon for Negro schools to be staffed entirely with white personnel.

For the provision of a building for the new institution, the AMA now entered the picture and their offer of the Lincoln School's property was accepted by the Board of Directors. The state was not asked by the AMA to pay any amount of money for use of the building, and the state did not offer the association any recompense. This occurrence was part of the agreement between the state of Alabama and the AMA. There were 70 pupils in attendance the first year. They were taught spelling, reading, writing, geography, grammar, arithmetic, Latin, history, algebra, physiology, and natural philosophy. This was a total of eleven subjects. There were two departments, the Language and Literature Department and the Mathematics and Science Department, sometimes called the Normal Department. The faculty consisted of two teachers.²³ With only two teachers and 70 students, it appeared that the state did not live up to Act XVII's guidelines. For this education was to be the equivalent of what the white students were getting in their two schools, the board did not understand what was meant by separate but equal. The students at the State Normal could not possibly get an adequate education with only two teachers

²³ Alabama Department of Education, *Journal of the Board of Education*, (Montgomery 1875), 48-50.

who taught eleven different subjects. It is further doubtful whether these two people were trained for such an enormous task.

At the close of the term, oral examinations were held in both departments. According to the board's official report, the students had been, "thorough[ly] taught" in all their subjects.²⁴ The public was invited to these examinations. The prominent patrons of the school, both black and white, made addresses. In their addresses, the patrons would normally tell how proud they were of the classes and the school.

The next term started October 1, 1874 with 60 pupils in the Mathematics and Science Department, and nearly as many in the Language and Literature Department. However, a new teacher had to be recruited when Willis died unexpectedly. No teacher was recruited, however, that year which makes one think that the board did not seek every possible means to secure a needed instructor. Card alone taught all courses that year.

The courses offered in the new term consisted of reading, writing, geography, spelling, grammar, arithmetic, history, Latin, French, Greek, composition, declamation, algebra, and chemistry.

Since the appropriation from the state only covered the salaries of the teachers, it was found necessary to solicit funds for needed equipment. One such need was science equipment. With no funds available for necessary items, Professor Card had to raise approximately \$500 by soliciting private contributions. Card used this money to purchase a complete set of chemical and philosophical instruments, including a finely adjusted microscope, magnifying 625,500 times.²⁵

²⁴ NEEDS CITATION

²⁵Alabama Department of Education, *Journal of the Board of Education*, (Montgomery 1875), 48-50; See also: Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, 110.

According to the Board of Education's report in 1874, "the building was ample now to make the 'university' first class."²⁶ It might seem that the board had low standards by which they evaluated the school. In 1867, members of the AMA incorporated the Lincoln Normal School on July 18th. But this single framed wooden building had no proper upkeep because of the lack of money given to the Lincoln School by the state. Yet, the state maintained that it was educating its colored citizens as it was doing for its white citizens. The one thing that was obviously needed was more money. The state's appropriation was not sufficient to pay the professors such salaries as they deserved. Even in those days with the limited funds of Alabama, \$2,000 was a ridiculous amount for a normal school budget. Needless to say, the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa had \$24,000 with which to pay its professors. The Board of Education in turn requested a budget increase of over 100 percent. Of the \$5,000 asked for, two professors were to be paid \$1800 each with two assistant professors at \$600 each.²⁷

In the short time that the institution had been operating, the State Board of Education reported that over thirty teachers had been put into the field of teaching in Alabama and adjoining states. It must be remembered though, that the majority of those teachers had completed or practically completed the necessary requirements for graduation before the state assumed the responsibility of maintaining the educational facilities in Marion. Also, the board appeared to believe in quantity education and not quality education for its colored citizens.²⁸

Professor Card was the only teacher at State Normal at this time, and he taught a total of eighteen subjects to 55 students, according to the board's official report. Yet, one could question the board's report concerning the number of subjects Card actually taught, for it is felt that one

²⁶ NEED CITATION

²⁷ Alabama Department of Education, *Journal of Acts of the Board of Education*, (Montgomery 1874), 48-50.

²⁸ Alabama Department of Education, *Journal of Acts of the Board of Education*, (Montgomery 1874), 48-50.

person could not adequately teach as many different subjects as he did. Second, could Card actually prepare himself to give the students a good understanding of the eighteen subjects that were offered at State Normal at this time? It is felt that Card, though attempting to carry on the work of at least two teachers, was not qualified to do a satisfactory job. With these factors in mind, it was quite obvious that more money and teachers were needed to educate adequately the Negro students.

However, for teaching eighteen subjects that term, Card was paid \$1,584 out of the \$2,000 appropriation. Of the \$416 left, King, Harris, and Curtis, asked the Board of Education to use the proceeds to purchase globes, maps, physiological charts, and more chemical apparatus. There is no record as to the disposition of the excess funds, for there is a possibility that the board agreed with King, Harris, and Curtis.²⁹

Between November 11th and December 15th of 1874, the Board of Education amended sections one and two of Act XVII. The act had two sections. The first section stated that the state's appropriation to State Normal was increased to 100 percent. The \$4,000 appropriation was to become effective the first of the calendar year. The second section stated that the amendment named Porter King, John Harris, C.W. Lovelace, John Moore, Peter Hunt, N.B. Mardis, and A.H. Curtis, as the new board of directors. State Normal's new board of directors had a total of five Negroes and two white men. Lovelace and Moore were the two white men. Moore had just been elected Superintendent of Public Institutions on the Democratic ticket. Lovelace was a Marion businessman as well as a loyal Democrat. Mardis was an ordained Baptist minister in Marion, and Hurt was a businessman in Marion. King, Harris, and Curtis

²⁹Alabama Department of Education, *Journal of Acts of the Board of Education*, (Montgomery 1874), 48-50.

were the only Republicans on the board. As soon as a vacancy on the board occurred, the Republican would be replaced with a Democrat.

The next step came when the board of directors met to continue the implementation of Act XVII. The implementation occurred in Marion on December 20, 1874. They elected John Moore as president, Charles W. Lovelace as secretary, and W.R. Brow as treasurer of the new institution.³⁰ The next task for the board was to increase the faculty for the State Normal School and University since Card was still the only person teaching the thirty to forty students enrolled. The need for more faculty members was obvious, so the board proceeded with re-electing Card chairman of the faculty with a salary of \$1500 per session. The board then hired John Silsby and George H. Bemis as assistant teachers at salaries of \$1,000 each per session.³¹ Both men were white and had been instrumental in educating Negroes through the Freedmen's Bureau, prior to this appointment.

On October 1, 1875, the next session of school opened with 70 students in attendance. Bemis declined to return to State Normal to teach, and the Board of Directors hired as the school's first woman professor, Miss Edith Ballard, a white northerner. She was paid \$600 per session. It is interesting to note that Miss Ballard was only paid a fraction of the amount that the male professors were paid though she was hired on the same basis as the men were. Card's salary continued at \$1,500 yearly, but Silsby's salary was increased to \$1,200 per session. The school made one improvement that year. Each student who anticipated becoming a teacher was required to teach under the supervision of his or her instructor. It is worth noting that classes began at 9:00 am and continued until 5:00 pm, five days a week with two recesses daily.

³⁰ Alabama Department of Education, *Journal of the Board of Education*, (Montgomery 1875), 52-54.

³¹ Alabama Department of Education, *Reports of the State Department of Education*, (Montgomery 1875), 122-123

The school building was heated by coal and wood stoves. Lighting of the building was done with oil lamps, but there was not too much need for the lamps since school was only held during the daylight hours. No activities were held at night.

The extracurricular activities of both the students and the faculty consisted of musical entertainment usually by the student body. Also, religion played a great part for both groups of people. The most popular extracurricular activity of the school was the devotional services sponsored by the local churches.³²

The educational background of the students was limited. Yet, with the help of the AMA, the students benefitted to some degree. All students attending the State Normal school when the state acquired the institution had been taught by the AMA.³³

The economic status of the students entering this institution was probably the lowest. Since the Negro had been freed from slavery only a short time, one can readily see that the Negro students could not have attained much of an economic status at all. Basically, the students could only boast of being children of poor farmers. When these same students finished their education, the profession of teaching was the only one opened to them in the South. Some others would go back to farming while a few continued their education elsewhere.

From 1876 to 1877, there are no records for State Normal. However, according to the 1878 records, the institution appears to have been operating just as it had in 1875 without any major changes.

In 1878, the state of Alabama put into effect new laws pertaining to its public-school system. The new laws for the state normal school at Marion had six sections. First, From the

³² Alabama Department of Education, *Reports of the State Department of Education*, (Montgomery 1875), 122-123

³³ John C. Anderson, interview by author, Montgomery, March 10, 1965.

state's \$4,000 annual appropriation, 4 percent of it was to be used for repairs and maintenance. Second, any vacancy on the board caused by death, resignation, otherwise would be filled by the remaining members of the board. Next, those persons who were elected secretary and treasurer could only hold their respective offices for one year. The new laws specified that the applicants for admission to State Normal must be at least fourteen years old. The laws indicated that a public school or other institution could be established in connection with State Normal at the Board of Director's discretion. Finally, money belonging to the normal school would be drawn semi-annually from the state and not annually as had been the case before.³⁴

In the session that ended in June 1878, there was a total of 79 students enrolled at State Normal. A.H. Curtis, a faithful member of the school's board of directors was killed accidentally in July, and the Reverend William McAlpline, a colored minister, was elected to fill the vacancy.

In 1878, Card resigned because of poor health as president of the faculty, and William Burns Patterson was hired to be his replacement.³⁵ Patterson was born February 9, 1849 in Tullibody, Scotland. Patterson had only three years of formal education but had insight. Later, he immigrated to the northern section of the United States. While there, he worked at odd jobs to help support himself. After a few months of labor in the north, Patterson succeeded in reaching the South and settled near Greensboro, Alabama. Seeing the necessity of a school for Negroes, he began the very first school for them.³⁶ Patterson had a vast knowledge of flowers and continued this pursuit until his death. Patterson's Rosemont Garden in Montgomery was a flower shop forwarded by himself.

³⁴ Alabama State Congress, *Laws Relating to the Public-School System of Alabama*, (Montgomery 1881), 57-59.

³⁵ Alabama Department of Education, *Report of Leroy F. Box, Superintendent of Education* (Montgomery, 1879), xii-xiv.

³⁶ Anderson interview.

When the school term opened September 30, 1878, there were 54 male students and 75 female students enrolled. This was a total of 129 students.

The teachers and their salaries for the 1878 school year were as follows: W.B. Patterson, president, \$1,100; A.H. Bemis, \$900; Miss Mary H. Derby, \$550; Webb Curtis, \$300; and \$150, which was four percent of the total appropriation for the upkeep and maintenance of the building.³⁷ This was a total of \$3,010 spent that year.

In the session of 1879-1880, which closed in June 1880, there were a total of 6 students who graduated. They were Henrietta Curtin, Clara A. Watson, Sarah H. Baptist, Emory A. DeYampert, Joshua F. Washington, and Abner C. Koyton.³⁸

Though there had been previous graduations from State Normal, this graduation was important because it was the first one under Patterson's administration.

The fall session started October 1, 1880 with a total of 140 students enrolled in school. With the large number of students, the one building was inadequate. The board of directors for the State Normal School and University appealed to the Alabama Board of Education for a larger building. However, this request fell on deaf ears for the request was not honored. Still, the classes continued in the old inadequate building.

There was a change in the faculty that fall session. Curtin and Derby did not return. Patterson promptly hired J.C. Alling at \$600 yearly and Miss I. Tedford at a salary of \$500 yearly. Both Tedford and Alling were white people.³⁹ Patterson's salary remained at \$1,100, and Bemis's remained at \$900. The usual four percent of \$160 was used for the repairs and maintenance of the building.

³⁷ Alabama Department of Education, *Report of Leroy F. Box, Superintendent of Education* (Montgomery, 1879), xii-xiv.

³⁸ Sarah H. Koyton, "State Normals First Graduating Class," *State Normal Courier* (Montgomery), 1924.

³⁹ Alabama Department of Education, *Report of the State Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery 1880), 11-12.

The number of students and subjects which they were enrolled were as follows:⁴⁰

Table 1

Subjects Studied

Subjects	Male	Female	Total
Orthography	27	48	75
Reading	27	48	75
Penmanship	30	48	78
Arithmetic	52	62	114
Geography	27	48	75
Grammar	23	37	60
History	16	14	30
Botany	20	25	45
Drawing	20	25	45
Composition	20	25	45
Vocal Music	16	14	30
Physiology	16	14	30
Rhetoric	9	8	17
Algebra	17	13	30
Geometry	8	5	13
Physics	9	8	17
Latin	21	13	34
Greek	4	0	4
Physical Geography	16	14	30
Trigonometry	4	0	4
Geology	4	0	4
Logic	4	0	4
English literature	4	0	4
School Economy	8	5	13
Philosophy of Education	8	5	13

The following June found 8 students who were graduating from State Normal. These were Charles A. Buswell and John W. Wilson of the University department; John J. Gooden,

⁴⁰ Alabama Department of Education, *Report of the State Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery 1880), 11-12.

Wilburt F. Sullivan, John H. Howard, Susie J. Jordan, Mary F. Crecy, and Agnes V. McLean who completed the normal courses offered at the institution.

The students and faculty, seeing the need for a library, set out to finance one. Through solicitations of some of the Marion citizens, the students succeeded in securing funds to purchase a set of Appleton American Encyclopedias. The encyclopedias could be used by both the students and the faculty as well. Of course, the state did not make provisions for such needed items as books, and only through the efforts of students and teachers could these materials be provided. The state only made appropriations for teachers' salaries and the maintenance of the school building.

The usual \$160 or 4 percent of the total appropriation designated for the upkeep and repairs of the school building was spent. That session Patterson was again paid \$1,100; H.S. Alling, \$400 J.C. Alling, \$600; and C.A. Burwell, a recent graduate of State Normal, was paid \$26.64 because he only taught temporarily.⁴¹ This was a total of \$2,286.64 spent that year.

The total number of students by course were as follows:⁴²

Table 2

Class	Male	Female	Total
A-University	4	0	4
A-Normal	8	5	13
B-Normal	10	18	28
C-Normal	20	21	41
D-Normal	21	24	45
A-Preparatory	17	21	38
B-Preparatory	17	39	53
Total	94	128	222

⁴¹ Alabama Department of Education, *Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery 1881), 16-17.

⁴² Alabama Department of Education, *Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery 1881), 16-17.

It is interesting to note that university courses were designed for students who would continue their education. The continuation of education had to be completed at some other college or university.

Up to this time, Negro teachers had no professional organization in which to belong. In April 1882, a call went out from a small number of leading teachers for a meeting which would have as its principal function the founding of a state association for those teaching Negroes. William Patterson initiated the call. The first meeting was held in Selma, Alabama. Patterson was elected president.⁴³ The organization later became the Alabama State Teachers' Association. Its objectives included the stimulation of a program of more adequate educational opportunity for the Negro children and adults of Alabama, the advancement of a more enriched and more effectively administered program of instruction, and the promotion of the professional welfare of teachers.⁴⁴ The office of president carried no financial gain with it, but it appears that Patterson was interested in promoting ideas of the Negro in all education phases.

Patterson, like his predecessor Card, made annual reports to the Board of Directors. In his annual report, dated June 15, 1882, Patterson listed the following persons as graduates: Louise M. Berry of Uniontown; John W. Beverly, Jennie Simmons, and Ellen A. Webb of Greensboro; and M.J. Moore, Mary D. Jordan, Nannie W. Freeman, Bettie H. Webb, and Alice H. William of Marion.⁴⁵ The report stated that there were 172 students enrolled that year. The following table breaks this number down according to courses:⁴⁶

⁴³ *Alabama State Teachers Association Source Book*, (Montgomery, AL: The Alabama State Teachers Association, Inc., 1960), 16.

⁴⁴ NEEDS CITATION

⁴⁵ NEEDS CITATION

⁴⁶ Alabama Department of Education, *Report of H. Clay Armstrong, Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery 1883), 19-20.

Table 3

Course Enrollments Year Ending September 30, 1882

Class	Male	Female	Total
A-University	2	0	2
B-University	2	3	5
A-Normal	3	10	13
B-Normal	12	14	26
C-Normal	21	23	44
D-Normal	11	15	26
A-Preparatory	16	15	30
B-Preparatory	9	17	26
Total	76	96	172

From the 1882 graduating class, two of the men would play important roles in the future history of State Normal. John W. Beverly would become the third president of the institution and M.J. Moore would be the first graduate to become a full-time professor, an event which occurred during the Patterson administration.

The progress of the school for that year was a typical one. There were no changes in the faculty, and each staff member received the same salary as each had the previous year.

For the first time in the school’s history, it received \$500 from the Peabody Fund through the efforts of its general agent, Dr. J.L.M. Curry.⁴⁷ Curry, a resident of Talladega, had long been an advocate of public education in the South. This fund had been established in 1867 by George Peabody, merchant and financier of Great Britain and the United States, “for the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral industrial education among the young people of the more destitute portions of the Southern and Southwestern States.”⁴⁸ Though this was a first

⁴⁷ NEEDS CITATION

⁴⁸ John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery To Freedom: A History of African Americans*, (New York, NY: Alfred A, Knopf, 1950), 378.

contribution from the Peabody Fund to State Normal, its additional contributions would continue for years to come.

When school closed in June 1883, there were 4 students in the University department, 133 students in the Normal Department, and 74 students in the Preparatory Department. The enrollment was a total of 211 students. Of these enrolled students, 2 students graduated from the University department and 9 students graduated from the Normal Department.

In the meantime, the state of Alabama had built a needed building for the school. The building was completed in August 1883 for the cost of \$5,355. The total physical plant of the institution consisted of this one main building with eight classrooms, an office, a music room, and an auditorium. The dimensions of the building were forty feet by eighty feet. This building was designed to hold a total of 400 hundred students.

The session that began October 1, 1883 found the enrollment of 237 pupils and only one additional faculty member whose name was not mentioned. Something new was added to the curriculum, the "Model School." The Model School operated under a program whereby students took turns in learning the best method of teaching under the watchful eye of the instructor. The Model School classes were held in the Preparatory department. As the student would conduct his or her class in practice teaching, their teacher would make sure that all mistakes encountered by the student teacher would be corrected promptly.

J.L.M. Curry informed Patterson that the Slater Fund had been solicited to establish an Industrial Department at State Normal.⁴⁹ At this time, Curry was the general agent for the Slater Fund as well as the Peabody Fund. For the 1883-1884 school year, the Slater Fund contributed \$500 to the institution. Also, the Peabody Fund's contribution of \$600 was continued. The Slater

⁴⁹Alabama Department of Education, *Report of H. Clay Armstrong, Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery 1884), 21-22.

Fund had been established in 1882 through the efforts of John F. Slater, a textile industrialist of Norwich, Connecticut. Enthused over the success of the Peabody Fund, Slater gave one million dollars, “for uplifting the lately emancipated population of the Southern States and their posterity by conferring on them the blessing of Christian education.”⁵⁰

H. Clay Armstrong, the State Superintendent of Education visited State normal that school year. He was impressed at the appearance of the school, the way the teacher’s conducted their classes and the appearance of the student body. He was also impressed because the school operated so efficiently on such few funds. Armstrong stated that he was impressed, and he went back to Montgomery and recommended to the legislature and increase of \$2,000 annually for the institution.⁵¹ The increase that Armstrong sought was not acted upon by the legislature that year, so the institution continued its operation with the \$4,000 appropriation.

The school term ended June 1, 1887 when 17 students completed their requirements and graduated from State Normal.⁵²

⁵⁰ Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 379.

⁵¹ Alabama Department of Education, *Report of H. Clay Armstrong, Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery 1884), 30-32.

⁵² Alabama Department of Education, *The Thirty-first Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education of the State of Alabama*, (Montgomery 1886), 56-60; A.S. Plump, “The Lincoln Normal University At Marion,” *State Normal Courier*, (Montgomery) 1924.

Chapter 2

At the beginning of the new school term in October 1885, there were 10 students in the University Department, 251 students in the Normal Department and 11 students registered in the Training department.¹ Thus a total of 372 students were enrolled as of the beginning of the 1885-1886 scholastic year.

The increase of \$2,000 yearly recommended by the Superintendent of Education was appropriated by the legislature. This recommendation made the annual appropriation to the State Normal School for Colored Students rise from \$4,000 to \$6,000 yearly. Before the increase in appropriation had actually been given to the institution, the President of the Board of Trustees at State Normal reported to the Alabama Board of Education that there was “a total of \$4,955.27 on hand and \$4,955.27 spent for the school year.”² Of this \$4,955.27, teachers’ salaries were paid, traveling expenses for the members of the Board of Trustees were paid and the maintenance of the school building were paid.

The faculty at this time consisted of nine white instructors and one Negro instructor who taught in the Industrial Department.

The Slater Fund and the Peabody Fund continued to refurnish the school’s almost empty cupboard yearly through the efforts of J.L.M. Curry.

In May 1886, the Alabama Press Association met in Marion on the campus of Howard College. While there, members of the press were given flowers from Patterson and the student body of State Normal. The press showed its appreciation by visiting the Normal School. While on campus, the newspaper editors were impressed by the students in the Industrial Department

¹ Alabama Department of Education, *The Thirty-first Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education of the State of Alabama*, (Montgomery 1886) 13.

² Alabama Department of Education, *The Thirty-first Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education of the State of Alabama*, (Montgomery 1886), 13.

building and constructing such items such as chairs, tables, flower stands, and other similar items.³ This expression was possibly how they felt about college education. However, the members of the press did not mention how the students were being educated in the other courses which State Normal offered to colored students.

Graduation was held at State Normal the following month of June. The commencement for that year consisted of the following scheduled activities. On Sunday, June 27th, the Baccalaureate sermon was delivered by the Reverend G.M. Elliott of Selma. On Monday, June 28th, the annual public oral examinations were held in the school's auditorium from 9:00 a.m. until 12:00 p.m. On Tuesday, June 29th, the meeting of the Alumni Association was held at 10:00 a.m. and was followed at 8:00 p.m. with a cantata entitled, "Captivity of Daniel" presented by the school's choir. The commencement address was delivered by the Reverend A.G. Haygood, D.d., newly appointed general agent for the Slater Fund. Finally, the activities ended with a reception for the speaker and alumni that same night.⁴ There were 7 students who completed requirements in the University Department while 12 students completed the Normal course and one student earned his certificate from the Industrial Department.⁵ Thus, a total of 20 graduated from State Normal that year.

For the 1886-1887 school year, State Normal advertised that it had collegiate level Normal and Industrial Departments. The school also advertised a previous enrollment of

³ *Marion Commonwealth* (Marion, AL), June 2, 1886.

⁴ *Marion Standard* (Marion, AL), June 23, 1886.

⁵ Alabama Department of Education, *Thirty-second Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery 1886), 66-70.; *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), July 21, 1886; *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), August 4, 1886; *Marion Standard* (Marion, AL), August 11, 1886; *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), August 18, 1886; *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), September 1, 1886; *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), September 8, 1886.

approximately 420 graduating students. They claimed a colored student could attain the best instruction at the lowest cost, announcing the next term would open October 1, 1886.⁶

When the school term opened October 1, 1886, State Normal's enrollment exceeded the capacity of the building. There were 14 students in the University Department, 244 students in the Normal Department, and one hundred and forty-six students in the Training or Industrial Department. This was a total of 404 students enrolled at State Normal while the building was designed to accommodate only 400 students.

In the Training or Industrial Department, both young men and women were taught. The young ladies were taught sewing, dressmaking, and other similar subjects. The young men were taught how to build and construct such items as tables, doors, beds, cradles, and desks. Also, the male students helped with the repairs on the school building without pay. This responsibility was a part of their training. To further the industrial education of the male students, the Training Department purchased a printing press to enable the students to learn the art of printing. Immediately, the institution began publication of two newspapers. The *Normal Reporter* was edited by the student body while the *Alabama Teacher* was edited by Patterson.⁷ There is no evidence concerning how often the papers were printed.

About a month after school started a terrible fire swept through the downtown section of Marion on November 19th. The fire appeared uncontrollable and everyone became excited because the entire downtown section appeared helpless. This fire, like any other fire, drew everyone's attention including the white male students also located in Marion at this time. After

⁶ *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), July 21, 1886; *Marion Standard* (Marion, AL), August 4, 1886; *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), August 11, 1886; *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), August 18, 1886; *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), September 1, 1886; *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), September 8, 1886; *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), September 15, 1886; and *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL) September 29, 1886.

⁷ Alabama Department of Education, *Thirty-first Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education* (Montgomery 1886), 66-70.

the fire was over, two students by the names of Veitt and Prowell from Howard College reported to the law enforcement offices that one of the students from State Normal known only by the name of Brown had cut them without provocation.⁸ Veitt and Prowell further contended that they had no weapons on themselves. When Veitt and Prowell reported to their fellow students that they had been cut by a Negro, the student body became an angry mob and wanted revenge. Colonel J.T. Morfee, President of Howard College ordered them back to the barracks where they remained.⁹ A different story is told, however, in a letter to the editor of the *Marion Standard* by a writer using the initials L.F.C. In this letter to the editor, L.F.C. accused the two white students from Howard College of being the aggressors. He stated the Negro student was a, “quiet unoffensive Christian who was surrounded by a group of white students from Howard College, who drew their knives, and threatened to kill him.”¹⁰ The colored student allegedly begged the white students to let him go to no avail, so he used his fists, which knocked down several white students who rushed on the Negro student with opened knives. The student from State Normal in self-defense took out his jack knife and cut one student from Howard College in the throat and another on the arm.”¹¹ The Negro student managed to escape in the confusion and was hidden by other Negro citizens until he could leave the city of Marion safely. The white citizens were in an uproar, and according to L.F.C., they were ready to cut the Negro student into “mincemeat.”¹² The editor of the *Marion Standard* reported that the mob that L.F.C. had referenced was three white students, a sheriff, and two deputies.¹³

⁸ *Montgomery Advertiser* (Montgomery), December 14, 1886 and *Marion Standard* (Marion, AL), February 16, 1887.

⁹ *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), February 16, 1886.

¹⁰ *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), February 18, 1886.

¹¹ *Christian Union* quoted in the *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), February 18, 1887.

¹² *Christian Union* quoted in the *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), February 18, 1887.

¹³ *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), February 16, 1887.

The cutting incident can be viewed from another perspective. Reverend B.C. Bedford, a member of the Board of Trustees of Howard College, stated that a collision occurred between the students from Howard College and the male students from State Normal. The collision happened, however, as a result of the excitement brought on by the fire, and this incident was not intentional on either side.

Bedford continued by stating that the actual cutting of Veitt and Prowell was only a rumor.¹⁴ After logical consideration, it appears that Bedford's story was true because Bedford did not write about the alleged cutting incident until after State Normal had been removed from Marion.

Prior to the alleged incident, Marion had been a relatively quiet rural city located in the heart of the Black Belt. The term Black Belt is used to denote this area because of its rich soil, which in turn proved worthy to the farmers. Marion, like the rest of the state, had very little industry at this time. Yet, the foundations of industrialization had been laid back in 1840 when coal mining began in Birmingham. In 1887, Alabama only produced 1,950 tons of coal.¹⁵ It is only after the turn of the century that Alabama made significant gains in industrialization. Prior to industrialization, Alabama was an agriculture state.

Marion, despite its lack of industry, could boast of being the educational center of Alabama. The city contained four institutions of higher learning, the Marion Female Seminary, which was controlled by the Methodist, Presbyterian, and the Episcopal churches; Howard College and Judson College, which were both controlled exclusively by the Alabama Baptist Association. The fourth college was State Normal under the control of the state of Alabama.

¹⁴ *Montgomery Dispatch*, (Montgomery, AL), July 18, 1888.

¹⁵ Horace Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel*, (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1939), 125-127.

Also prior to the alleged cutting, a professor, Lorenzo D. Inskeep, a white man from one of the northern states, visited Marion and had high praises for the people there. Inskeep had asked the question, why don't Negroes succeed? Inskeep replied that if Negroes work hard and were ambitious, they would accomplish whatever they wanted. Yet, Inskeep failed to point out the inequalities of the races from the cradle to the grave.

His reply caused one to ponder the question, does a quick visit make one an expert on a community? During this era in Marion, the Negro citizen could not look forward to what his white counterparts secured. In fact, the colored citizen could not look for simple justice under law to be carried out impartially. Inskeep continued by stating that the Normal School had about four hundred students with a Baptist, Congregational, and a Methodist church to serve the spiritual needs of the colored citizens.¹⁶ It is to be noted that segregation existed between the races even in the churches there in Marion. Inskeep further stated that favorable relations existed between the races. But the favorable relations spoken of by Inskeep encapsulated the Southern theory of favorable relations between the races. These relations are based on the white (superior) and Negro (inferior) relations. Simply stated: the Negro was to be the boy and the white citizens were the misters, misses, and mistresses. The editor stated that before the alleged cutting of Veitt and Prowell, Negro students from State Normal knocked the white students from the sidewalks.¹⁷ If the Negro students had knocked the white students from the sidewalks, then there were not favorable race relations existing prior to the alleged cutting incident.

The *Marion Standard* went so far as to ask its white citizens this question, "which is best to have our three white colleges or to have State Normal removed to another city?"¹⁸ With

¹⁶ *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), February 2, 1887.

¹⁷ *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), January 5, 1887.

¹⁸ *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), January 5, 1887.

editorials like this, the editor appealed to the emotions of his white counterparts. The *Marion Standard* continued voicing its opposition to State Normal being in Marion. However, the newspaper claimed it was not against Negro education but only wanted State Normal removed elsewhere. The *Marion Standard* continued its editorials, which stated that the Negro students and the white students could not get along in a friendly atmosphere because the two schools were located too close to each other.¹⁹ This claim represented a peculiar attitude that amounts to a denial of Negro education if white education exists. The *Marion Standard* also voiced its opposition to those white citizens who advocated complete abolition of the institution.²⁰ The newspaper's position was clear: it wanted State Normal removed from Marion.

It seems that pressure was exerted by the Board of Trustees of Howard College and the white citizens of Marion to remove State Normal. The Alabama Baptist Association, who controlled Howard College delivered their ultimatum, which threatened the removal of Howard College if State Normal did not move. With this in mind, Senator B.M. Huey of Perry County led to the appeal in the legislation for the removal State Normal from Marion. Huey introduced his bill in the legislature on February 8, 1887, and the *Marion Standard* predicted the bill would become law.

The Alabama Baptist Association was earnest about its ultimatum for the organization began negotiating with two cities to which they could remove Howard College. The two principal cities were Anniston and Birmingham.

On February 12, 1887, Stephen Childs, the sole Negro member of the Board of Trustees of State Normal also wrote a letter to the editor of the *Marion Standard*. Childs wrote a short history of the school, and Childs pointed out that a large number of Negroes moved to Marion

¹⁹ *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), January 5, 1887 and *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), February 16, 1887.

²⁰ *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), January 5, 1887.

and bought homes near the school so that their children could get an education. Childs also made the point of showing to the white citizens of Marion that State Normal spent over \$20,000 annually in Marion. Childs appealed to the white community of Marion to let the school remain there. He argued that local Negroes, for financial reasons, were not able to send their children away to school. He also stated that it would be extremely hard for the colored citizens to educate their children if the school was removed from Marion.²¹ Seemingly, Child's appeal did not have any effect upon the feelings of the white citizens in Marion.

Meanwhile on Capitol Hill in Montgomery, the open hearing concerning the removal of State Normal was under way. The first person whom Huey called to testify was his counterpart in the House of Representatives, Cyrus D. Hogue. Hogue provided several reasons that State Normal should be removed from Marion. He contended that the institution was too close to Howard College. He expressed concerns over the institution's proximity to two institutions for white women in Marion, and that there had already been conflict between the students at Howard College and the male students at State Normal.

While the hearings were going on in Montgomery, another development occurred in Marion. This time, the President of the Board of Trustees of State Normal resigned from the school's Board of Directors for what he termed ill health. It seems, however, that the president, C.W. Lovelace resigned due to pressures from the white community.

As the hearings on the removal of the institution from Marion continued in Montgomery, other white citizens also testified on behalf of State Normal's removal. No one, however, testified in favor of the institution staying in Marion. The white citizens were unwilling to back the cultural patterns of the South, and the economic profit of the institution and the Negro

²¹ *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), January 12, 1887.

community was not strong enough. Despite Childs' letter, he does not testify because of fear, bluster, and futility. The hearing continued until February 22nd. On this date, both houses of the state legislature voted on the legislation pertaining to the removal of State Normal from Marion. When the votes were tallied, the removal of the institution from Marion passed without a dissenting vote.²²

Representative Hogue, who had worked tirelessly for the removal of State Normal from Marion, worked just as hard to have the school continue in any other city. He introduced the bill to relocate the school.²³ Hogue's bill to relocate the institution passed the legislature on February 25, 1887 as House Bill 902.²⁴ House Bill 902 had five sections. The first section stated that State Normal was to be removed from Marion to a new location wherever the white community would not object. Also, the name would be changed from the State Normal School for Colored Students to Alabama Colored People's University. The second section established that the Governor would appoint eight trustees. Two trustees would serve two-year terms; three trustees would serve for four years; and three would serve for six-year periods. Also, the Superintendent of Education would be an ex-officio member of the board. The third section stated the trustees would have the power to elect the faculty and other officers and prescribe the duties and salaries of all. The bill also cut the university's appropriations from \$6,000 to \$4,000 in October 1887; \$4,000 in October 1888; and \$2,000 in October 1889 with no answer given for the reduction. Finally, the legislature would also appropriate \$1,500 yearly for the maintenance of the school building.²⁵ The amendment stipulating that the school should not be located in any city against

²² *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), February 18, 1887.

²³ *Montgomery Dispatch*, (Montgomery), August 18, 1887.

²⁴ *Marion Standard*, (Marion, AL), February 23, 1887.

²⁵ Alabama Department of Education, *The Thirty-third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery 1888), 209-212; *Birmingham Weekly Iron Age*, (Birmingham, AL), July 28, 1887.

the wishes of the white community was offered by Senator R.H. Sterrett whose district included Shelby, Jefferson, and Walker counties. House Bill 902, like its predecessor Act XVII also gives this high school the title of university to again delude the Negro race. Also, it appears that the legislature was not fully accepting of the responsibility of educating the colored races as they were doing for the white race. For the Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College (Alabama A&M) in Auburn had \$27,780 appropriated to them while the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa had a whopping \$662,844.14 to underwrite their expenses for the school term.²⁶

Meanwhile back at State Normal, things were continuing pretty much as they had been. The atmosphere had not changed much though racial prejudice would appear. Yet, the school continued with June 1887 when 22 students graduated. This was the last class of State Normal. At this time, there were a total of 358 students, and 336 of these students were required to find another school if they could afford it.²⁷ If they could not afford to travel away from Marion to another institution, they would possibly end up returning to the farms to continue sharecropping and tenant farming. It was a reality that if Negro students could not earn their certificates from State Normal and teach, there was very little hope for them in other professions. The colored student had only been free from the chains of slavery for a short period, and it was without a doubt that the white citizens should have put forth all the effort to train and educate them for first-class citizenship. Yet the white community in Marion showed little or no interest in the colored students nor in State Normal. These merchants whom the school purchased all supplies from were willing to give up the money to keep the white schools.

²⁶ Alabama State Treasury, *Biennial Report of the Treasurer of the State of Alabama*, (Montgomery 1888), 103.

²⁷ Alabama Department of Education, *The Thirty-third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery 1888), 209-212.

As soon as the school year ended, Patterson hurriedly set out on a journey to seek a new home for the Alabama Colored People's University (ACPU). He visited several cities including Selma, Greensboro, Birmingham, and Montgomery. As Patterson visited each city, he would talk to the Negro citizens seeking financial support for the school should it be located in their city. He was met with dismay in both Selma and Greensboro because the colored citizens could not afford the money and land needed to secure the school. These two cities were thus eliminated. Patterson then went to Birmingham where things began to appear brighter. Here, the colored citizens showed their interest in locating the school there by offering Patterson \$3,000 and six acres of land. Though this was a generous offer, it was not enough. When the white citizens heard that some of the colored citizens were seeking to locate the school there, they immediately began to circulate a petition against the location of the institution of higher learning for Negroes in Birmingham. The white citizens of Birmingham were desperately trying to lure Howard College from Marion and they felt that if a school for Negroes would locate there, Howard College would not. Howard College was about to relocate to Anniston, and Birmingham had to do everything within its power to overcome Anniston's bid for the school.

Patterson then came to Montgomery, where the colored citizens awaited him with open arms for they too wanted the Colored People's University to locate there. Patterson informed this group that \$5,000 and three acres of land were the prerequisites to build and erect the institution, which the Negro citizens readily agreed.²⁸ Patterson then met with the Board of Trustees on July 26, 1887, and the board unanimously agreed on removing the institution from Marion to Montgomery. The board consisted of the following men: M.H. Caldwell, attorney at law and Charles Whelon, attorney at law from Birmingham; J.M.P. Otts, a Presbyterian minister from

²⁸ *Birmingham Weekly Iron Age*, (Birmingham, AL), July 28, 1887.

Talladega and Greensboro; J.C. Gilchrist, attorney at law from Montgomery; Fleming Law, attorney at law from Bullock County; F.M. Peterson, attorney at law from Greensboro; H.S.B. Mallory, attorney at law from Selma; and W.B. Jones, attorney at law from Montgomery.²⁹

Another board of trustees composed of Montgomery's leading colored citizens was appointed by Governor Thomas Seay to help the state's Board of Education with the implementation of House Bill 902. These men included: Dr. James Foster, pastor at First Baptist Church; Reverend T.A. Weathington, pastor at Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church; H.A. Lovelace, a funeral director; W. DeJarnette, a grocer, W. Watkins, a building contractor; C.B. Glass, a painter; and W.H. Alexander, an internal revenue collector.³⁰

The colored citizens were informed that the \$5,000 and three acres of land had to be put up by August 15th. To show their interest, one day after ACPU's Board of Directors decided to remove the institution from Marion to Montgomery, \$3,500 had been raised by the Negro community from voluntary subscription.³¹ Without a doubt, some white citizens also made subscription's to facilitate the removal of the school from Marion to Montgomery. It was also decided by the board of directors that the university would be located near Swayne Academy in a section of the city that was almost entirely populated by Negroes.

Swayne Academy got its title from General Wagner Swayne from the Union Army. The school was located between Union and Bainbridge streets and Grove and the South streets. Swayne College as it is sometimes referred, was founded by the AMA with the money to build

²⁹ *Birmingham Weekly Iron Age*, (Birmingham, AL), July 28, 1887; *Birmingham Weekly Iron Age* (Birmingham, AL), September 8, 1887.

³⁰ Bertie L. Halls, "A Bit of History," *State Normal Courier*, (Montgomery), 1924.

³¹ *Montgomery Advertiser*, July 27, 1887.

the school coming from the Freedom Bureau.³² This school had one and a half acres of land and was one of the earliest known schools for Negro pupils in Montgomery.

The removal of the institution from Marion to Montgomery appeared a sure thing until an inopportune article against lynching appeared in the *Montgomery Herald* on August 13th. In the newspaper, edited by Jesse Duke, a Negro stated:

‘Everyday or so we read of the lynching of some Negro for the outraging of some white woman. Why is it that white women attract Negro men now more than in former days? There was a time when such a thing was unheard of. There is a secret to this thing, and we greatly suspect it is the growing appreciation of the white Juliet for the colored Romeo as he becomes more intelligent and refined.’ If something is not done to break up these lynching if (it) will be so after awhile that they will lynch every colored man that looks at a white woman with a tr[e]mble in his eye.³³

Duke was a short, stout, “pure blooded Negro though not coal black,” who came to Montgomery from Selma, “between suns.”³⁴ He had been prominent in politics in Dallas County and had been an Arthur Delegate to the National Republican Convention in 1884.³⁵ In addition, he had served as mail agent on the road between Selma and Montgomery. The *Montgomery Advertiser* stated this about his educational ability: “He is a possessor of unusual intelligence and immeasurable assurance...reads and writes with some lapses in his grammar and continues generally to make his presence in the community felt.”³⁶ It would appear from the statement above that Duke had little formal education but wanted to impress the Negro community that he was more intelligent than he actually was.

³² John C. Anderson, interview by author, Montgomery, December 13, 1964.

³³ *Montgomery Advertiser*, (Montgomery), August 16, 1887.

³⁴ Anderson interview.

³⁵ Normal L. Walton, interview with author, Montgomery, December 11, 1964.

³⁶ *Montgomery Advertiser*, (Montgomery, AL), August 16, 1887.

The colored citizens did not let Duke's article deter them from their efforts of raising the desired funds needed for the removal of the institution from Marion to Montgomery. On the end of the deadline, August 14th, they were able to meet their obligation.

Understandably, Duke's article seriously offended Montgomery's white community and indignation grew rapidly. The following day a small group of white citizens met not far from the *Montgomery Herald's* office for the sole purpose to implement plans against the university being relocated. Of this group, three men were to be noted. They were David Clopton, a state Supreme Court judge, William E. Ellsberry, and Alexander Troy, who were listed as citizens and taxpayers.³⁷ This group made plans to get other white citizens interested in their cause, so they ended this meeting.

The following Monday, another meeting was held by white citizens in the same locale. The gist of Duke's article was obviously counter to the mores and customs of the white South. About one hundred angry white men assembled at the southern warehouse to pass a resolution against the location of the proposed colored university in the city or county. However, James Hale, a Negro was given the opportunity to address the group. He assured them that the newspaper article was the act of one man, who was distracted by all of the colored citizens of the city. Hale asked that the whole race not be punished because of the fault of one man. Hale continued by stating that everything was set to get the university relocated in Montgomery. Incidentally, Hale was a wealthy influential member of the Negro community. He acquired his wealth by successfully operating a sawmill and lumber yards and was a general building

³⁷ *Montgomery Advertiser*, (Montgomery), August 16, 1887; *Montgomery Advertiser*, (Montgomery), August 17, 1887.

contractor. Hale also financed, built, and gave to his race their first hospital in Montgomery. It was known as Hale's Infirmary.³⁸

After the remarks by Hale, the meeting continued and a resolution was adopted by the white citizens which rejected Hale's plea. The resolution stated:

W[hereas] recent utterance of the *Herald*, a newspaper edited by Negroes in the city of Montgomery has shamelessly perpetuated an outrageous publication upon the most sensibilities of white citizens of this city of Montgomery, and [whereas] we consider the establishment in the city or county a colored university will encourage and develop this sentiment, we hereby protest the establishment of a colored university in our city or county.³⁹

The meeting had now taken a militant stand against the establishment of ACPU in Montgomery.

Without a doubt certain white people had made subscription to facilitate moving the school from Marion to Montgomery. The committee knowing this effort contacted those persons and induced several to withdraw their names from the university fund list. The committee was only partially successful in their efforts as some withdrew their pledges while others continued theirs.

This group went so far as to petition Governor Thomas Seay to use his power to stop the movement to get the school located in Montgomery. They called to his attention that the statute removing the institution from Marion contained an expressed provision that the school should not be located in any community against the wishes of the people thereof, and it was certain that they did not want it there. More than four hundred white citizens signed this petition. However, Seay told the group there was nothing he nor his office could do to stop the movement.

³⁸ James E. Pierce, interview by author, Montgomery, December 11, 1964.

³⁹ This quote was included in several southern newspapers, including one located outside of the state of Alabama: *Montgomery Advertiser*, (Montgomery), August 18, 1887; *Huntsville Mercury*, (Huntsville, AL), August 19, 1887; *Macon Telegraph*, (Macon, GA), August 19, 1887; *Birmingham Age*, (Birmingham, AL), August 25, 1887.

The impression should not be conveyed that the entire white community was against the establishment of an institution for the colored race being located in Montgomery. Many were outspoken in favor of it. The economic element warned that many businessmen had spent money to get the school to Montgomery. Certain white businessmen who did not want to be known made it quite clear that a lot had to be bought, buildings had to be erected, and teachers needed houses, food, and clothes. Besides, the school would require books, stationary, wood, coal, and lights. Moreover, they contended it would take at least one million bricks to build the school. These men were practical for economic reasons even if they were not wholeheartedly in favor of the university being located in Montgomery. Also, they continued by saying that undesirable Negroes could come to Montgomery as Duke did even if the institution was not located there.

In the meantime, Patterson held a mass meeting at the Old Ship A.M.E. Zion Church. He informed the colored citizens that plans were still being made to move the school to Montgomery. However, he desired to open the school at once, so the Reverend A. Williams, pastor of the Bethel Baptist Church, offered his church as a temporary school building.⁴⁰ This offer was accepted. Also, Patterson found an empty house on Norton street, which he rented. This house would serve as the temporary classroom. Registration was held in the basement of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church and on the opening day about 400 students gathered for classes.⁴¹ Since these buildings could not be classified as school buildings under state law, no funds were appropriated by state. To help defray such expenses as rental fees, teacher's salaries and the upkeep of the building, students were required to pay a small tuition, which was agreeable with all concerned.

⁴⁰ Frances Reynolds, "The First Years at Montgomery," *State Normal Courier*, (Montgomery, AL), 1924.

⁴¹ Reynolds, "The First Years at Montgomery."

At this time, the faculty consisted of the following persons, H.A. Kendall, Myra H. Price, Hattie R. Stratton, Nora L. Olin, Margaret Patterson, Nora Jenkins, Lucy Simington, M.J. Moore, John W. Beverly, and W.B. Patterson.⁴²

The Duke affair was gradually dying out, and again, the friends of the institution were continuing their program of removal of the school. But on September 6th, William E. Ellsberry and Alexander Try, of the, “citizens against the establishment of the Alabama Colored People’s university being located in Montgomery,” filed suit for an injunction against Governor Thomas Seay, the State Board of Trustees, the State Treasurer, and the Superintendent of Education. The suit was filed in the city court with Thomas M. Arrington as chancellor. Ellsberry and Troy sought the injunction on the following grounds. They argued that House Bill 902 was unconstitutional because the act was passed by the Senate, but the amendment to the act was not passed by two-thirds of the both houses. They contended that the school would be a menace to the good order and peace of the community. Ellsberry and Troy were concerned ACPU would foster in the minds of an inferior race a desire for racial equality with the white race. No proper steps were taken to ascertain whether the location of the university was against the wishes of the people. Finally, they argued that God made the Negro inferior and there was no use in trying to educate him.⁴³

Troy and Ellsberry employed former governor, Thomas H. Watts and the State Attorney General, Thomas N. McClellon to argue the case for the defendants. McClellon asked that the

⁴² Reynolds, “The First Years at Montgomery.”

⁴³ *Montgomery Advertiser*, (Montgomery), September 7, 1887; *Birmingham Weekly Iron Age*, Birmingham, AL), September 8, 1887.

bill be demurred and Judge Arrington maintained the demurrer and dismissed the white citizens' plea for the bill of injunction.⁴⁴

Troy and Ellsberry were determined to prevent ACPU from being located in Montgomery. After Arrington's decisions, Thomas Watts, immediately filed notice of appeal. This time Watts appealed the case to the State Supreme Court. Also helping Watts to argue this case for the appellants were the following law firms, Moore and Finley; Collier and Pinkard; Troy, Tompkins, and London; and Shaver and Hutcherson. For the appellees, McClennan alone handled the case.⁴⁵

On March 1, 1888, Justice David Clopton of the Supreme Court delivered the opinion. Clopton was also a member of the committee of white citizens who were against the location of the institution being located in Montgomery. Clopton's decision was as follows:

The Alabama University for the Colored People, as established by the act approved February 25, 1887, being under the exclusive control and management of the board of trustees and not subject to the supervision of the public schools as established and regulated by constitutional provision, cannot be regarded as one of those public schools; and the sum appropriated by that act for the purchase of land, the erection of buildings, and the annual support and maintenance of the university being set apart and appropriated from the school funds for the educated of the colored people, which is an unauthorized perversion of the funds from their only proper use, such appropriation are unconstitutional and void, and the other parts of the enactment being incapable of operation without them, the [.....] its void.⁴⁶

Clopton's decision made void the entire act which had created the Alabama Colored People's University. He then issued the injunction to restrain the governor, the Superintendent of

⁴⁴ Ellsberry et. al. v. Thomas Seay et. al. 491, Montgomery County Circuit Court; See also: *Birmingham Iron Age*, (Birmingham, AL), September 8, 1887.

⁴⁵ Ellsberry et. al. v. Thomas Seay et. al. 491, Montgomery County Circuit Court; See also: *Birmingham Iron Age*, (Birmingham, AL), September 8, 1887.

⁴⁶ NEED CITATION

Education, the trustees, and the state treasurer from attempting to implement the plans for removal of the state institution from Marion to Montgomery.⁴⁷

Since Clopton had been one of the original members of the white citizen's committee, he should have disqualified himself from the case. His views against the removal of the institution from Marion to Montgomery were well known as they had been published in quite a few of the Alabama newspapers. One could readily get the idea that there were some indiscrete methods used between the attorney for the white citizens and Clopton. This was great setback for the friends of the institution, but a great victory for those who had opposed the removal of the school to Montgomery. Worse still was the state maintaining two four-year colleges for whites and not a single institution of higher learning for its Negro citizens.

During the entire period of litigation, Patterson remained silent, yet confident that a solution could be worked out for the institution that he had begun to love. Clopton's decision did not cause Patterson to break his silence. However, the decision against the removal of the school from Marion to Montgomery shattered his dream.

Since there was no school as prescribed by the laws of the state, the churches and the houses were still being used as the educational institution. When June came, Patterson felt that no student had qualified to receive a certificate because the buildings had not been conducive for adequate learning.

On June 16, 1888, the friends and foes of APCU were saddened by the death of James Hale. Hale can be remembered as the lone Negro who appealed to the white citizens to let the institution be located in Montgomery. Hale had gained the respect of both races in Montgomery

⁴⁷ NEEDS CITATION

by being an industrious and law-abiding citizen. It was reported that at Hale's death he left over \$10,000 in cash plus his numerous businesses.⁴⁸

The classes for colored students continued in Negro churches and the house on Norton street. Little did the students know that their conduct was being observed daily by the white citizens. While observing these students as they came and left the churches and house, the white citizens saw that these students were disciplined and well-behaved. After a period of time, hardly anyone paid any attention to them. The white citizens were learning that some of the things said about the students at Marion were not true.

The discipline of the students proved to be valuable assets. With such students, Governor Seay appealed to the legislature to remove the institution from Marion to another place in the state. The legislators worked out a compromise act on February 23, 1889 to make the institution become a reality. Act 335 has six sections. The institution would be removed from Marion to some other place in the state and name changed to the Normal School for Colored Students (NSCS). The governor would appoint six trustees. Two would serve for two years, two would serve four-year terms, and two trustees appointed to serve six-year terms. The governor and superintendent of education would also serve on the board. The board of trustees would meet later and select a suitable place for the school, providing that it would not locate in any city against the wishes of the white citizens. The state would appropriate \$15,000 for the erection of buildings. \$6000 on January 1, 1889 or some time thereafter, \$6,000 on October 1, 1889, and \$3,000 on October 1, 1890. Also, the state would appropriate \$7,500 for teachers' salaries and for the maintenance of the buildings. NSCS would be a normal school with an Industrial

⁴⁸ *Montgomery Dispatch*, (Montgomery, AL), June 17, 1888.

Department, and students who completed the prescribe course of study would receive a diploma.⁴⁹

Governor Seay appointed the following men as the Board of Trustees, W.B. Jones of Montgomery for a two year term; J.M. Davidson of Brewton for a two year term; the Reverend J.M.P Otts of Greensboro for a four year term; H.S.D. Mallory of Selma for a four year term; Fleming Law of Union Springs for a six year term; and Professor J.H. Phillips of Birmingham for a six year term.⁵⁰ Jones, Davidson, Mallory, and Law were all lawyers. Otts was a Presbyterian minister and Phillips was the outstanding educator of this group. For a number of years, he was a supervisor for the Birmingham public school system.⁵¹ A noted feature of this group was that each person was an active Democrat. It is also noted that this appears to be the beginning of politics interfering with appointment of the Board of Education. Political acceptability seemed to be coming more important than educational qualifications.

The Board of Trustees met immediately after being notified to implement Act 335. The board again agreed to locate the school in Montgomery. This time was different than before for the white citizens did not show any objections. Since the students had demonstrated discipline there was not any reason for objections. Also, Act 335 was drawn up according to constitutional requirements. Plans were made for two wooden frame buildings to be located in the same place as had been agreed prior to the injunction issued August 1889. However, the students continued classes in the Negro churches and the house that Patterson had rented for class. The two buildings were then completed, and classes moved into them. The first building held eight classrooms, an auditorium, the president's office, and a teacher's preparation room, which

⁴⁹ Alabama State Congress, *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama*, Session 1888-1889: 509-511.

⁵⁰ Alabama Department of Education, *Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery), 101.

⁵¹ Moore, *History of Alabama*, 550.

doubled as a lounge and a room to be used for the library.⁵² The other building was to be the Industrial Department, In this building was a scroll saw, one lathe, ten sets of bench tools, a Campbell book and news press, one Universal 10' x 15' jobber, one paper cutter, and a number of sewing machines.⁵³

In this history-making first year of formal schooling, there were 325 students enrolled in the Normal Department and 360 students in the Preparatory Department. Thus, a total of 685 students entered classes in August. The faculty that year consisted of nineteen instructors each having at least a certificate of completion from a normal school; Patterson accepted.

With the new equipment in the Industrial Department to be paid for and since the state made no appropriation for such, the Slater Fund graciously appropriated \$1,200 to get the shop off to a start.

On June 1, 1840, 6 young men and 2 young ladies completed requirements for graduation.⁵⁴ This was of course the first group of students to graduate since the removal of the institution from Marion to Montgomery. The baccalaureate service was held at the First Baptist Church and the commencement exercises were held in the auditorium of the Old Ship A.M.E. Zion Church, Wednesday, June 6, 1890.⁵⁵ Since these two churches had been so instrumental it is quite understandable why Patterson chose them for such a historic occasion.

The second term began October 1, 1890. There were 371 students enrolled in the Normal Department and 457 students enrolled in the Preparatory Department. This was a total of 825 students enrolled in the beginning of the school term.

⁵² J. Garrick Hardy, interview by author, Montgomery, May 6, 1964.

⁵³ Department of Education, *Thirty-sixth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery, 1890), civi-civii

⁵⁴ Alabama Department of Education, *Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery), 101.

⁵⁵ Frances Reynolds, "The First years of Montgomery,".

The emphasis of the school appeared to be shifting to the Industrial Department. The school now boasted that there were 80 male students who were required to study and learn there for one hour daily. Also there were 75 young women who were required to learn dressmaking and other similar subjects as they had been taught when the school was in Marion. The sewing room, as it was known, was also a part of the Industrial Department.

The Industrial Department also had other shops. Two such shops were the carpenter shop and the printer shop or office as it was oftentimes referred as. In the carpenter shop, various instruments could be found such as the scroll saw, lathes, and bench tools. As many as 12 male students could be instructed in their use at the same time.⁵⁶ The printing shop had the book and news press, the 10' x 15' jobber, and the paper cutter. This type and paraphernalia had a total value of \$2000 thanks to the Slater Fund, which made this possible.

The financial statement of the school for the year ending September 30, 1890 is below on Tables 4 and 5:⁵⁷

Table 4

Receipts

Building Fund	\$12,000.00
General Fund from State	\$9,6667.75
Peabody Fund	\$250.00
Colored Citizens	\$500.00
Incidental Fees from Students	\$622.00
Total Receipts	\$23,039.75

⁵⁶ Alabama Department of Education, *Thirty-sixth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery, 1890), civi-civii.

⁵⁷ Alabama Department of Education, *Thirty-sixth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery, 1890), civi-civii.

Table 5

Paid out on Building	\$13,922.80
Salaries	\$7,039.97
Furniture, Insurance, and Sundries	\$1,376.40
Books, Tools, and Apparatus	\$618.19
Total Disbursements	\$23,027.36
Balance	\$12.37

When the school year ended the first Monday in June 1891, 9 students were awarded certificates of completion.⁵⁸ Commencement now was held in the school auditorium.

The next school term began in early October 1891. The institution continued to grow in students enrolled. That year 385 students were enrolled in the Preparatory Department while 453 students made up the Normal Department. Thus, a total of 838 students enrolled in the different programs offered by NSCS.

Patterson made full use of the limited funds available to the school. He also supplemented these funds by the school operating a commercial shop. Patterson reported that the school spent \$1,082.87 for the salaries of teachers and printing materials but took in \$1,071.75 by printing for different business concerns in Montgomery.⁵⁹ Thus, the printing shop cost only \$11.12 to operate in the school year 1891-1892.

The financial statement for that year is found on that page preceding this page. The amount reported in the table as tuition from the model school is about one-third of the total amount collected. The balance was paid to teachers of that department for salaries. Also, out of

⁵⁸ Alabama Department of Education, *Thirty-seventh Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery, 1891), 127-129.

⁵⁹ Alabama Department of Education, *Thirty-seventh Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery, 1891), 127-129.

the tuition and incidental fees, the students paid \$350 that year toward the maintenance of the school.

When the buildings were constructed, they were not running close to the street. For this to be done, an additional one and a half acres of land was secured by the board so that the school would run along with Jackson, Thurman, and Tuscaloosa streets.

The reports and other information needed for 1892 and 1893 could not be secured. The only information available concerning the institution was the number of graduates for each of the two years. In 1892, 13 students graduated, and 7 students graduated in 1893.⁶⁰ Yet, according to the 1894 reports, there were no major changes at the institution.

Twenty years after NSCS's establishment in 1874, the student body continued its growth. There were 272 students in the Normal Department, 174 students in the Preparatory Department, and 413 students in the newly created model school. Thus, a total of 859 students enrolled that term. The Model School was nothing more than an elementary school operated by the institution. The Model School was helpful to those students who were required to take teaching practicums because the students whom they would one day teach were now on the campus.

While the student body was expanding, the curriculum also expanded. That year, cooking was added in connection with the physiology and chemistry courses that were being studied by the female students. In this course, students were given knowledge of the composition of food material, preparation of foods, and the nutritious properties of different foods.⁶¹ This knowledge was transmitted by means of charts, books, lectures, blackboard exercises, experiments, and actual work in cooking.

⁶⁰ "Table Showing Total Number Sex distribution and Number of Deaths by classes of State Normal Alumni," *State Courier*, (Montgomery 1924).

⁶¹ Alabama Department of Education, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Education, Scholastic year ending September 30, 1894*, (Montgomery, 1894), 121-124.

The sewing shop also expanded to meet the large classes of female students. That year 200 female students were required to enroll in the sewing classes and dressmaking classes. It appears that the female students took these two courses along with the other courses that were offered at the school.

The young men were also benefitting from the expansion. For the first time, a manual training section was added to the Industrial Department. These students were taught linear and freehand drawing, designing, geometrical, and mechanical drawing as well as clay modeling. This instruction was made possible by the liberal appropriation of the Slater Fund, which donated the sum of \$2,500 to the institution for the purpose of maintaining an Industrial Department.⁶² This term ended in June 1895 with the graduation of 4 male students and 4 female students.⁶³ Thus, a total of 8 students received diplomas from NSCS.

⁶² Alabama Department of Education, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Education*, Scholastic year ending September 30, 1894, (Montgomery, 1894), 121-124.

⁶³ Alabama Department of Education, *Official Report of the State Superintendent of Education of Normal Schools of Alabama*, (Montgomery 1896), 13-14.

Chapter 3

Alabama State College ended its first twenty years in 1894 as an institution for colored students majoring in education or industrial training. Second, the first twenty years were the worst for the school due to the lack of financial support from Alabama. The state apparently did not think as much of her colored schools as she did her white schools. There are no figures on appropriations to the white schools, but there can be no doubt that the Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College (Alabama A&M) at Auburn and the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa received much more than \$7500 yearly appropriated to NSCS. The institution at Auburn had a value at \$205,718, and the University of Alabama boasted that its worth was \$400,000 during the 1895-1896 school year.¹

There was, also, the racial problem which led to the removal of NSCS from Marion. The third major set-back came as a result of the State Supreme Court of Alabama, issuing the injunction which actually delayed the state's acceptance of its responsibility to educate its colored citizens as it was doing for its white citizens. This lack of commitment can be seen through its establishment of several white institutions, the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa, founded in 1820; LaGrange College (Florence State University) founded in 1830; Livingston Female Academy (Livingston University) founded in 1835; Alabama A&M (Auburn University) in 1872; the State Normal School at Jacksonville (Jacksonville State University) in 1883, the State Normal School at Troy founded in 1887 (Troy State University), and the Alabama Girls' Industrial School (University of Montevallo) founded in 1896.² When the injunction was issued

¹ Alabama Department of Education, *Thirty-ninth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Education of the State of Alabama*, (Montgomery 1896), 37-38.

² Editor's note: The parenthetical notations indicate the names of these universities in 1969 when this thesis was written, and I included their names as such because Franklin switched between their names in 1969 and those names used at the time of their establishment in the original draft. I have provided these institution's present-day names or their names as of 2020 corresponding to the order provided in the text: the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa,

delaying the establishment of NSCS, the colored students had only two schools which they could attend. They were the normal school in Norma, Alabama founded in 1875 and Tuskegee Normal School for Colored Teachers which was started with \$2,000 from the State and the far-sightedness of Booker T. Washington. However, this is past history.

After the first twenty years at NSCS, the major problem with which this school faced was the lack of funds, which the legislature did not appropriate as it was doing for other institutions meant for white students.

At the beginning of the scholastic year that began September 1894, there 383 male students and 510 female students in all departments with the exception of the Normal Department. There were 485 students whose registration in the Normal Department signified that they anticipated going on to a college or university to complete the requirements for a degree. The Normal School earlier called Normal Department was supposedly equivalent to the first year at any college or university. The Normal School could now boast of a total enrollment in all its departments of 1,378 students. Those students represented five states and thirty-one Alabama counties.

President Patterson reported to the Board of Education that there were fourteen female instructors and four male teachers.³ This was a total of eighteen persons engaged in the educating of young minds at NSCS. The report continued by showing funds that had been appropriated and how they were disbursed. The states' appropriation to this school was but \$7,500 yearly.⁴ These funds were usually disbursed to the school by the state in three equal installments of \$2,500. In

University of North Alabama, University of West Alabama, Auburn University, Jacksonville State University, Troy University, and the University of Montevallo.

³ Alabama Department of Education, *Thirty-ninth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Education of the State of Alabama*, (Montgomery 1896), 37-38.

⁴ NEEDS CITATION

addition to the state appropriations, the only other funds to operate this school were through the generosity of the Peabody Fund which appropriated to state a total of \$1,500 yearly.⁵ This appropriation was a grand total of only \$9,000 for NSCS to carry out its operations. Out of these funds, the building had to be maintained, teachers' salaries had to be paid, the board of directors' travel fees, as well as fees that were needed for President Patterson to travel. This school year alone should have indicated to the Board of Education, that with twenty-two instructors with an average salary of \$499 yearly, this would mean NSCS was operating in the red because the expenditures come to a total of \$10,878 with only \$9,000 appropriated. It appears that Patterson was operating a school against the impossible.

The scholastic year ended about the same as any other year for the students, faculty, and staff. At the June Commencement of 1875, there were 10 women who graduated from the Industrial Department. In the Normal Department, 78 men and 90 women received their diplomas.⁶ The majority of these graduates, like their predecessors, ended up teaching in Alabama.

NSCS like other institutions also had students who dropped out of school. In the Superintendent's *Thirty-ninth Biennial Report*, it is noted that out of the 1,378 students who had registered at the beginning of the scholastic year 1895-1896, there were only a total of 878 when the school year closed May 1896. A total of exactly 500 students were not accounted.⁷ It might be that a number of students could not continue because of pressing needs at home such as he or she might have to work to help their respective families. Some possibly could not keep up the pace of this school while others transferred to the Agricultural and Mechanical College at NSCS,

⁵ NEED CITATION

⁶ Alabama Department of Education, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery October 26, 1896), 50-54.

⁷ NEED CITATION

the State Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes (SAMC), or to Tuskegee Normal School for Teachers in Tuskegee. Opportunities at these two schools seemed greater because each one of these normal schools managed to get more funds appropriated though not from the state of Alabama. At SAMC, the state appropriated \$4,000 yearly while Tuskegee Normal received a pitiful \$4,500 from the legislature of Alabama. It is strange that there was not some hostility from NSCS toward Tuskegee Normal since it was getting state funds and was a private school when the regular state schools were short of funds. Yet, on the other hand, Tuskegee Normal reported that through the efforts of Booker T. Washington, it received \$107,487.57 in gifts and donations from wealthy Northern white philanthropists who seemed more friendly toward Negro education in Alabama than the state government.⁸ This amount of funds coupled with the \$4,500 from Alabama gave Tuskegee Normal a total of \$107,487.57 on which it could operate that year.

William Hooper Council, then the president of SAMC, also had more working capital. He reported that the funds and other donations, amounted to \$10,685.15 plus \$18,814.85, which came from tuitions, gave them \$29,500.00 in addition to the \$4000 from the state.⁹ This year alone SAMC had a total of \$33,500 in which President Council made an attempt to operate a school. This amount of capital and a student body of only 458 gave the school at Normal, Alabama a better opportunity to offer its students a better chance of an education.¹⁰ Dr. Council pointed out that the following departments existed at SAMC. They were the College Department that offered diplomas in Agriculture, Mechanics, Science, and Literacy.¹¹ The second was the

⁸ Ibid, 42.

⁹ Ibid, 47-49.

¹⁰ Ibid, 57.

¹¹ Ibid, 14-17.

Normal Department, that prepared students for College and Universities.¹² Since it was a state owned institution for colored students, heavy emphasis was placed on the Department of Mechanical Arts which offered carpentry, painting, printing, blacksmithing, wheelwrighting, shoemaking, and working with foundries.¹³ There was also a school of economic science where female students could take nurse training, cooking, serving, laundering, and millinery.¹⁴ And as could be said for all Negro schools, music and Bible training were a must.¹⁵

Why NSCS did not take advantage of the funds from sources other than the state is simple. The Board of Trustees had pointed out almost from NSCS's inception that no one was to solicit funds from other sources other than those whom the Board of Trustees approved.

Back at NSCS, the school year began September 1896 with 255 male students and 313 female students matriculating in the Normal Department.¹⁶ The Preparatory Department registered 146 male students and 216 women students. This was a grand total of 930 colored students at the normal school in Montgomery.

NSCS was essentially a normal school with industrial work as an adjunct. All pupils received more or less industrial training. In fact, diplomas were given only to those who completed the normal course that was offered or to those students who had specialized in a branch of industrial studies. The areas of industrial studies included drawing or manual training, sewing, dressmaking needlework, wood working, printing, or cooking. The students appeared to have been directed toward the industrial aspects of education for out of the 930 that registered for classes in September 1896, 622 students were taking industrial courses.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Alabama Department of Education, *Fortieth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery 1897), 156-157.

If there were any noticeable gains for NSCS, it would be an increase in the number of persons employed and an increased appropriation from the Slater Fund. President Patterson reported in his annual report that the institution now employed twenty-nine teachers and three administrative officers at salaries totaling \$10,358 with the Slater Fund contributing \$2,500, the state contributing \$7,500, and the Peabody Fund contributing \$1,500. There was also a special fund of \$5,000. However, the tuition that was charged to students in the preparatory department amounted to \$1,900. This total of \$13,900 was to be used for educational purposes. The balance of \$13,900 was to be used for incidental expense of the school such as repairs of buildings on campus, insurance, fuel, and care of grounds. It should be noted that the total tuition amounted to about \$65 per student a year. This would include board, books, and incidental fees.

Tuition from students was relatively new for them, but there is the possibility that Patterson took his cue from the other colored school. Of course, any additional funds were without a doubt needed to help offset the small appropriation that the state of Alabama was giving to NSCS.

As far as the school itself is concerned, it had not made much progress since it moved to Montgomery in 1887. This lack of progress can be seen by looking at the value of the school properties. The land was valued at \$10,000, the buildings had been assessed at only \$15,000 and furniture and tools had an approximate value of \$5,000.¹⁷ These assessments meant that NSCS was valued at only \$30,000. This assessment again displays the lack of interest shown by the white legislature toward it colored citizens and their schools.

Looking at the two white major institutions of higher learning, Alabama A&M in Auburn and the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa, there was an entirely different picture.

¹⁷ Alabama Department of Education, *Fortieth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery 1897), 156-157.

As far back as the 1895-1896 school year, the state university at Tuscaloosa had five schools with each one awarding the Bachelor of Science or Bachelor of Arts degree in the following areas, the School of English and Literature, commonly referred to as the school of liberal arts; the School of Chemistry and Metallurgy; the School of Minerology and Geology; the School of Physics and Philosophy; the Engineering School; and the School of Law. In addition to the discrimination that existed in salaries and appropriation, the head of the law school at the University of Alabama received \$2,500 yearly and a home while the presidents of the colored schools received not more than \$2,000 yearly for their services. The University of Alabama could boast of such luxuries as professors who earned salaries in excess of \$1,800 yearly as well as a residence and a physical education instructor who was hired for \$1,000 yearly. Yet at the colored schools, it was not unusual for all instructors to engage in physical exercises with their respective classes. To have a physical education instructor at any of the colored schools was an idle dream. In fact, only a few if any colored teachers received \$1,000 yearly for services to the state with the exception of the president. The university for white students at Tuscaloosa could also boast that the school, building, and equipment was valued at a whopping \$4,000,00.¹⁸

Alabama A&M, which came under state control after NCSC, also had something very important to yell about. During this same period, this school offered courses of instruction in the following areas: Physical, chemical and natural sciences, agriculture, biology, mechanics, astronomy, mathematics, drawing, civil, electrical and mechanical engineering, physiology and veterinary science, pharmacy, English, French, German, Latin, history, political economy, and mental and moral sciences.¹⁹ But more significant than subjects or courses offered was the fact

¹⁸ Alabama Department of Education, *Thirtieth-ninth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery 1896), 28-31.

¹⁹ Alabama Department of Education, *Thirtieth-ninth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery 1896), 31-39.

that five courses for undergraduates led to the degree of Bachelor of Science. These courses included chemistry and agriculture, mechanical engineering and electrical, mechanics and civil engineering, general course, which a student could receive his degree in one of the natural sciences or mathematics, and pharmacy. This school also offered two-year courses in agriculture and in mechanical arts. These have often been referred to as short courses, yet white students who only took short courses were much more assured of employment as compared to their colored counterparts even if the Negro student went to a college or university for four years or more. It should be remembered the colored student had only Talladega College to attend at costs since it was privately endowed.

Inequities still persisted. For example, the salary of the president of the school at Auburn was \$3,000; regular professors were paid between \$1,000 and \$1,200 while assistant professors' salaries ranged from \$100 to \$1200. Furthermore, the Alabama Board of Education's report pointed out that the buildings in Auburn were valued at \$133,418, equipment had an asset of \$69,300, and farm-land had a market price of \$3000.²⁰ Thus, Alabama A&M had a monetary worth of \$205,718. One could wonder how the colored people in this state could become educated with such great odds against them.

Nevertheless, back at NSCS students were getting ready for the graduation activities that consisted of baccalaureate services usually on the first Sunday in June and followed by commencement on Monday. In this graduating class of June 1897, there were eight students who received diplomas from NSCS; one student got his certificate in carpentry, and five young ladies completed requirements in dressmaking.²¹ A total of thirteen students would now join the labor

²⁰ Alabama Department of Education, *Thirtieth-ninth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery 1896), 31-39.

²¹ Alabama Department of Education, *Fortieth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery 1897), 156-157.

force of the state of Alabama. They would now use their talents to help others who were striving to better their conditions as well as helping themselves and their families raise the veil of ignorance from their faces.

September 1898 began another school year for students who registered at NSCS. When its doors opened, the enrollment increased as well as appropriation from the state of Alabama. There were first of all, 352 male students in the Normal Department and 456 female students. The Preparatory Department reported to the board that 185 male students and 292 female students had matriculated. To teach these 1,285 students, there was a staff of 26 teachers. The student body represented five states and thirty-seven Alabama counties.

In this school year, the legislature raised the appropriation from the usual \$7,500 to \$8,250.²² This increase of \$750 Patterson could surely use. Other funds at his disposal totaled \$5,000 plus \$1,070 collected from tuition that only students in the Preparatory Department were required to pay. There was no breakdown as to from where the \$5,000 mentioned came. To be sure, it would appear that parts of it came from both the Slater Funds and the Peabody Funds. Though the Slater Fund and the Peabody Fund were of great use to the colored schools too, discrimination existed. These funds were distributed by white southern agents, and they made sure that the schools for white students received the greater amount of funds appropriated for Alabama schools. A good example is the Peabody Fund which between October 8, 1895 and February 15, 1896 appropriated \$7,000 to Alabama schools. The State Normal College at Troy, the State Normal School at Florence, Jacksonville State University, Alabama Normal College for Girls and Livingston Female Academy, and the Alabama Girls' Industrial School received \$4,300 while the Negro schools such as Tuskegee Normal, NSCS, and the State Agricultural and

²² Alabama Department of Education, *Fortieth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery 1897), 45.

Mechanical College for Negroes in Huntsville received \$2,700. Yet, the combined total enrollment of Normal schools for white students was less than one half that of the total Negro enrollment. The enrollment for all white normal schools was 1,640 students, but the enrollment at the three colored schools was 3,313.

Nevertheless, NSCS continued its struggle for existence. The State Board of Education did make one enlargement and that was in the Industrial Department. That school term found the enlargement by establishing a blacksmith shop and a wheelwright shop fitted with all tools to instruct ten students at one time. The only other noticeable fact was more emphasis put on teacher training especially. Patterson's report to the Board of Education also pointed out that every graduate was employed during the past year. Presumably, most of them ended up teaching at some elementary school in the state. The report concluded by stating that three male students and five female students graduated from APCU.²³ Graduating exercises were held as usual in early June 1898.

Though the state of Alabama did not appropriate the necessary funds to ensure the colored students that they could one day adequately compete with their white counterparts, a few Negro students did, however, go on to professional schools and returned for Alabamians to utilize their talents. The majority of the colored students were trained in industrial skill, which was their means of livelihood.

For the first twenty years, NSCS graduated 194 students. Of this number, 12 died, 17 left Alabama to see greater opportunities while 165 remained. The table on the next page will give a breakdown of these graduates.²⁴

²³ Alabama Department of Education, *Fortieth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Education*, (Montgomery 1897), 45.

²⁴ Alabama Department of Education, *Biennial Report of the Department of Education*, (Montgomery 1902), 177-178.

Table 6

Women Married and Housekeeping	54
Teachers	72
Physicians	8
Farmers	1
Plasterer	1
Dentist	1
Housepainter and Paper Hanger	1
Printer	1
Government Service	5
Clerks	5
Dressmakers	6
Pharmacist	1
Music Teacher	4
Contractors and Builders	3
Preachers	4
Students in other schools	10
Merchants	8
Total Number of Graduates	185
Graduates that Died	12
Graduates Remaining	182

There are two significant features on Table 5. First of all, a large number of female students decided to marry. Second, few students engaged in professions such as law, medicine, pharmacy, dentistry, and the like. On the other hand, one should not expect these children of sharecroppers and tenant farmers to have adequate financial resources, which would enable them to study outside of Alabama. Also, the state of Alabama should have assumed the responsibility of offering the colored children the same educational opportunities that the white children could secure at either of the institutions in Auburn or Tuscaloosa. This lack of opportunities was because Alabama cared more for its white children than colored children. Without a shadow of a

doubt, the colored children needed more funds, more schools, better equipment, and better schools if the state ever expected them to desire for better housing, jobs, and recreation. With adequate education, the Negroes could have had more educated persons, which would have been an asset to the state rather than liability.

September 1890, the school bells rang again across the state of Alabama. NSCS too opened its doors to eager students. Though there is no official report for the scholastic year ending in June 1900, we can assume that not much change was to be found at this school. *The Biennial Report of the Department of Education* reported, however, that 17 students graduated in June 1901. A breakdown of the 17 students' professions is as follows: 10 students decided to teach; 3 students were employed as mechanics; 2 young men were employed as clerks; 1 student young man attended medical school; and 1 student sought a degree in business out of the state.²⁵

We will have to assume that the state's appropriation to NSCS was about the same as it had been the previous year and further assume that the Peabody Fund and the Slater Fund continued to give graciously as it had been the previous year.

When school opened in September 1902, there were 647 female students and 424 male students enrolled. The enrollment was a total of 1,071 students representing four states and twenty-six Alabama counties.

At NSCS, the Board of Trustees again decided that more time be given to industrial and mechanical art courses, so that there would not be a doubt that it was to be as much of a trade school as a normal school.²⁶ This action by the board could have been influenced by the Booker T. Washington philosophy. It has been stated that Washington believed that Negroes should

²⁵ Alabama Department of Education, *Biennial Report of the Department of Education*, (Montgomery 1902), 127-128.

²⁶ Alabama Department of Education, *Biennial Report of the Department of Education*, (Montgomery 1902), 127-128.

learn trades in which they could apply with their hands. Men like J.L.M. Curry, G. Thomas Slay, and Thomas Goode Jones felt that Washington was doing an excellent job with the colored students. Yet, Washington could do a better job of running an institution because of his untiring efforts and success in prying needed funds from the wealthy northern whites. While the Board of Trustees at NSCS insisted on the colored students taking a more industrial and mechanical art courses, the students at Troy State Normal School were studying the following courses: Algebra, geometric drawing, grammar, beginners Latin, physiology ethics, psychology, plane geometry, trigonometry, chemistry, physics, methods of recitation, logic, ceramics, Southern history, English, Spanish, political economy, astronomy, geography, mineralogy, Alabama history, Alabama history and school laws, Plato's *Republic*, Livy, Horace, Greek mythology, Goethe's philosophy, theoretical ethics, arithmetic, and methods of practice teaching.²⁷ At the State Normal School at Jacksonville, the students studied the following courses: Algebra, geometry, trigonometry, surveying, botany, physiology physics, geology, astronomy, horticulture, grammar, rhetoric, American literature, English literature, Latin, Greek, American history, ancient and medieval history, Alabama history, civics, government, political economy, geography, zoology, chemistry, mental and moral philosophy, school laws of Alabama, a course in practice teaching. Neither of these schools had courses in industrial education.

The State Board of Education reduced their yearly appropriations to NSCS from \$8250 back to the original \$7,500 at the beginning of the 1902-1903 school year. Why the board so foolishly reduced their appropriation to the school still remains a mystery. None of the white schools had their funds slashed so why NSCS? The only answer seemed to be that the legislature did not feel adequate funding of the school was a necessity. What Professor Patterson was doing

²⁷ *Bulletin*, State Normal School at Troy, volume two, 42-44.

is also unknown. Maybe he protested, or maybe he felt that a protest would be a useless gesture. At any rate, no answer could be found to answer the question, but it does cause one to wonder.

Along with \$7,500 from the state, the Peabody Fund donated \$1,100 and the Slater Fund \$3500 to be used at the school. This appropriation and donations were a total of \$12,200 running capital for that year.

Commencement came in June 1903. At the graduating exercises, thirteen students completed requirements from NSCS.²⁸ These students, like the majority of other graduates, would help educate other colored children. To them possibly, it was better to have some type of employment and little luxury than none at all. If this employment meant teaching at salaries slower than their white counterparts, they would accept it. The effects of slavery possibly made them accept this wage inequality without question.

A total of 320 person had graduated from NSCS. Of this number, 249 were in the education profession teaching.²⁹ Of the remaining 71 students, a few continued their education. Some would engage in one of the industrial subjects they had learned. A few students tried the field of business, and if the female students were continuing, a large number of them were married. Lastly, some numbers had decreased.

A new school year began in September 1903. This school year saw 425 male students and 625 female students.

To operate the school that year, Professor Patterson had only \$7,000 total appropriations. A breakdown of the appropriation is as follows: State of Alabama contributed \$2,100; the Peabody Fund contributed \$1,400; and the Slater Fund contributed \$3,500. On the other side of

²⁸ Alabama Department of Education, *Biennial Report of the Department of Education*, (Montgomery 1902), 30; *State Normal School Record*, (Montgomery 1903).

²⁹ Alabama Department of Education, *Biennial Report of the Department of Education*, (Montgomery 1902), 30.

the ledger, Patterson reported to the State Board of Education as follows: the president's salary was \$1,800; salaries paid teachers and other school officers totaled \$11,867.44; and other expenses were \$3,812.56. This was a total of \$17,480. Yet the report stated that the total running expenses were \$15,000, and the school had a total income of \$15,500, which would indicate that a balance of \$500 was on hand.³⁰ These numbers could not be possible, using the figures above, but there is always the possibility of a typographical error.

NSCS had no significant events until graduation, which again was early in June 1903. Another small class graduated from NCSC. This time only eleven students were given certificates and diplomas for satisfactorily completed the prescribed courses.

With school out for the summer, the students would pack up and return to cotton fields to help their parents. In this way, the money that would be paid to helpers could stay in the families. These students also knew the value of returning home summers to help. There were others who could afford to travel North and find a better paying job. But approximately 75 percent or more of the students that attended NSCS were from rural areas. They earned what they could during the summer months for the next school year.

In September 1903, with summer work accomplished and vacation at an end, the doors opened to 591 female students and 414 male students. A total of 1,015 students would spend the 1903-1904 scholastic year at the school. In turn, knowledge gained would place them in the so-called middle class should they be successful. All of the hardships, which parents suffered by giving up needed items, could be partially returned if the student completed his or her requirements for graduation.

³⁰ Alabama Department of Education, *Biennial Report of the Department of Education*, (Montgomery 1903).

To help the colored people who studied at NSCS, Alabama appropriated a pitiful \$6,940 for that school year. The Peabody Fund contributed \$1,400 and the Slater Fund again gave Professor Patterson the usual \$3,500. Patterson again reported total running expenses in excess of \$15,000 with appropriations of \$6,940 from the state.³¹ The Slater Fund, the Peabody Fund, and the balance of the money to operate the school came through gifts from friends of the school. The majority of these donors were colored citizens in Montgomery who felt like NSCS was their school. This balance would also include tuitions for students in the Preparatory Department, which averaged about \$63 per pupil.

It was with the help of the colored citizens that NSCS could exist for another year. The school continued but with no additions in the curriculum and no major changes. It would be utopian to believe that additions or changes could be made without adequate and much needed financial support. When it came to monies to educate her colored citizens, the state of Alabama appears to have played hide and seek, staying hid all of the time.

Another class did graduate against these formidable odds in June 1904. 11 students graduated and took their places in society as wage earners.³² These students also shared the distinction of being the class that graduated on the thirtieth anniversary of NSCS.

³¹ Alabama Department of Education, *Biennial Report of the Department of Education*, (Montgomery 1903).

³² Alabama Department of Education, *Biennial Report of the Department of Education*, (Montgomery 1903).

Conclusion

Alabama State College ended the first three decades (1874-1904) as an institution whose primary concern was teaching training and industrial training. It had not been an easy task for the institution to survive because of the lack of financial aid from the State of Alabama, and opposition from those whites who did not want a Negro college. But the determination of the colored citizens and white moderates won their victory for the permanent establishment of a state supported institution of higher learning for Negroes.

It can definitely be stated that NSCS was not a college during this period. It was not until 1920 that a junior college program leading to the Bachelor of Science in Education was authorized by the State Board of Education and the legislature. In 1929, NSCS became the State Teachers College, Alabama State College for Negroes. Then in 1940, Alabama State was sanctioned by the board for the graduate-level fifth-year program that led to the Master of Education degree. Before these times, Alabama State can only be considered a high school.

The normal school that it was, it only covered the grades from the ninth grades through the twelve grades. However, at times there was a college freshman course taught at Alabama State. With the small amount of capital invested into the school, one can readily see that a college could not be constructed and maintained. To call an institution a college does not make it one. There is ample evidence that Alabama State was not a college much less a university during this period. Its graduates were permitted to teach with high school certificates. As standards were raised, persons who had taught for a number of years were required to go back to school to complete the minimum requirements if they had the intention of continuing their profession.

At the end of thirty years, Alabama State could report that the total value of its school property was only \$47,600. Yet, on the other hand, Alabama A&M could boast that the value of

its school property was a whopping \$205,718. It should be remembered that Alabama A&M came under the control of the state of Alabama in 1872. It should also be noted that there is no evidence that the presidents of Alabama State asked the state for the needed capital to operate. Just possibly, these men felt that it was useless, since the Board of Education knew about the plight of Alabama State. When talking about presidents of Negro institutions that were controlled by the state of Alabama, there is this story that was told in Montgomery by some of the old colored citizens. The story opens with a young Negro who has been chosen as the president of Alabama State. It was in his inauguration address that he stated that he wanted this institution to be as great as the white schools. He went on to say that he wanted his football team to be as well dressed as Lanier High, which was also in Montgomery, he wanted his band dressed as well as Lanier, and finally, he wanted his school to be as large and have as much money spent on his school as the whites were doing for the white students as Lanier High.

The story ends with this sad note. This young man received a call from the State Board of Education that same evening informing him that he was no longer needed. This story is supposed to be true. The name of the young man who almost became president of state could no longer be remembered, but after hearing from a number of old state graduates, it appears to be true.

Whether the story is true or not, it does appear that the State Board of Education has never wanted a person whom they could not control

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Appendix

Thirty-third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education, Scholastic year ending September 30, 1887. W.D. Brown and Company State Printers, Montgomery, AL, 1888, 209-212

Section 1: Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Alabama that there is hereby created and established a university for the education of the Colored People of Alabama, to be called The Alabama Colored People's University.

Section 2: The Governor shall appoint eight Trustees, two of whom shall hold office for two years, three for four years, and three for six years, and till their successors are appointed and qualified, and as soon as the university is erected, as hereinafter provided, the Governor shall appoint an additional trustee from the Congressional districts in which it is located, who shall hold said office for two years. Upon the expiration of the terms of office of the trustees, and hereinafter prescribed, the Governor shall, with the advice and consent of the Senate, fill the vacancies and trustees thus appointed shall hold office for six years, and till their successors are qualified. Should a trustee die or resign, the Governor shall appoint a successor who shall office for the unexpired term. The Superintendent of Education shall be a member of said Board of Trustees, and the Governor shall be president thereof.

Section 3: That said board of trustees, shall, within thirty days after they are appointed, meet at such time and place as the Governor may appoint and shall as soon as practicable, select a suitable place for said university, having regard to healthfulness, accessibility and the value of any land or buildings that maybe offered for such university, provided, that no place shall be selected against the wishes of the people of said place, provided that in the location of said

university the commissioners shall have regard to the proper distribution of schools for the education of the colored race.

Section 4: The trustees shall have full power and authority to elect a faculty and such offices and agents as they deem necessary to carry on the university and shall have authority to discharge such faculty, any member thereof, or any officers and agents whenever they see fit to do so and to prescribe the duties of all officers, teachers and agents and to fix their compensation and generally to govern and control said faculty and the university so that the students therein may be taught in the best manner possible the things they are to live by, preferring always the English language and the industries to an education for culture only.

Section 7: For the purpose of buying the necessary land or buildings, or the land and erecting thereon suitable buildings, there is hereby appropriated to the colored race, \$4000 in October, 1887, \$4000 in October, 1888 and \$2000 in October 1889, which shall be paid out on the Governor, or as it is actually needed and no faster.

Section 8: The Governor shall sell of the remaining land and the building at Marion and have the proceeds thereof applied to the building or equipment of the Alabama Colored University.

Section 10: For the support of maintenance of said university, there is hereby set apart and appropriated of the school fund, the sum of \$75,000 annually, to be paid of the first day of January, April, and October of every year, but this appropriation shall begin on the first scholastic quarter after the university is ready for receiving and teaching students and not before.

Section 11: That all sections 1245, 1246, 1247, 1248, 1249, 1250, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1257, and all acts amendatory of said sections, together with the act

establishing a Normal School in the Lincoln school building at Marion, Perry County, be and the same are hereby repeal of said section and acts to take effect on the first day of August, 1887.

Montgomery being chosen as the site of the university by Mr. Patterson didn't appear to have been fruitful for the next two years. As soon as the act to create the university, some whites sued in court to have it abolished or at least to rule this act unconstitutional. The Courts held that the legislature had exceeded its authority in creating Alabama Colored People's University, for the court contended, it, the legislature could not create a school above the Normal level. This, however, did not stop Patterson and the Negro citizens in Montgomery.

A Board of Trustees composed of Negroes were elected with helping the State Board (whites), to create the University. The Negro members were: Dr. James A. Foster, Pastor First Baptist Church; Dr. J.W. Alsorh, Old Ship A.M.E.Z. Church; Dr. T.A. Weathington, Messrs. H.A. Lovelace, Undertaker; W. DeJarnette, Grocer; W. Watkins, Building Contractor, and Loneless, Funeral Director.

Acts of the General Assembly

Passed at the Session of 1888-9

#335

Brown Printing Co.

Approved 2-23-1889

Pp. 509-511

#4

For the removal of the State Normal School and University for colored students from Marion, Perry County, to change its name to the State Normal School for Colored Students and to provide for the control and maintenance of the same.

Section 1: Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Alabama, that the State Normal School and University for Colored Students not at Marion, Perry County be and the name is hereby removed to some other place in the State as hereinafter provided and its name is changed to the State Normal School for Colored Students.

Section 2: The Board of Trustees of said Normal School shall consist of six members, together with the governor and Superintendent of Education shall be the duty of the governor as soon as practicable after the passage of this bill, to appoint six trustees, two of whom shall serve a term of six years, two shall serve a term of four years and two shall serve for two years, and every two years thereafter it shall be the duty of the governor to appoint two trustees who shall serve for a term of six years.

Section 3: The members of said Board of Trustees shall receive no compensation for their services except their actual expenses in going to and returning from their meeting which said expenses upon the certificate of the secretary of the Board, approved by its president, shall be paid out of the fund annually appropriated and set apart for the maintenance and support of said

Normal School. The Board of Trustees as now organized at Marion shall cease to exist upon the appointment and organization of the new Board as hereinafter provided for.

Section 4: Any vacancy in the Board of Trustees caused by death, resignation or otherwise, shall be filled by appointment of the governor, the appointee holding for the unexpired term of his predecessor.

Section 5: The Board of Trustees shall meet at such times and places as it may appoint.

Section 6: The Board of Trustees shall choose one of their number as president of their board, who shall not vote on any question except in cause of a tie, and they shall take such bond from such treasurer as they shall deem sufficient and adequate to secure the faithful performance of his duties in at least double the amount that he may have on hand at any one time, bond to be approved by the probate judge of the County wherein the Normal School is located and a certified copy thereof filed in the office of State Superintendent of Education, the secretary and treasurer shall be chosen annually, and shall hold their offices until their successors are elected and qualified.

Section 7: That said Board of Trustees shall within thirty days after they are appointed, meet at such time and place as the Superintendent of Education may appoint and shall elect a suitable place for said Normal School, provided, that it shall not be located in any town or city against the wishes of the white people of said town or city.

Section 8: The trustees shall have fullpower and authority to elect a faculty and such officers and agents as they deem necessary to carry on the Normal School, and shall have authority to discharge such faculty or any member thereof, or any officer or agent, whenever they see fit to do so, and to prescribe the duties of all officers, teachers and agents and to fix their

compensation, and generally to govern and control said faculty and the Normal School. They shall also have authority to settle all claims now existing against said Normal School.

Section 9: For the purpose of buying the necessary land or buildings, or the necessary land and erecting thereon the necessary buildings, there is hereby appropriated the sum of \$15,000 for the school fund of the colored race, \$6000 to be paid to the treasurer of the Normal School on the first day of January 1889, or as soon thereafter as he may be elected, and give bond for \$6000 to be paid October 1, 1889, and \$3000 on the first of October 1890. The first \$6000 mentioned in this section shall be paid out of the unapportioned balance now in the treasury to the credit of the colored school fund.

Section 10: The Trustees of State Normal School shall take charge of the property of the State of Alabama, near Marion, Perry County, and shall dispose of it so as to best subserve the interests of the State. If sold, the proceeds shall be used in furnishing the new buildings wherever located.

Section 11: It shall be the duty of the Board of Trustees to organize a Normal School upon the most approved plans; said Normal School to constitute a part of the common school system of the State.

Section 12: The president of the Board of Trustees shall make a full complete report annually to the State Superintendent of Education showing the operation of said Normal School, the amount of money received and disbursed and such other information as maybe required by law.

Section 13: That upon the completion of the prescribed course of study in the Normal School, one after sustaining of satisfactory examination, upon the recommendation of the president, approved by the Board of Trustees, the Superintendent of Education shall issue a

display to the graduates of the Normal School, which shall entitle them to teach in the Colored School of the State without further examination.

Section 14: That in connection with the Normal School there may be established a training department.

Section 15: For the support and maintenance of said Normal School, there is hereby set apart and appropriated of the school fund for the education of the colored race, the sum of \$7500 annually, to be paid to the treasurer of the said Board of Trustees in equal installments on the first days of January, April, October of every year; the installments for January and April 1889, to be paid out of the unapportioned balance now in Treasury to the credit of the colored school fund.

Public School Laws of Alabama

Montgomery 1891
Pp. 122-124

Smith Allred and Co.
Printers and Book Binders

Section 1: The State Normal School and University for Colored Students now at Marion, Perry County, be the same is hereby removed to some other place in the state as hereinafter provided, and its name is changed to State Normal School for Colored Students.

Section 2: The board of trustees of said Normal School shall consist of six members, together with the governor, as soon as practicable after the passage of this bill, to appoint six trustees, two of whom shall serve for a term of six years, two shall for a term of four years, and two shall serve for a term of two years and every two years thereafter it shall be the duty of the governor to appoint two trustees who shall serve for a term of six years.

Section 3: The members of said board of trustees shall receive no compensation of their services except their actual expenses, upon the certificate of the secretary of the board, approved by its president, shall be paid out of the fund annually appropriated and set apart for the maintenance and support of said Normal School. The Board of Trustees as now organized at Marion shall cease to exist upon the appointment and organization of the new board hereinafter provided for.

Section 4: Any vacancy in the Board of Trustees caused by death, resignation or otherwise, shall be filled by appointment of the governor, the appointee holding for unexpired term of his predecessor.

Section 5: The Board of Trustees shall meet at such times and places as it may appoint.

Section 6: The Board of Trustees shall choose one of their number as president of their board, who shall not vote on any question except in case of a tie, and they shall elect a secretary

and treasurer, and they shall take such bond from such treasurer as they shall deem sufficient and adequate to secure the faithful performance of his duties in at least double the amount that he may have on hand at any one time, bond to be approved by the probate judge of the county wherein the Normal School is located, and a certified copy thereof filed in the office of the State Superintendent of Education. The secretary and treasurer shall be chosen annually, and shall hold their office until their successors are elected and qualified.

Section 7: That said the Board of Trustees shall within thirty days after they are appointed, meet at such time and place as the State Superintendent of Education may appoint, and shall select a suitable place for said Normal School, having regard for healthfulness, accessibility, and the value of any land or buildings that may be offered for such Normal School; provided that it shall not be located in any town or city against the wishes of the white people of said town or city.

Section 8: The trustees shall have full power and authority to elect a faculty and such officers and agents as they deem necessary to carry on the Normal School, and shall have authority to discharge such faculty of any member thereof, or any officer or agent, whenever they see fit to do so, and to prescribe the duties of all officers, teachers and agents, and to fix their compensation and generally to govern and control said faculty and the Normal School. They shall also have authority to settle all claims now existing against said Normal School.

Section 9: For the purpose of buying the necessary land, or buildings, or the necessary land and erecting thereon the necessary buildings, there is hereby appropriated the sum of \$1500 from the school funds of the colored race, \$6000 to be paid to the treasurer of the Normal School on the first day of January 1889, or as soon thereafter as he may be elected, and give bond: \$6000 to be paid October 1, 1889, and \$3000 October 1, 1890. The first \$6000 mentioned in this

section shall be paid out of the unapportioned balance now in the treasury to credit of the colored school fund.

Section 10: The trustees of the State Normal School shall take charge of the property of the State of Alabama, near Marion, Perry County, and shall dispose of it so as to best subserve the interests of the State. If sold, the proceeds shall be used in furnishing the new building wherever located.

Section 11: It shall be the duty of the Board of Trustees to organize a Normal School upon the most approved plan; said Normal School to constitute a part of the common school system of the State.

Section 12: The president of the Board of Trustees shall make a full and complete report annually to the State Superintendent of Education showing the operation of said Normal School, the amount of money received and disbursed, and such other information as may be required by law.

Section 13: That upon the completion of the prescribed course of study in the Normal School, and after sustaining a satisfactory examination upon the recommendation of the president, approved by the Board of Trustees, the Superintendent of Education shall issue a diploma to the graduates of the Normal School, which entitle them to teach in colored schools of the State without further examination.

Section 14: That in connection with the Normal School there may be established a training department.

Section 15: For the support and maintenance of said Normal School, there is hereby set apart and appropriated of the school fund for the education of the colored race, the sum of \$7500 annually to be paid to the treasurer of the said board of trustees in equal installments on the first

day of January, April and October of every year; the installments for January and April, 1889 to be paid out the unapportioned balance now in the treasury to the credit of the colored school fund.

Stephen Child's Letter to the Editor

Lincoln Normal University.

THE OTHER SIDE.

Mr. Editor:

It seems to me very proper that all the facts relating to our school should be laid before the good people of Marion before any hasty action is taken regarding its removal.

There are some who have very probably signed the petition mentioned in your paper of two weeks ago, without knowing anything of the circumstances connected with its history. There are many too who are ready to join with the mob's attitude and cry, "It must go," but they can give no good reason why, and do not consider whether it would be treating our people justly to do so. After what has already appeared in the columns of the STANDARD in favor of the removal, you, Mr. Editor, will, no doubt, give me permission to present the other side. I am the only colored member of the Board of Trustees, and also, to some extent, a representative of my people, and am particularly interested in the school, in which I hope we have a large family.

In 1869 we bought an acre of ground from the Hon. Porter King for \$400, of which amount he kindly donated \$50. The American Missionary Association furnished the material, and we furnished the labor, and put up a building valued at \$4,000. The school was operated by this Association until 1873, when the State of Alabama offered to establish a normal school and university *permanently*, if the use of the buildings were given for that purpose. This was done very reluctantly, as we were warned by the officers of the Association and other northern friends that it would be unwise to put ourselves in the hands of the white people, as disagreement might arise and we would be without a school. At length, after weeks of anxious deliberation, and trusting the assurances of friendship pledged by some of the best *white* citizens of Marion, consent was given, and the Lincoln Normal University was established. The State appropriated the sum of \$4,000 annually for the support of the school in consideration of the use of the buildings.

This money was taken out of the amount annually appropriated to colored schools. Since its establishment the school has been entirely under the control of a State Board of Trustees, and it stands alone in the State, and probably in the South, in this respect. The other normal schools are under Northern influence, and supported largely by Northern money.

In 1879 the school had outgrown the capacity of the buildings and grounds, and it was decided to move the building and improve it. The action of the board inspired our people with confidence in their management, and we were grateful for the interest manifested in our education and improvement. Most of us have abandoned politics and have devoted our time and labor to securing money, making an honest living, and educating our children. Some have come from other parts of the State also, and have bought property here in order to be near the school.

In return for the privileges which the school brought within our reach we have endeavored to conduct ourselves as good citizens, and those in charge of the school have done all in their power to make it popular, and to make it also a great benefit to our town. Over \$20,000 have been spent annually for some years by the school. We have done our best to have the scholars attending the normal school behave properly in going to and returning from school. We certainly regret that any disorder ever occurred, but such is the case among all school children. The boarding students have always behaved well, and the charges made against pupils for disorder in the street, lie at the door of pupils in the town, and who would be here even if a change is made as to the management of the school.

I might say more, Mr. Editor, but will not at present. I want it distinctly understood that I have no desire to get up a controversy re-

garding this matter. But I consider it my duty to publish the above facts, so that the citizens of Marion could weigh the matter and do us justice. We want the school to remain as it is. There are about three hundred children of school age around Marion. We are not able to send them off, and we must try to educate them here. It will be hard for us to do it, if the school is moved; but believing as we do, that education is about all that this generation can give their children, we are determined to do our duty.

Yours for the right,
STEPHEN CHILDS.

STATEMENT OF APOLOGY, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,
AUBURN UNIVERSITY, 2020



On February 19, 2020, Dr. Harold Franklin successfully defended his M.A. Thesis on the History of Alabama State College, 51 years after his withdrawal from Auburn University. At his defense, the following statement was read to explain why Dr. Franklin had been prevented from defending the thesis earlier and to provide an apology for the department's past actions. The Department of History circulated this document for signatures to affirm our approval of this statement.

February 19, 2020

Dr. Franklin was the first African American student to enroll at Auburn University, as the result of a class-action lawsuit decided in his favor in August 1963. Dr. Franklin then enrolled in the Graduate School, seeking a master's degree in History. Although Dr. Franklin's matriculation at Auburn created a pathway utilized later by other African American students, his own experience at the university was far from positive. He dealt with a level of institutionalized racism and personal discrimination that significantly undermined the education he sought. Unfortunately, the faculty in the department of history, including the director of his thesis project and the members of his thesis committee, appear to have participated in a campaign to render it exceedingly difficult for then-student Harold Franklin to receive approval of his master's thesis and obtain the degree. The President of Auburn University at the time that Dr. Franklin applied for admission in 1963, and the person who, therefore, played a pivotal role in denying his application for admission, thus prompting the lawsuit, was Dr. Ralph Brown Draughon, Sr., also a tenured member of the History Department.

In the interest of beginning a process of reparative justice for any role the Department of History and its faculty may have played in perpetuating this specific racial injustice, or any others of the past, we reached out to Dr. Franklin in Fall of 2019 to learn from him directly about his experience in our department. Dr. Franklin recalled some fond memories of being a graduate history student at Auburn, but he also very clearly recalled that his committee actively fought his efforts to win final approval of his thesis in order to complete the Master's Degree. Specifically, he recalled submitting multiple drafts to his committee chair, who finally told him that, because he was African American, his final thesis draft had to be absolutely "perfect." Dr. Franklin at that time interpreted that to mean that he would never receive a master's degree from the

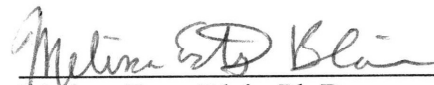
Department of History at Auburn University. He then left Auburn, eventually obtaining a Master's Degree in International Studies from the University of Denver, and went on to a long and distinguished career as an educator at various institutions, including at Talladega College, Tuskegee Institute, North Carolina A & T University, and Alabama State University. In 2001, Auburn University awarded Dr. Franklin an honorary doctorate in recognition of his contribution to the desegregation of Auburn University. What the university has never done, however, is to actually award the degree he did, in fact, earn: a Master's Degree in History. Until now, of course.

Dr. Franklin still maintains the final draft of the completed master's thesis that he wrote at that time and provided it to us when we met last fall. Several of us have read this draft, which is a history of the formation of Alabama State University, a topic no one had researched or written at the time that Dr. Franklin completed this project (1969). He chose this topic, as he told us, because his committee refused to allow him to pursue a topic on the history of the civil rights movement. Now, of course, such a refusal would be ridiculous, as social movements, and specifically, the black freedom struggle, past and present, are foundational fields across multiple disciplines in the Academy. Dr. Franklin's instincts as a graduate student were spot-on. The same cannot be said, unfortunately, of the baser motives that appear to have led his committee to deny not only this topic to Dr. Franklin, but the degree itself.

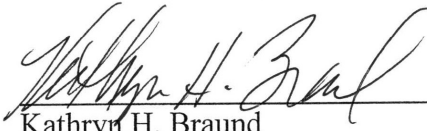
Those of us in the history department who have read Dr. Franklin's thesis have judged it to be more than acceptable as a final draft suitable for awarding a Master's Degree in History from Auburn University. We are honored to be the faculty members of Dr. Franklin's new thesis committee, and to have conducted this thesis defense. And on behalf of the entire faculty of the Department of History, we extend our sincere apologies for any harm caused by the members of our Department.



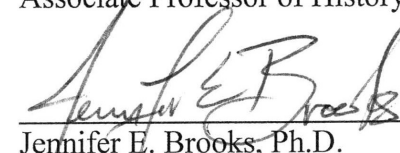
Morris L. Bian, Ph.D.
Professor of History



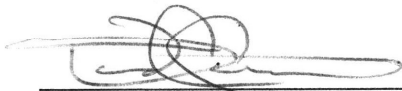
Melissa Estes Blair, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of History



Kathryn H. Braund
Hollifield Professor of Southern History



Jennifer E. Brooks, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of History
Director of Graduate Studies in History



David C. Carter, Ph.D.
Hollifield Associate Professor
of Southern History



Kate M. Craig, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of History



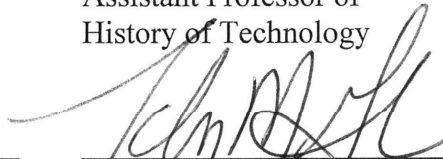
Christopher Ferguson, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of History



Xaq Frohlich, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of
History of Technology



Elijah Gaddis, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of History



Cathleen M. Grustino, Ph.D.
Mills Carter Professor of History



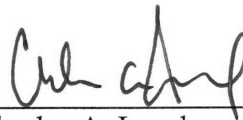
Sarah R. Hamilton, J.D., Ph.D.
Associate Professor of History



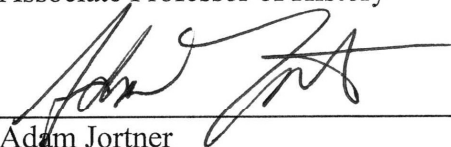
Heidi Hausse, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of History



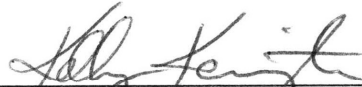
Keith S. Hébert, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of History



Charles A. Israel
Associate Professor of History



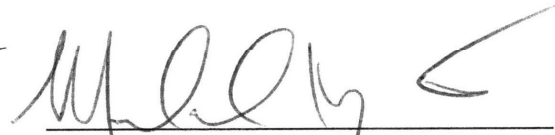
Adam Jortner
Goodwin-Philpott Distinguished Scholar
in Religion, Professor of History



Kelly Kennington, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of History



Ralph Kingston, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of History



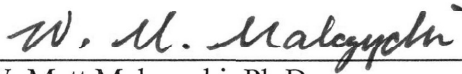
Michael Kozuh, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of History



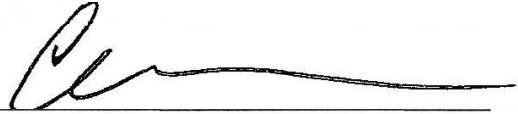
Monique Laney, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of History



David N. Lucsko
Professor and Chair



W. Matt Malczycki, Ph.D.
Kicklighter Professor of History



Austin McCoy
Assistant Professor of History



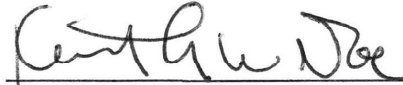
Eden K. McLean
Associate Professor of History



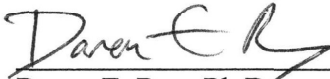
Alan D. Meyer, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of History



Guy Emerson Mount, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of History



Kenneth W. Noe, Ph.D.
Draughon Professor of Southern History



Daren E. Ray, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of History



Tiffany A. Sippial, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of History