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From a Northern Home to a Southern School: Cultural Imperialists or Just Stubborn Yankees

Janel Janiczek Smith

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FROM A NORTHERN HOME TO A SOUTHERN SCHOOL: CULTURAL
IMPERIALISTS OR JUST STUBBORN YANKEES?

by

JANEL JANICZEK SMITH

(Under the Direction of Daniel E. Chapman)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the cultural influences on the lives of northern teachers in southern schools. During the 1860s, white, northern, middle-class women traveled to southern homes to begin and maintain schools for the recently freed slaves. Each woman carried with her an independent set of cultural systems that predetermined her perspective for educating the African American students. Furthermore, the northern relief agencies, Freedmen's Bureau agents, southern white citizens, and southern freedmen all had their own opinions for the education of the students. Although much time has elapsed between the 1860s and 2013, the same topics and contextual forces are again relevant to northern teachers who embark on new careers in southern schools.

Although the Emancipation Proclamation symbolically freed millions of slaves, equal opportunities and conditions were not immediately granted to the freedmen. Instead, teachers and relief workers supported northern, Protestant goals for the economy of the nation that required the continued labor of the freedmen in fields. While conflicts arose between members of both races regarding the intentions of the northern teachers, the women also challenged the traditional role for the 19th century woman in both northern and southern society. As the female teachers navigated their own perceptions of

race and gender, religious, economic, and political institutions also impacted the daily curriculum of the classroom through systems of control and obedience.

Despite over one hundred and fifty years of time between the arrivals of the first northern teachers during the Civil War, many conditions stay the same in southern schools. The connections made between past and present are built around my own experiences in the southern classroom, yet they can be applied to the lives of other northern women navigating today's southern classrooms.

INDEX WORDS: Curriculum Studies, Culture, Race, Gender, Political Education, History, Education, Freedmen's Bureau

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IMPERIALISTS OR JUST STUBBORN YANKEES?

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CHAPTER 1

RECOGNIZING THE CULTURAL DEMANDS OF EDUCATION

When teachers enter the profession, there is no doubt that the purpose of their career will be to educate and prepare our nation's youth for a productive future. Some people cite a love of children, an expectation to transfer content knowledge to students, or even a desire to have summers off. With these goals in mind, countless students enter our nation's collegiate programs to be educated in education. Teacher preparedness programs aim to prepare the teacher with tools necessary for today's classrooms including technological competencies, knowledge of objectives and standards, and a firm understanding of assessment practices. In addition, there will also be discussions of topics such as equity for all students, including those with special needs in the mainstream classroom, and the impact of race and gender the classroom. All of this is done in preparation for entering a first classroom, but there are pivotal gaps in the knowledge and understanding of our nation's teachers primarily in the innumerable ways in which culture impacts the daily interactions between teachers, students, administrators, and parents.

Beginning in the 1860s and into 1870s, northern, white women applied and were selected to teach recently freed African Americans in southern classrooms. Even before the end of the Civil War, these women abandoned the luxuries of home to impart religious, moral, and literary knowledge into the minds of students, young and old. Although the role of the northern women diminished with state control of southern

schools during the 1870s, a trend has developed recently in which educated northern teachers seek employment in southern states. This is where my personal interest lies as I moved to Georgia in the summer of 2006 after graduating with my teaching degree. This trend is due in part to the increased mobility of teacher licensure paired with technologically advanced ways to find employment that allow women to again leave their homes to teach in southern schools.

The movement of northern, females fulfilling teaching obligations in southern schools has rarely been found in discussions of teaching and learning in the field of Curriculum Studies. Although the women who taught in the 1860s are credited by some as helping to lay the foundation for the southern public school system (Foner, 1988; Pinar, 2004), their efforts are not detailed in texts within the field. Today, women are recruited at job fairs and granted reciprocity to move and teach in southern schools, yet are given little to no support to negotiate the complex interactions between northern and southern ideals, norms, and values. Classrooms of the 1860s and today's educational institutions face the similar problems and challenges despite the passing of decades of time. Although the student populations change, there are some cultural characteristics that many teachers exemplify, mainly that teachers are predominantly white and female. The purpose of this archival research is to explore and analyze the documents that women created in the 1860s and 1870s to share their experiences with superiors, colleagues, and family members. To collect, organize, and analyze the thousands of samples of text from these authors, I will use the method of content analysis with the qualitative samples. Using content analysis will allow me to explore the words of the women for patterns so that the women's experiences and positions can be understood from their own cultural

and historical perspective. By pairing the stories of the women with contextual details of time and place, the cultural elements of the situations will be discussed. In addition, the knowledge extrapolated from the stories of the women will be analyzed against my own experiences as a northern, female, middle-class woman who moved to Savannah, Georgia in 2006 to teach in the public school system.

When curriculum theorists and teachers use the word culture, it is rarely associated with one particular concept of culture, one cultural way of life, or one use of a signifying system. This lack of concrete word usage sometimes causes ambiguity in research and suggests a careful look at the definition of culture and the implications for understanding within classrooms. By taking a closer look at multiple conceptions of culture that exist in our societies, one may open awareness to the contributions of minority cultures with multiple effects for the greater society. First, the cultural frames of reference of students and teachers can be confirmed. Furthermore, by engaging in a dialogue, teachers and students can navigate a more meaningful and democratic curriculum with implications for social justice. In these ways, teachers and students can act with resistance, both against the testing culture of current education and the dominant white privilege that maintains power through institutions of learning. **The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the ways in which teachers, both past and present, interpret race, gender, religion, class, region, and influences of various institutions in addition to interactions with members of other cultural groups to navigate their own positions as teachers in a southern school.** Specifically, I will explore ways in which teachers act to uphold and subvert the dominant ideology of the American school systems or ways in which they work to support the diverse cultural identities of parents

and students. The role of the teacher is much more than a conduit to knowledge within a particular field; the hidden curriculum of the classroom is directly tied to the actions of the teacher to convey lessons to the students related to cultural ways of life. As teachers navigate these situations bound by struggles of dominant culture and power, they either defend or complicate identities as educators through self-reflection upon the lessons and cultural knowledge of both past and present.

Putting it in Perspective - Significance of Research

In the 1800s, there were no licensing boards, lists of collegiate requirements, or national examinations in order to be certified as a teacher. Instead, in many cases, local agencies or even families chose teachers based on differing sets of requirements that ensured that the social, moral, and even religious values of the teacher matched those of the school leadership. “In 1898, only three states issued teacher certificates. In the other states, the certification of teachers was controlled by a county board of examiners, a superintendent, or a local board of education” (Cogshall & Sexton, 2008, p. 7). As the power for choosing teachers rested in the hands of the local school leaders, it was ensured that the teacher fit specific requirements that further corresponded to expectations for women in the 1800s. Teachers would have been sought for a willingness to be paid less than men, an ability to maternally care for the students, and compliance to the rules set forth by the ruling body. In rural areas where teachers would have been hired and supported by a family or group of families, the same structure was in place to enforce the values of the community. Commonly in the early 1800s, schools would have been created

on land no longer usable for crop, called “‘old field schools’ . . . A schoolmaster would contract with local families to operate a school in their vicinity. Each family paid tuition to the teacher” (Pearlmann & Margo, 2001, p. 35). This system of selection based on cultural norms ensured that the hidden curriculum of the classroom aligned with the values of the community.

A similar system was put into place in the 1860s as northern philanthropists and the Freedmen’s Bureau, a division of the federal government, held the responsibility for choosing teachers that would travel south to begin or teach in the Freedmen’s Bureau schools. The women independently applied to aid associations for sponsorship and were chosen based on the qualities of womanhood and piety demonstrated in the application. In the context of the 19th century, it must be remembered that women were valued for qualities of piety, silence, and a nurturing and motherly spirit. While history has until recently identified teachers of the freedmen in Georgia to be 75% to 80% female, white, middle-class women from New England (Jones, 1980/1992, p. 31), Ronald Butchart (2010) has quantitatively documented that approximately half of all teachers in schools for freedmen were women (xiv) while over one-fifth of all women associated with the education of the freedmen were from New England states (xii). The statistics published by Butchart are important in understanding this time period for many reasons. First, it documents that a large percentage of teachers were women which is further highlighted by the longevity achieved by some women such as Martha L. Schofield, Laura M. Towne, and Rachel C. Mather. Second, the text proves that a portion of the women came from New England states while leaving room for a part that also came from northern support agencies in such cities as New York and Philadelphia. Also, it documents the

diversity of the teachers themselves, a mix of race, gender, religion, and socio-economic status who worked in the freedmen's schools and in some cases even sharing the same housing arrangements.

The movement of northern women to southern states would slow and eventually be stopped by political and social influences in the 1870s. Southern states exerted power over the Freedmen's Bureau schools as funding from the federal government diminished, again giving the local authorities to choose teachers for the schools to the southern political powers. Over time, most northern women, both white and black, were removed from positions to be replaced by southern men or women. In addition, the hostility between northern and southern states did not diminish with the end of the Civil War. Instead, northern teachers were seen as a sign of the North extending influence over the South. "After 1850 there was increasing sensitivity about copying northern norms and institutions; belaboring the North-South comparisons on any issue would not help the cause of southern school reform" (Pearlmann & Margo, 2001, p. 39). The significance of the northern teacher in the classroom was seen as a political strategy to impart northern ideas of freedom or rights into the minds of the freedmen instead of regaining the patriarchal power lost by southern society in the Civil War. Over time, southern aristocracy regained political power and northern teachers were, in most cases, removed from teaching positions.

The role of the northern, white, female teacher lessened in the southern school with the formation of southern public school systems which ended the movement of teachers from northern homes to southern schools for a period of time. Although the removal of northern teachers ended their influence in the schools, northern groups still

used authority in different ways. For example, “reformers, northern philanthropy from the General Education Board (GEB) and the Julius Rosenwald Fund (JRF), and the US Department of Agriculture (USDA) sought to build a school system based on national models but met frequent opposition” (Chirhart, 2005, p. 10). As mentioned before, the ruling powers of southern states resisted any influence from the teachers or institutional powers originating in northern states. Over time, the JRF would provide more than 5,000 school buildings for African American students in southern states in addition to workshops and homes for teachers. Since southern white society resisted the assistance, the efforts of the JRF were successful only in conjunction with support from the African American community. Another example which impacted the African American community was through the efforts of teachers themselves. “Funded by northern philanthropist Anna T. Jeanes, African American women teachers who worked as education supervisors in districts and became known as Jeanes teachers referred to themselves as the ‘guiding light of education’” (Chirhart, 2005, p. 9). The Jeanes teachers symbolized an effort to ensure that African American teachers were instructing African American students in southern classrooms. This program began in Georgia in 1908 and eventually came to a close in the 1960s. I highlight these two programs to show that during the time period after the Civil War until the 2000s, there was no direct movement of northern teachers to southern schools that would match the influence of those who taught in Freedmen’s Bureau schools during the 1860s and 1870s. Although the JRF and Jeanes teachers were contributions, they were directly supported by the southern, African American communities in which they served.

During the 20th century, initiatives would span the country to develop standard requirements for teachers instead of the differing methods designed by states or local boards. Between 1900 and 1938, over 40 states would begin the process whereby states “obtained centralized control over teacher certification” (Coggshall & Sexton, 2008, p. 8) with the power to issue certificates held by the State Departments of Education. These requirements would ensure that an applicant satisfied a set of courses with pay depending upon the level of coursework completed at the collegial level, but only so for a white woman. With this move toward standardization, states still held the power to make requirements match their own needs and consequently requirements were not uniform across the country. Although these regulations set standards for teaching positions, the option to move between states still required meeting another set of regulations and coursework. A 2001 report noted the issues with the current system as it stated, “Teachers, like all Americans, are becoming more mobile both within states and across states” (Curran, Abrahams, & Clarke, 2001, p. 4). The key problem with teacher mobility was found in the lack of reciprocity across state lines. In response to this issue, 40 states plus the District of Columbia, Guam, and Puerto Rico established a unified system for reciprocity. “The most notable initiative to establish reciprocity is the interstate certification contract maintained by NASDTEC’s [National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification] Interstate Committee” (Curran, Abrahams, & Clarke, 2001, p. 5). This initiative, along with several other regional programs, developed a system of licensure agreements whereby a teacher was guaranteed a teaching license upon a new teaching position. This program still had its flaws, but it opened the doors for movement across state borders while ensuring teacher quality.

This shift to ensuring licensure reciprocity opened the door to teachers needed in 21st century schools with shifting and growing populations. Furthermore, with advancements in technology and internet searches, the ability to find teaching positions in specific locations or subject areas was significantly easier for both the teacher and school system. Jane G. Coggshall and Susan K. Sexton (2008) report the value of technology as they describe:

The increasing use of the Internet to search for both jobs and candidates has further made supporting interstate mobility a necessity, especially for school leaders who want to cast as wide a net as possible for the best candidates, and for teachers who need or want to move for any number of personal and economic reasons. (p. 5)

I discuss these important changes in requirements for licensure, reciprocity of licenses, and the increased use of technology to establish the context for the current movement of teachers from northern homes to southern schools.

At present, there are no extensive published reports documenting the location of educational training and the movement of these teachers across our country since the 1980s. Some studies have been completed in recent years, which attempt to document these movements, but the researchers recognize that the cause for movement is not well documented. “These imbalances in the supply of teachers among states are neither well understood nor adequately studied” (Coggshall & Sexton, 2008, p. 8). In any case, sample data that has been collected in smaller reports is clear in the magnitude of the movement of northern teachers to southern schools. Speaking generally, northern states produce more teachers than teaching positions while some southern states, including

Georgia and South Carolina, are experiencing growth of the school-aged population with a shortage of qualified teachers (Curran, Abrahams, & Clarke, 2001, p. 3).

In more specific terms, the reports demonstrate some important facts related to the movement of northern teachers to southern schools. First, these references show the great number of students graduating as teachers in two key northern states as “New York alone prepares more than 19 percent of the nation’s teacher candidates” (Spellings & Manning, 2006, p. 6) while similarly Pennsylvania produces five percent of all teachers (Spellings & Manning, 2006, p. 7). Not surprisingly, as there is a surplus in the number of teachers looking for employment in the northern states, there is a documented need for such teachers in the southern states. Coggshall & Sexton (2008) demonstrate this need as:

Since 2002, these reports have presented data that indicates that some states “import” more than 40 percent of the teachers to whom they grant initial licenses. . . For example, in the 2004-5 school year, 12 states fell into this category— Alaska, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Maryland, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, South Carolina, and Wyoming. (p. 8)

This report notes that both Georgia and South Carolina received a significant number of new teachers from other states in recent years while the authors go on to report that in 2004-2005, of the 2063 teachers receiving an initial certification in South Carolina, only 578 or 28% of these teachers had completed an education program in South Carolina. Of more interest is that the teachers willing to move for employment, 93% were white and 79% were female (Coggshall & Sexton, 2008, p. 51).

The data cited above proves that a substantial portion of the teachers entering southern states, and specifically Georgia and South Carolina, enter from northern states.

Since New York and Pennsylvania educate nearly one fourth of all the nation's teachers, it can be inferred that a part of these new teachers travel to the southern states from their northern homes. Of interest, also is that "Generally, and not surprisingly, teachers who were able to move had higher levels of education, were somewhat older, and had higher levels of certification, in comparison with new hires who had not moved" (Coggshall & Sexton, 2008, p. 16). I find this statement by Coggshall and Sexton to be personally meaningful because out of my graduating cohort of nearly 50 teachers, three moved to Savannah while several others made the journey to Maryland, Virginia, or Florida. This interest in moving away from Pennsylvania was greatly aided by job fairs where a master's degree from the University of Pittsburgh secured a job from several southern counties or cities on the spot.

These data points are presented to demonstrate a difference in the upbringing of both teachers and students related to place and therefore alludes to cultural differences between teachers and students or teachers and parents that can and do happen in southern schools based on these differences. Northern educated, white women are entering diverse, southern classrooms with little to no knowledge of the cultural terrain into which they are entering. Although some districts or counties, such as the one in which I work, host induction programs for new teachers, the necessary topics of race, gender, or culture are not included or even discussed. Furthermore, cultural dissimilarities can produce job dissatisfaction and movement of teachers which in turn has financial consequences for education. "At least 15 percent of K-12 teachers either switch schools or leave the profession each year, so the cost to school districts nationwide is staggering—an estimated \$5.8 billion" (Graziano, n.d., ¶ 8). Therefore, due to the significant number of

teachers and students affected by these movements and lesser so by the financial costs of job dissatisfaction, the cultural conflicts and ways to work through such problems is the focus of this research.

Plotting the Course – Chapters

Chapters two through five begin with one of my “Autobiographical Rememberings” as I bring my own story to the page. In each remembering, I aim to bring my own voice to the page in order to connect the past, present, and future. Bringing memories of the past to the present is one necessary part of *carreré* (Pinar, 2004, xiii) that allows the voice of me as the teacher to come forward. There is caution in these memories as I do not want to assert my authority for all white, female, northern teachers who have traveled to southern schools in more recent years; my experiences do not claim to stand for all who teach in southern schools. Instead, each remembering immerses both me and the reader in my endeavors, including both the triumphs and the failures. My narrative brings forth my voice to illuminate struggles between my cultural milieu and that of the classroom.

In chapter 2, I explore the history of education before, during, and immediately after the Civil War as is it written in history books. These accounts represent the dominant discourse that has been perpetuated as truth in our nation’s past. This exploration, though, is done in the light of Hayden White’s (1987) notion of history as fiction and Petra Munro Hendry’s (2011) call for *Engendering Curriculum History*. Specifically, there is a dual purpose in the chapter. First, by reviewing and discussing

publications, I will narrate the context of society, politics, and education in the 1850s through early 1870s. This will provide the reader with contextual knowledge of the time period discussed in this work. Second, I will explicitly argue that this history is a social construction by white, male individuals who wrote that period of our nation's history to primarily document the efforts of the federal government and male leaders. The efforts and struggles of women and African Americans are neglected in this history. Therefore, by looking at history as a social construction, a fiction, and by criticizing missing portions of the past, I will make room for the events of the following chapters.

In the next few chapters, I will look at the stories of the women in the 1860s in terms of culture. Since culture has already been defined as a broad term, the text will be broken into three parts to focus on race, gender, and working within power structures of institutions (including government and religions). This is not to say that race, gender, and power structures work separately in society. In fact, the relationships between these concepts are always embedded with one another and interwoven. Yet, it is important to discuss each as a part of the cultural context of society and the classroom.

In chapter 3, I will look specifically at race as a social construct. In this chapter, I will analyze how members of different fields discuss race in fiction, history, and Curriculum Studies. I will discuss the words and actions of women in light of their personal perspectives of education for the freedmen in the context of time and place. The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate that discussions surrounding race are still a part of our nation's classrooms and greater society just as they were over one hundred and fifty years ago. Yet, dedicating only one chapter to this topic moves the conversation beyond a focus on racial conflicts within classrooms. Instead, I see race as one part of an

individual's cultural knowledge while also acknowledging that all members of a race cannot be uniformly grouped under that label.

In chapter 4, I will look at the role of the female in the southern school in the 1860s. The women were chosen based on qualifications of service and compliance with directives of aid agencies and government officials, specifically the virtues of womanhood seen as desirable. Despite the acceptance of the women to represent the Freedmen's Bureau and northern relief agencies, the women acted from their own position of authority within the southern school. This position of the white teacher, along with her words and actions, challenged both southern and northern norms in the 19th century society. In this chapter, I will discuss how women navigated their gendered role within the school and how they explicitly taught these norms and values to the African American communities in which they served.

In chapter 5, I will look at the ways in which teachers negotiate culture through institutions in the classroom. Each teacher is impacted by a variety of institutions which all influence the curriculum of the classroom to meet specific perspectives held by these powers. Specifically, this chapter will focus on the ways in which women negotiated directives from leaders of aid societies or Freedmen's Bureau agents to impact both personal teaching practices and interactions within the community. This chapter will also focus upon the ways in which women worked to recreate northern schools with notions of time, order, and discipline to convey northern, Protestant values. Finally, the chapter will attempt to trace changes in the women's position on these issues over time and the ways in which they acted for or against equality and freedom for the former slaves.

In chapter 6, I will draw conclusions from the research presented in the previous chapter. I will draw conclusions based on the guiding questions outlined for this dissertation research. I will make conclusions regarding the personal choices of the teachers to enact their own perspectives of freedom, race, and equity within the southern society. I will analyze the ways in which women contradict or comply with directives from superiors while making room for the identity of the Self and the student. Last, I will offer suggestions taking up “complicated conversations” (Pinar, 2004, p. 188) of culture within higher education and K-12 institutions.

Putting Culture into the Conversation - Theoretical Framework

When examining race in society during the 1860s, a clear difference is obvious to historians and researchers. Many teachers were white; almost all students were African American. Due to state or federal regulations, white students were not allowed to attend schools supported by the Freedmen’s Bureau or associated relief organizations. This situation existed because although the white northern relief agencies and the federal government supported education for the freedmen; members of the African American race were not considered equal to members of the white race. Furthermore, during and after the Civil War, southern society acted, often through violence, to maintain the power structure that permitted slavery in order to preserve separate spheres in society which forbid interactions between children of different races.

Influences in society, though, did not nor ever will produce a population that can be described only by a unified set of characteristics or identity. Within the population of

students, any one label, such as “African American,” could not accurately summarize a united set of characteristics and identities of all students because one label or generalization did not exemplify a set of norms, cultural values, language, or skills. In fact, the student population of the Freedmen’s Bureau schools was diverse based on cultural differences. Specifically, some students could read the ABCs while others had no educational experiences. Some students were children while others were adults returning from work in the fields or even elderly seeking the word of God in the Bible. Conversely, although the individual students held different life experiences and identities, they all faced the challenges of a racist society due to their united racial identity. Similarly, when looking at the population of young, female teachers, the term “white” or “female” could not uniformly describe the identities of all the teachers. Donaldo Macedo (2006) describes this mistake in generalizing across differences in race as, “I think what we need to avoid is a framework of analysis that collapses all of these factors into one monolithic entity of race” (p. 115). I believe that he is entirely correct due to the cultural impact of many other attributes such as class, gender, region, and religion within each racial category. Each individual had a different socio-economic, familial, and religious background that affected their daily actions within the schools. These components of race, religion, and gender determined the individual’s cultural knowledge and importantly guided daily actions and interactions within the southern society.

Now, I must comment at this point that my teaching positions thus far are by no means representative of Savannah’s most diverse populations in terms of race or socio-economic status. Specifically, while many teachers and students in my school are white, the remaining portion of teachers and students are of differing races and ethnicities

ranging from Panamanian to Chinese, Pilipino to African American, and Palestinian to Jewish. During discussions of my research, several of my colleagues have shared stories of trying to teach at “city” schools where fights took place in classrooms daily and teachers wondered how they “made it” through an entire year. I have only taught at a truly “city” school for four weeks of summer school with a blend of students from three different schools, one being my own. In my current position, I teach at an “island” school, a school located on the eastern shore near Savannah’s city limits with a student population comprised of children and teens living on several barrier islands and students who are bussed from within city limits. Students are from all socio-economic levels and differing races. When describing our school, most teachers note that our school has notably fewer problems with discipline or violence while on the other hand having a higher level of helicopter parents barking through emails every day. Regardless of the level of racial or economic diversity represented by our student body, the fact remains that each year I teach more than 125 different students with different cultural backgrounds on every day of each school year.

Historically, the barrier islands of Georgia and South Carolina were farmlands held by large slave-owning families. The Wormsloe Plantation, located southeast of the city of Savannah, is one such plantation that has been preserved by the family and is now open for visitors as a historical landmark. After the Civil War and Sherman’s march to the sea, he granted all land of the barrier islands south of Charleston to the freedmen. This land includes Whitemarsh Island, where my school is located, Wilmington Island, where many of my students live, and Burnside Island, where I live. This land was sold to freedmen during various land sales and at times taken back by the federal government

when land titles proved to be illegible or incorrect. Over time, the former slaves sold the land that was maintained by families to white individuals willing to pay large amounts of money for these locations by the sea. Today, the barrier islands south of Charleston are occupied by a range of homes from the middle to upper class on some of Savannah's islands to the high upper class on gated communities in South Carolina. The islands also boast Professional Golf Association (PGA) level golf courses on Hilton Head Island and the Landings (near Savannah). In a twist of history, most inhabitants of these islands today are white individuals and families (Greene, 1991; US Census Bureau, 2012, January 17a; US Census Bureau, 2012, January 17b).

Culture is a multi-faceted concept that encompasses every aspect of my daily interactions with parents and students. Teachers and leaders who assume that there are 20 to 30 of the exact same students with the exact same sets of cultural knowledge in a classroom are horribly misguided. Instead, each child possesses a mixture of aspects of the many cultures in which they are a part. Each student's cultural knowledge is developed from popular culture, neighborhood, church or other religious place of worship, extra-curricular activities, ethnicity, family structure, and so on. Being "black" or being "white" does not adequately describe me or my students. In recent reflections, a colleague mentioned that Savannah's student population is not really that diverse. He is correct in that if you look at the city's population in general terms, a large portion of students are African American and a large portion of all students live in families labeled within low socio-economic levels. When I look at my students, though, I regard the cultural diversity of my students to include the qualities that move beyond race and economic status. I teach different students with a variety of home languages, religions,

families, morals, disabilities, preferences, interests, and experiences. The cultural backgrounds of my students impact the ways in which they learn and interact each day within my classroom.

On the other hand, the cultural background of every teacher impacts how he or she teaches each day. This is even more important when you look across our state or nationally as there is a vast array of cultural backgrounds among the teachers in our nation's schools. Each teacher carries his or her own cultural background that ties to his or her sense of place, family, religion, educational experiences, socio-economic class, race, gender, and so on. Grouping me and another teacher from a northern state together does not give us the same cultural identity. From this perspective, as teachers are learning to address the multiple cultural identities in our classrooms, students also are learning to navigate the interactions with their different teachers each day.

Defining (or Not) Culture

In the fields of Curriculum Studies, psychology, sociology, and anthropology, the term "culture" is widely used to describe social conditions, yet each field and theorist has his or her own definition of the important term. This ambiguity implied by one word creates problems when comparing the work of different theorists or across fields. This is especially true when conducting qualitative research because the support for an argument can be easily misinterpreted or seem unclear to a reader. For example, Aaron Wolfgang (1979) writes from a psychological background to describe culture. He writes:

Culture is an abstract term that defines a broad range of activities in which individuals express themselves. Culture can be viewed as an organized body of rules, allowing for individual differences, concerning the ways individuals bound

together by such things as common boundaries, customs, institutions, values, languages, nonverbal behavior, arts, should behave toward one another and toward objects in their surroundings. (p. 162)

His broad definition of culture includes two parts which describe culture both as a way of self-expression and as a set of rules to guide norms in society or groups. This definition includes identification of the individual with a group. In a similar manner, some curriculum theorists give a general definition of culture that is used within their texts. For example, Henry Giroux (2001) explains culture as:

Culture is viewed as a system of practices, a way of life that constitutes and is constituted by a dialectical interplay between the class-specific behavior and circumstances of a particular social group and the powerful ideological and structural determinants in the wider society. (p. 101)

Here, Giroux approaches culture from a slightly different perspective by placing emphasis on interactions between an individual and aspects of society and uses the term “way of life” common to the work of Raymond Williams. This definition is different from the psychological approach because it importantly notes the influence of environmental factors in a person’s life. Furthermore, the word choice used by the two authors conveys different connotations. Wolfgang’s description of culture as an “organized body of rules” implies a fixed and regimented approach while Giroux’s description as a “dialectical interplay” invites movement and fluidity to the concept.

Although both authors give definitions of culture which can be applied to studies of education or schooling, the discrepancies in the definitions demonstrate how the meaning behind one term can vary according to the background of a scholar.

Furthermore, culture is a fluid concept in society. Institutions, popular culture, places, and ideas are constantly changing due to cultural and political influences. This in turn can cause people to question and/or reaffirm their own identity based on a mixture of influences. This can be seen in the African American culture as many traditions are held and traced back to African ancestry (Bailey, 2000). On the other hand, this is not always the case as some groups attempt to vehemently protect and preserve their culture despite outside influences. For example there is continued interest in preserving Native American or indigenous languages in many countries. Just as there are varying uses of culture in society and the education field, when looking at the use of cultural theory as a theoretical framework there are multiple approaches which share similarities and differences.

To look critically at culture in our society requires a purposeful and detailed analysis of not only what events take place but what circumstances in the past and present provide context for those events. The influence of cultural studies is often believed to have begun in the 1970s. Since then, it has been used within a variety of disciplines to look both at the current cultural phenomena as well as past events. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (2005) summarize the efforts of cultural studies as:

In its generic form, cultural studies involves an examination of how the history people live is produced by structures that have been handed down from the past. Each version of cultural studies is joined by a threefold concern with cultural texts, lived experience, and the articulated relationship between texts and everyday life. (p. 187)

Denzin and Lincoln make a connection between cultural components and the active, lived experiences that exist in everyday life. Each person's actions and thoughts have been and

continue to be influenced by messages attained through text, speech, visual mediums, and other forms of communication that transfer symbols both knowingly and unknowingly to the recipient. The field of cultural studies has had key influential theorists over time that have helped to develop components that are used today in Curriculum Studies as well as other disciplines.

When examining different perceptions of culture, it is clear that there is variety within the subject. Besides causing ambiguity for the reader, it simultaneously causes ambiguity for the researcher. When I began this study, I saw culture as a fixed, identifiable concept that labeled and bound an individual to one's place in society. Through my research and reflections upon my work (both professionally and scholarly), I now have a different perspective on the concept. I believe culture is a conceptual position that each person possesses that is created by influences of one's family, education, social experiences, work experiences, relationships, leisure activities, textual experiences and any other situation or occurrence that impacts one's life. These experiences create a host of memories and lessons that are carried by the individual through life which impact future impressions, perspectives, and decisions. I do not believe that culture has the power to make decisions for the individual nor is it a tangible object that can completely or uniquely symbolize an individual. Instead, a person's culture guides an individual through life by bringing the past lessons and present experiences together through a continuously changing relationship. Our experiences create a cultural web of knowledge which is constantly referred to, adapted, or altered.

Significant Cultural Theorists

When I began reading to examine how different intellectuals from different backgrounds described culture, I personally found the most continuity and understanding in the work of Williams. Maybe it is my aptitude for math that has preferred his orderly description of culture that I interpret as layers of cultural heritage and understanding. While he is not a curriculum theorist, his work is a necessary rung in the ladder to understanding the field of cultural theory. I will use his work as the foundation for this discussion.

In Williams' (1976) text titled *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, he describes three categories of the use of the term "culture." The first descriptor reads, "The independent and abstract noun which describes a general process of intellectual, spiritual, and aesthetic development" (p. 90). My interpretation of this term connects closely to the term "cultivate." In the context of education, the use of culture represents the acquisition or cultivation of understanding that is regarded as unique in intellectual, spiritual, or aesthetic knowledge. Although the application of this term is not used often in today's society, it can still be used to reference some historical and current events.

When thinking about the term "cultivate" in a historical context, it calls to mind the subjects taught in some 19th century schools for women. In addition to the subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic, women were also taught subjects that would make them suitable wives and members of society. For example, subjects taught in a Savannah school for girls included the French language, piano or other instruments, embroidery and needlepoint, painting, and even skills needed to make wax fruits and flowers (Griffin, 1963). This set of aesthetic knowledge would have been cultivated to serve members of

an elite society in that time period. Although many of these formal classes have lapsed from classroom education, similar skills are still taught through private schools or other means of formal instruction with organizations that seek to prepare individuals for specific roles in society.

The curriculum of the 19th century school described above served not just to teach isolated skills, but instead sought to develop and cultivate the whole person for his or her predetermined place in society. A similar example in current times is the educational activities of priests and other religious persons in monasteries or other spiritual institutions. Through years of education, an individual acquires intellectual and spiritual knowledge that qualifies that person to be of a higher standing than the rest of the church, synagogue, or congregation. Again, the interest is in the overall growth of the person and not a set of skills or knowledge that is learned in isolation.

William's next conception of culture is very different from the aforementioned and is widely used throughout many fields. Williams (1976) wrote, "The independent noun, whether used generally or specifically, which indicates a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general" (p. 90). Culture as "a way of life" encompasses all the ways in which individuals can claim identity through group membership. The term includes a variety of ways people demonstrate cultural identity whether it be traditional attire, language, music, dance, or any other intangible idea that is only associated with that cultural identity.

Culture as "a way of life" is presented as having anthropological roots. Margaret Eisenhart (2001) describes, "Throughout most of the history of US anthropology as well as in public discourse, 'culture' has often been defined as the patters of life characteristic

of a bounded social group” (p. 2). In studies, it was assumed that membership in a cultural group asserted the possession of common characteristics among all members. “A socially recognized group is assumed to have a distinct culture, and the research is designed to identify its characteristic features” (Eisenhart, 2001, p. 2). In more recent times, though, the view that group membership asserted a set of common characteristics has been challenged. Since individuals in our society are part of many different cultures and display many different ways of life, this position denies any notion of a common culture in our society other than the commonalities we hold as humans. There can be no universal American culture because we as Americans are part of varying subcultures with independent ways of life.

Due to widespread information in media and interactions between individuals of different cultural groups, it is now understood that there is not a bounded set of cultural elements possessed by a particular group. “Ethnic, feminist, and postmodern scholars have challenged the conventional view of culture on numerous grounds, including that it freezes stereotypes; creates ‘others;’ enforces an artificial coherence within a group; dismisses within-group variations” (Eisenhart, 2001, p. 2) and so on. Culture as “a way of life” now regards membership to a particular group as one aspect of the cultural identification of an individual instead of the entire cultural identity of that person. Furthermore, members of society may maintain identification with several different groups over time; the qualities that exemplify an individual are fluid and can be taken from many influences in their lives.

This conception of culture, though, is more than group membership and the qualities of that identification. Culture as “a way of life” includes the titles and

responsibilities through identification with a particular group. A person's life is guided and governed by the qualities of that culture as its traditions and norms are handed down through association. At times, particular ways of speaking or dress can be interpreted by others as membership in a particular group or subculture. From a negative perspective, people can associate negative qualities with a particular race or ethnicity while asserting that those traits encompass that individual's "way of life." This unfortunate discrimination was rampant after the attacks of September 11, 2001 as people unfairly targeted many members of the Muslim faith for particular attire or places of worship.

Culture as "a way of life," though, becomes difficult to properly identify in research studies because our identity in the world is formed by interactions in multiple cultures. Students speak up in schools about being bullied or targeted as "Goths" for a particular style of dress or a type of music. Although these ways of life may be viewed as "gothic" in general society, not every individual taking part in the dress or music may freely associate with that group. "Schools are one point of intersection; families, peer groups, and popular media are some of the others" (Eisenhart, 2001, p. 3). Our personal ideologies are created through interactions within cultures to create a complete identity. These complex parts of one's self, and their corresponding cultural elements, cannot be broken apart or clearly identified. In early anthropological research, the culture of a group may have been more solidly based on defined characteristics that were maintained by geographical distance from other locations. Less travel and interactions with members of other cultures may have maintained cultural homogeneity of the group. Today's technology, though, renders borders invisible to information available in society. This

poses another problem to pinpointing cultural elements as culture is constantly changing and morphing as new influences arise in one's life.

The third concept of culture as defined by Williams is the products of human labors. Williams (1976) describes this as, "the independent and abstract noun which describes the works and practices of intellectual and artistic activity. This seems often now the most widespread use: culture is music, literature, painting and sculpture, theatre and film" (p. 90). This form of culture represents tangible objects and items that are produced from members of different cultures. These physical items are interpreted for meaning by both by members of the cultural group and the greater society. These objects, though, do not hold the same value in all portions of society due to the necessity of finding meaning in the object that is not always shared by all people. It is here that conflicts between designations of "high culture" and "low culture" are apparent as well as misinterpretations of symbols.

High culture is regarded as intellectual and aesthetic products accepted by the white, male, superior class. Such products can be viewed in museums, showcased in musical productions, and read in classical literature. These creations are at times actually produced by members that are not of the white, male class. Ancient civilizations, performers, and writers all have made contributions to high culture. Other products, created and supported by minorities, are erased from this canon and ignored in the perspectives of the ruling elite. The position of Western leaders and elites is that "Western social forms, institutions and levels of development are desirable for all. . The aspects of human culture which Western rationalism has banished as Other— sensuality, emotionality, intuition, bodily expression—are those associated with women and people

of Colour” (Jordan & Weedon, 1995, p. 310). This belief in the superiority of the ruling class minimizes the contributions of many people, including women, people of differing races, gays, lesbians, and physically or mentally handicapped individuals. Furthermore, by erasing physical artifacts and remaining aspects of group identification, the white elite have forced the dismissal of these contributions from historical memory. Consequently, colonized groups have been denied their heritage due to value placed in high culture and dismissal of items labeled as low culture. Over time, members of this group have resisted silence and used their art to speak to the greater society about oppressive circumstances. Although recognition has begun in parts of our greater society, these contributions and the products of indigenous people in historical times are often still absent from the curriculum of the classroom. Therefore, many theorists have argued for the inclusion of aesthetic products in current curriculum.

The three conceptions of culture discussed thus far are taken from Williams’ 1976 text while he follows this discussion with another conception of culture in his next text. Williams (1981/1995) views this fourth conception as, “culture as the signifying system through which necessarily (though among other means) a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored” (p. 13). The phrase “signifying system” is also widely used by other cultural theorists or members of other fields. This conception of culture is not meant to oppose those already coined in 1976, but instead it is meant to build upon work that has already been done. Therefore, when discussing culture as a system that communicates social order and levels of power in society, it is directing the individual’s navigation of one’s life in correspondence with the elite’s perspective of high and low culture along with dominant values and norms.

In Williams' definition, he uses the phrase "signifying system" to describe culture. Williams (1981/1995) elaborates on this term by describing it as:

Because the emphasis on a general signifying system, are now much more broadly defined, to include not only the traditional arts and forms of intellectual production but also all the "signifying practices"—from language through the arts and philosophy to journalism, fashion and advertising. (p. 13)

This concept of culture encompasses ideas more broadly beyond the aesthetic and intellectual products of art and literature that had previously received attention as high or low culture. Specifically, by including other products such as language and advertising he is also moving beyond the use of these items as parts of a cultural way of life. Instead, he is advocating for the discussion of dominant systems to contain all methods of dissemination in a symbolic and meaningful way. Specifically, signifying systems are the ways in which individuals find meaning in their cultural influences by using symbols, words, or actions to name the world around them. Similarly, one can also find meaning in the world and his or her place in it through interpretation of the variety of symbols evident in one's culture.

Not only are words, books, phrases, movies, songs, or other products part of cultural signifying systems but so too more prevalent aspects of society. Abstract concepts such as race, gender, and class function as signifying systems as well as social and political institutions including schools or churches. Currently, theorists and educators must specifically investigate how educational institutions (both K-12 and higher education) and textbook publishers dominate discussions of knowledge production by maintaining the agenda of the elite ruling class. Today, there are many other forms of

media to add to Williams' conversation including the Internet, digital video streaming on phones, and social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter which produce and perpetuate particular ideas in the minds of all willing (and unwilling) participants. Nevertheless, as these methods increase the means by which knowledge is disseminated across great distances and attract our students each hour, we must still be aware of the influences of school systems in lives of children and teachers. "Culture is a conduit of power. Power is exercised and secured in part through the constitution of meanings and subjectivities. Cultural politics involve a struggle over meaning" (Jordan & Weedon, 1995, p. 545). When looking at Williams's fourth conception of culture as communication of knowledge through "signifying systems," discussion must include debate over who is in charge of disseminating messages and what symbols are actively used and accepted. Moreover, who holds the power and why? In other words, who has the authority to choose what knowledge is of most worth?

This discussion is particularly of interest in current political control over schools as many states, including Georgia beginning in the 2012-2013 school year, have elected to pass the national Common Core Curriculum which is a set of standards that all students must master at appropriate grade levels. Forty-five of the 50 states have opted to adopt this new set of national standards. This set of knowledge has been chosen by the political elite to be taught to all students of diverse cultural ways of life across the country. When comparing the current standards and their corresponding transmission in schools to social individuals in historical times, current political control of knowledge in our country deeply contrasts a time when authors and artists were responsible for the free expression of knowledge through various productions. In other words, as the Common

Core is a set of predetermined standards, the knowledge being presented to our nation's youth reflects only the ruling elite and therefore must omit historical and cultural contributions of diverse cultures across our country. By choosing standards of knowledge that do not directly correspond to recipients, a cultural disconnect occurs between the signifying system of the students and the signifying system of the elite.

With such a high focus on a predetermined set of standards, the history of differing groups is erased from school curriculum. These standards include regimented and itemized knowledge that must be mastered by the students with no regard for their cultural heritage or identity. Students are expected to leave the educational institution with specific knowledge of science, history, and literature removed from the students' personal interests. Recently in the news an example has made headlines against the teaching of diverse cultures. It is appalling that a judge in 2011 ruled against a school district in Arizona for teaching history not found in traditional text books that directly related to the lives of the students. In the Tucson Unified School District, classes were focusing upon Chicano perspectives on history, literature, and social justice but were erased from the district's curriculum by the actions of one man with political power.

The four layers of culture described thus far have been penned by Williams to signify the different ways in which culture must be examined. Although I find his work to be helpful to my research, the work of other cultural theorists is also significant in regard to this topic. Although Williams' publications are dated 1979 and 1981/1995, there were other individuals working to explain their notions of culture throughout the world. For example, in 1964, Richard Hoggart established the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies which attempted to disrupt the focus of literacy studies to include different types

of publications including newsprint and music lyrics. Simultaneously, he hoped to connect these types of text to individuals in everyday life. The creation of this center and subsequent changes to literary studies is widely believed to be the beginning of cultural studies as it is known today.

Of great importance to this transformation was Hoggart's (1957/1998) publication titled *The Uses of Literacy*. In this text, he brought attention to working class individuals which shifted the focus of research in a manner that had previously been undone; he gave a voice and a named culture to people that had previously been silenced. Furthermore, as he goes on to describe the working class citizen, he takes care to point how untrue prejudices common in the greater society as well as defining character traits that make members of this group unique. This type of text was groundbreaking for its time for many reasons. Hoggart, through *The Uses of Literacy*, "breached decorum in several ways: by making popular culture the object of critical scrutiny, by mingling literary analysis and socio-political issues, by mixing personal memoir with social history and cultural analysis and by focusing upon the question of class" (Owen, 2008, p. 4). By pushing the limits of scholarly work at the time, Hoggart not only shed light on new areas and made new connections within the academic world. He also, through his choice of topic and the popularity of the text, took a step to make known the rich cultural heritage of silenced people everywhere.

Hoggart continued to publish within the field of critical theory. In both Hoggart's (1972) *On Culture and Communication* and his (2003) *Everyday Language & Everyday Life*, he focuses on the cultural aspects of language. This research does not focus upon the structural or linguistic elements of the written language of teachers. Instead, it focuses

upon the ways in which language was used to convey meaning to the students and to the recipients of their letters through both literal and figurative meanings of the text.

Furthermore, language is a necessary component of culture by which the northern teachers conveyed their overt and hidden curriculum to the students. I think that Hoggart elaborates on his attempt to bring connections between the literary world and culture by making key points in both texts. Specifically, he focuses upon the potential for personal meaning and identity that can be formed through writing and communication. First, he discusses that writing is a process by which we communicate with ourselves and others. Yet, if we rely on traditional schooling to teach us how to decode signs and symbols, we are ill prepared. “Most formal educations don’t give much help in reading the signals of society closely or accurately” (Hoggart, 1972, p. 18). We do, though, acquire the skills to interpret symbols in society. This understanding is absolutely necessary because generations hand down knowledge and culture through signifying symbols. Hoggart (1972) describes:

When you are trying to understand the quality of a society’s life you are listening to much more than words, than its manifest assertions. You are trying to interpret and make into a coherent whole, as the society does, its attitudes to children, to death, to ambition, to the old, to the individual conscience, to foreigners, to the sick, to learning, to leisure, to the arts, to the search for truth, to privacy and so on. (p. 99)

I think that Hoggart makes an important point by noting that we cannot take a first glance at a society or group and make judgments based in initial description. As a researcher, I must look at not only the words but the metaphors, actions, songs, and structure of

society to gain meaning. The same is true for me in my own culture. I cannot immediately react to an angry email from a parent or a hurtful word from a child and hold a year-long grudge. I must look deeper into the root of the feeling and emotion for the greater picture and underlying source of the problem.

Hoggart further discusses how language is used and interpreted in society in more detail by noting the origin of common sayings in modern language. For example, he writes that some phrases have Greek or Latin origins. Some are traditional passages from Biblical sources. Other sayings are handed down as lore through European languages (Hoggart, 2003, p. 5). I think this discussion brings to mind again the importance of context in conducting research of different time periods. Without knowing the intention of the writer or speaker, one cannot understand the true message. Phrases or metaphors may have been common that were handed down to have symbolic meaning. Words, too, carried different emotion at the time. When thinking about Hoggart's text in terms of today's culture, I would include popular culture and music as sources of phrases with meaning unique to a specific population. So many times I am confused by the use of words by my students because of their cultural symbolism or use. Similarly, there are also phrases or descriptions used in this geographical region that have meaning that has been traced back to influences of French, Spanish, or Africans who came to this area.

Hoggart's contributions focus upon the use of the literary tradition within cultural studies. His work pushed the boundaries of the time and brought a voice to those previously silenced. Similarly he brings words of caution when researching cultures, particularly when crossing cultures for meaning. His work aligns with that of Williams in that he focuses upon the need to interpret signifying systems to gather meaning in one's

culture and identity. Another cultural theorist takes a different approach to that of Hoggart. Instead of focusing primarily on the literary tradition, Chris Barker goes even as far to criticize the emphasis on literature within the field. Barker (2002) remarks, “Cultural studies has been lopsided in its concentration on texts and in its general failure to analyse the utterances of living speaking subjects using the tools of linguistic analysis” (p. 40). While not only offering a criticism, in a previous work he had suggested other sources for research. “Cultural representations and meanings have a certain materiality, they are embedded in sounds, inscriptions, objects, images, books, magazines and television programmes” (Barker, 2000, p. 8). Like Hoggart, this work suggests improvement for the field and extends its work beyond the familiar. He justifies this support of exploring varying forms of culture by suggesting that symbols can transcend the limits of language to communicate in ways previously impossible (Baker, 2002, p. 22). This position is especially seen as relevant when discussing institutions such as schools because much of what is learned through educational institutions is embedded in the actions and devices which are employed to control and limit student’s innate natures. Symbols do not have to be words or text but also can be symbolic actions, visual symbols, or structures of power.

Barker’s further develops the work within cultural studies by exploring concepts that can be addressed through research within the field. At the root of his work is the use of “signifying systems,” a phrase previously described in the work of Williams, to explore power relations that he describes to be at work at all levels of society. Specifically, “Subjects are understood as discursive constructions and the products of power, where discourse regulates what can be said about persons under determinate

social and cultural conditions” (Barker, 2000, p. 179; Baker, 2002, p. 89). Barker’s position here is undoubtedly influenced by Michel Foucault’s (1998) work on discourse and power. What he stresses here is that subjects (people) have identities created through knowledge, attained through language (verbal or non-verbal), and regulated by the cultural powers that are in place in their lives. In this manner, interpretations of the signifying systems in one’s life help shape knowledge and cultural identity each day. Since a person is constantly introduced to new symbols through discourse, he or she is constantly navigating varying cultures and one’s identity.

As Barker focuses upon signifying symbols as a way for individuals to interpret signs, there are common cultural themes that persist in society through the continuation and manipulation of power which consequently scrutinized by the academic community in different ways. For example, white individuals constructed negative images of slaves during and after the Civil War to maintain a hierarchy of power in society through the dispersal of negative images, stories, and symbols. Unfortunately, some of these stories were interpreted and adapted to be part of cultural norms in our society even today. Just as race is a social construction created to defend one’s own position of power in society, so too are the concepts of ethnicity, place, and identity.

When I think of my ethnicity, I describe myself as Polish—being three fourths Polish ancestry and raised to celebrate holidays and eat food associated with a Polish way of life. As a child, I attended a Polish Catholic church and a Polish Catholic school. My husband has several ethnicities that he can associate with including Welsh, Native American, Lithuanian, and most importantly for those living in Savannah, Irish. When people think of Savannah, they sometimes associate the celebration of St. Patrick’s Day

with its parade and the accompanying activities with Irish ancestry. Although this celebration, like eating ethnic food or participating in celebrations or dance, is a tradition in today's society, it is removed from the other cultural traditions that our ancestors brought from their homes. Our current understandings and traditions do not reflect the day-to-day ethnic culture of our ancestors nor understand the social or political worlds in which they entered the American land. I first describe these personal connections to ethnicity to show how our perceptions of our ethnic heritage are created through lessons and patterns learned over time. On the other hand, though, the traditions and values of an ethnicity do not remain fixed in time and over generations. Barker (2000) asserts that ethnicity is an example of social constructions learned through interactions with others sharing the same "norms, values, beliefs, cultural symbols, and practices which mark a process of cultural boundary formation" (p. 25). I interpret this to mean that ethnicity is not a given right or set of knowledge at birth, but is learned through interpretation of signifying practices in one's life. This definition, though, is complicated over time by changing values or norms of a group that claims an ethnic cultural background. This is particularly true over generations as construction of meaning within the ethnic group is altered by other cultural forces or social and political powers.

The social significance of whiteness was foreign to me until conducting detailed readings and analysis of relationships of power for this research. In my own experiences, my Polish heritage was an identifier for my whiteness. My associations of the two concepts were united into one cultural meaning in my mind. Ethnicity and race are a complicated concept because of such interpretations that occur for individuals throughout society. Both my Polish ancestry and the cultural significance of whiteness give me a

history and place in our nation's history. On the other hand, as others identify me by my whiteness instead of as Polish, different meaning is placed on my identity than that which I perceive.

Place is another social construction that is essential to recognize and discuss when living and studying within the US South. The northern women assumed power in the Freedmen's Bureau schools based on their status in society based on place. They were northern women and found themselves to be inferior to southern teachers, community members, or parents solely based on their social conception of place. Barker (2004) notes that the study of place has origins in the 1980s as he recalls the influence of Foucault's (1998) work on discourse and space (p. 144). Anyone reading historical texts related to southern studies can recognize that some in the South have regarded place and the necessity to maintain the ideas associated with the land before even the 1980s. On a drive through Georgia one is bound to encounter confederate flags or other memorabilia proudly adorning homes, cars, shirts, and even bathing suits popular on a local beach. The reason for attachment to a place is a socially constructed memory of a time past where that society existed in its glory. Although these times are often part of popular nostalgia, they are perpetuated by attempts to regain or maintain power over other cultures. "Significantly then, a place is the focus of human experience, memory, desire and identity (which can themselves be understood as discursive constructions) which are the targets of emotional identification or investment" (Barker, 2004, p.144). I believe that Barker is correct when he notes the importance of emotional identification; association with a southern place is something that some are taught at a young age and fight endlessly to protect. You can ask anyone who has moved to Georgia from a northern

state; you aren't considered and will never be considered southern. You will always be a Yankee.

Many may consider race, ethnicity and place as part of a personal identity. In fact, association with that particular cultural group gives a set of cultural influences for life which are interpreted and internalized as part of identity. Although Barker speaks about identity to a great extent in his texts, I believe that his publication with Galasiński contains a concise and detailed explanation of identity formation. Barker and Galasiński (2001) write:

Identities are not universal, fixed or essential entities, but contingent on historically and culturally specific constructions of language. That is, identities are wholly cultural and cannot “exist” outside of representations. Specifically, identities are discursive constructions, i.e. descriptions of ourselves with which we identify and in which we have emotionally invested. While identities are matters of culture rather than nature, this does not mean that one can easily replace those ethnic or sexual identities into which one has been acculturated. While identities are social constructions, they are ones that constitute us through the impositions of power and the identifications of the psyche. (p. 87)

This set of statements by Barker and Galasiński makes several key points about identity. First, personal identity is created by one's own historical and cultural present. Although we may experience things from the past, these are not cultural experiences with the same influence as the present. Second, our identity is shaped by aspects of culture with which we identify. Each day we are bombarded with countless symbols, but only those which are interpreted as meaningful are internalized as part of identity. Last, we are not born

with innate characteristics or a given set of morals just like we are not born with a racial or ethnic identity. I think this is a key component of culture because just as we learn positive traits of morals, we can also be influenced to learn negative aspects of racism, sexism, and homophobia.

The focus of this research is not specifically to explore identity formation of the teachers in the 1860s or today. I am not hoping to track how and why teachers change due to new experiences. Identity is being examined here as one aspect of how an individual navigates signifying systems to act in the world. Teaching will inevitably create situations in which the teacher and students have different cultural backgrounds, and this situation cannot be ignored. I firmly believe that success as a teacher depends first upon the recognition of differences among the students, parents, and one's own self and secondly how the teacher negotiates experiences as they arise in the classroom. Furthermore, identity is a social construction and teachers must be mindful as to how their instruction conveys morals and values of their own cultural experiences or those of the signifying systems in which we work.

Again, both the good and bad aspects of identity are learned through life experiences with signifying systems. This includes habits and emotional attachments. Previously I noted a desire to learn more about myself as a teacher in a southern school through reflection on both my life and the lives of women who went before me. Reflecting upon one's choices, morals, values, and weaknesses with a goal of change is a very difficult process that requires soul searching and dedication. Again, I refer to the words of Barker and Galasiński (2001) as they write:

Rewriting self-narrative involves an emotional shift, a moving of psychic identifications which constitutes a transformation of one's whole being. Personal change is thus much more complex and difficult than the notion of re-description or rewriting sometimes implies. At some level there has to be a displacement in feeling simultaneous with the taking on of new maps of the world. (p. 37)

To change one's idea and cultural narrative requires an emotional dismissal of the old and an emotional attachment with the new. I especially like the choice in words in that the individual will embody new maps for life, a new path to follow based on the cultural change.

When speaking of identity shifts, I must refer back to the transition of moving from a northern home to a southern school. Growing up and being educated in a northern home has its own set of cultural norms and values taught through institutions such as schools, media, and literary texts. A transition to a southern society and school first involves recognition that there are individuals with differing cultures that one will interact with every day. Second, it requires an attempt to learn more about the cultures of these students and other teachers. Last, it affords the opportunity to integrate ways of life into one's own being. I think that these steps are important to note because as teachers, we cannot be completely removed from the worlds of our children. We must be aware of the similarities and differences in order to address any problems within the classroom. Without recognizing key aspects of the culture of children, a teacher cannot effectively educate students.

On the other hand, cultural struggles may run deeper when living and working away from home. The identity that has been created and maintained within the South

involves a focus upon the qualities of the individual and society that do not want to be changed by outside influences. This involves a continuation of ideologies by institutions and groups including the educational institution in which I am a part. Problems arise with concepts of race and ethnicity when institutions or individuals attempt to exert and maintain power over another cultural group. “In more cultural terms, questions arise about the denigration and subordination of ‘native’ cultural by colonial and imperial powers and the relationship between place and diaspora identities” (Barker, 2000, p. 26). This has been the largest struggle for me as a teacher as I am placed in a political position within the school systems. Requirements of standards and district initiatives require that I teach certain material at particular times, erasing the natural curiousness and identities of the students. All students are regarded as the same within our schools, labeled by numbers and deficiencies instead of names and qualities.

Culture and Power

When looking at the literature regarding culture, one find a necessary connection between power and culture embedded in the conveyance, recognition, and acceptance of signifying systems. The idea of high culture versus low culture also necessitates recognition of the underlying power that gives on culture significance while dismissing or ignoring others as insignificant. This relationship between culture and power is necessary to explore regarding female white teachers in the classroom because their position of power is based on cultural norms in society both in the 1860s and today.

The research of this dissertation focuses upon the teaching of white, middle-class, northern women in the 1860s. These women had one cultural signifier which granted them power over all non-white students and parents—whiteness. This identification of

one's culture not only is a signifier of an individual's racial classification of way of life, but it holds more significance in society. Being white holds a power over those deemed as Other; being white qualifies one with a privilege. Furthermore, whiteness signifies the norm in society, culturally, economically, and politically. "Since we know that cultures of racist discourse exist, we need to create an overarching ideology that states that the Other is being measured against, compared to a normalized, accepted form of goodness, wholeness, to what is normal, familiar, and civilized" (deMello Patterson, 1998, p. 104). With the cultural signifier of whiteness comes an unstated power by which privilege is granted to label Others as less than their understanding of norms.

Part of the problem with power based on this social construction of race exists because this power and privilege over non-white Others can both be taught through overt lessons from generation to generation or silently and invisibly through social structures within our society. Also important is that white privilege is taught through signifying systems that exist and are maintained by this same power structure. "But what things mean isn't a private matter, because meaning comes from culture" (Johnson, 2011, p. 126). As new generations learn the privilege of their race through interactions with others and events in their day-to-day lives, the system ensures that the power structure remains unchallenged by its own members or the members of other cultural groups. Whiteness is learned through experiences in life, often not through overt and traditional lessons. Another condition of whiteness that perpetuates the uneven power structure is that whiteness is an unspoken and silent force in society. Just as males are privileged in economic and political realms by an unspoken system so too do individuals desire

whiteness and the associated privileges. Frances Maher & Mary Kay Thompson Tetreault (1998) describe whiteness as:

But whiteness is more than identity and position. It is also a pervasive ideology justifying this dominance of one group over others. Whiteness, like maleness, becomes the norm for “human,” the basis for universality and detachment; it is the often silent and invisible basis against which other racial and cultural identities are named as “Other,” measured and marginalized. (p. 139)

Maher and Tetreault describe the qualities of whiteness as a naming and marginalization of those grouped as Other in society and institutions. The basis of judging cultural signifiers and ways of life according to one’s race is a construction of meaning based on power. Such judgment is the root of racism in our nation. Despite changes to racist legislation and calls for equality by groups, places of worship, and leaders since the 19th century, racism is still fueled by learned perspectives of individuals and the systems of power that maintain this thinking in our society. A challenge of the invisibility of whiteness is that it does not openly exist in written text as individuals are either resistant to speak or unable to identify with the source of their power. For this reason, I must examine the ways in which the teachers use metaphorical language and nuanced language that provides support for actions and words.

I bring the discussion of culture and power to focus upon a discussion of race because of the magnitude that this one component plays in the cultural negotiations. This is not to say that other cultural factors such as gender, religion, political affiliation, or other designations do not also carry power through their normative qualities. In fact, they all have their own systems of privileges which are carried out in classrooms across our

country, both in the 1860s and today. The power of whiteness, as one component of teachers' cultural frameworks cannot be ignored or denied in this research. Whiteness is embodied and portrayed through daily actions and words; whiteness is internalized and unquestioned in individuals every day. "Whiteness privileges mind over body; intellectual over experiential ways of knowing" (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1998, p. 5). Joe Kincheloe and Shirley Steinberg write that not only does the power of whiteness privilege an individual's actions but it does so in a way that impacts one's mind and memory to pass over the inequities that are caused by this power or privilege. This situation, though, is critical to investigate within our institutions because it informs social, political, and economic interactions within our society each day. Giroux (1997) writes:

The fact is that racial categories exist and shape the lives of people differently within existing inequalities of power and wealth. As a central form of difference, race will neither disappear, be wished out of existence, nor become somehow irrelevant in the United States and the larger global context. (p. 108)

The existence of such conditions in the 19th century and the perpetuation of the inequities today, as stated by Giroux, shows that whiteness and the privilege and power over Others may not be eradicated from society even after deliberate actions by individuals. Giroux focuses upon difference in a central place in institutions and society, and I believe that he is correct in some ways. Schools focus statistics upon all the ways in which students are different from age to race and socioeconomic status then extending to lexile scores, norm referenced exams, and motivation levels. We are told that our instruction is to be drive by these differences, the ways in which students are marked by these signifiers for good or

bad. On the other hand, despite all these differences, the students and teachers are expected to achieve on exams in the same way, at the same pace, and at the same time. Our educational institutions label administrators, teachers, and students based on differences, some of which are socially constructed and controlled by leaders and politicians. The power of race continues because of the signifying systems in place throughout our society, including our schools, which Giroux argues will not be undone by solitary movements or reflection.

Throughout history, institutions and cultural groups have used power over others. Whiteness is one example of a social construction of race in our nation's history that signifies the power and privilege to members of the cultural group. This privilege is not learned through explicit lessons in the classroom but instead through experiences in society and institutions during life. When exploring our nation's institutes of education and a teacher's professional position within these systems, one cannot ignore the power of race and gender and the unspoken privilege of teachers over students and families within communities. Both in the past and present, these circumstances produce unequal conditions in society to include wealth and political or religious power. The persistence of these events must signal that a problem exists to teachers and theorists and foster reflection and analysis of such circumstances.

Cultural Studies in Curriculum Studies

Within the field of Curriculum Studies, several theorists have completed work that uses cultural studies as an underlying framework. Although not all of these theorists would consider the breadth of their scholarly work to be focused upon cultural studies, they have made contributions in terms of such topics as popular culture, place, or cyborg

teachers by exploring cultural ways of life or signifying systems through Curriculum Studies. For example, the recent works of Brian Casemore (2008) and Reta Ugena Whitlock (2007) are two texts which mesh cultural analysis and autobiographical methods of inquiry to discuss concepts of place in the author's personal lives. Their unique blend of personal description and cultural analysis add commentary to the nostalgia of place in unique locations. On the following pages, I will describe the contributions of curriculum theorists as they relate to culture.

Although writing from the field of anthropology, John Ogbu's work has positively influenced the field of Curriculum Studies and his ideas parallel those of many curriculum theorists as evident from the following discussion. Ogbu (2008a, 2008b) explores qualities of culture as a way of life in a discussion of collective identity. First, he writes, "A cultural frame of reference reflects an ethnic group's shared sense of how people should behave, and a collective identity expresses a minority group's cultural frame of reference" (Ogbu, 2008b, p. 3). In society, the collective identity expresses the cultural frame of reference through actions and symbolic gestures that can be viewed by others. Ogbu (2008a) goes on to elaborate these concepts as:

Collective identity refers to people's sense of who they are, their "we-feeling" or "belonging." People express their collective identity with emblems or cultural symbols that reflect their attitudes, beliefs, feelings, behaviors, and language or dialect. The persistence of a group's collective identity depends on the continuity of the external (historical and structural) forces that contributed to its formation.

(p. 31)

In some cultural groups, there are physical symbols that express collective identity such as a religious amulet or a military uniform. In other cultural groups, language and dialect are aspects of daily life that indicate group affiliation. These external aspects of the individual represent the cultural frame of reference and thus the expected behaviors of that group.

Ogbu indicates that the preservation of a culture requires the continual existence of social factors that created it. This concept must be examined in two ways. First, looking to the past, what actions did the women in the 1860s take in order to eradicate the ways of life of the African Americans outside of slavery? Clearly the results of the Civil War changed social factors that were maintained in through systems of slavery. Thus, I must ask how were the men, women, and children forced to leave cultural identities in order to take part in the newly formed schools. Second, I look to the present. In a society that is rapidly changing with constant influence of new information through technology, the prevalence of stagnant or isolated societies is virtually impossible. Forms of technology transmit competing aspects of religion, politics, and other social aspects that may support or undermine one's cultural frame of reference. Thus, daily factors can influence the change of particular cultures and thus the way of life of the groups. The influence of other cultures through technology may be one reason for rapid creation of new cultural identities throughout the country. On the contrary, isolation from technology and differing cultural views can also stagnate an individual's growth while also constructing cultural boundaries within society. When looking to today's schools, I must reflect upon how cultural transmissions affect students today in a changing and fast paced

world where students can learn faster through technology than traditional instruction in the classroom.

Acceptance of new norms does not mean rejection of one's cultural frame of reference in all cases. Many individuals will choose competing aspects of other cultures to either replace or integrate alongside their current frame of reference. Other times, the culture of a group may change according to the group's response to dominant powers. Ogbu (2008b) writes:

Cultural inversion is the practice whereby members of an oppressed group redefine their indigenous way of talking or behaving, and it occurs when they adopt a new way of talking or behaving in opposition to the ways of the dominant group, their oppressors. (p. 10)

This is a topic of particular attention in current schools in two ways. First, as English immersion programs inform the educational experiences of immigrant children, the home language and culture of the students may be erased or relegated to an inferior status. This was especially true in the mid-20th century in many cities as immigrant families encouraged their children to learn the English language in order to assimilate into society. Although this practice may increase the student's understanding of school subjects or assist students in finding employment in a predominantly English-speaking country, it may also alienate the child from the parent and extended family. "We compulsively try both to assimilate their children into our schools and at the same time to urge them to remain true to the ethnic identity we have assigned to their parents" (Juliano, 2008, p. 252). These situations are increasingly important today as immigrants continue to move to our country in search of economic opportunities that are not available in their

homelands. Once immigrants enter our borders, both parents and children are labeled. Physically immigrants are labeled by green cards or other forms of identification forced upon them by the federal government. Psychically and emotionally immigrants and children are labeled as “ELL,” “ESOL,” and other titles in community and service agencies. Socially, immigrants are trapped by an inability to communicate with members of different cultural groups. Regardless of the types of labels placed on the individual, cultural identity is often removed and replaced by a political label that is attached to their status as immigrants. This action colonizes both parents and students, in and out of the classroom.

Another way in which “cultural inversion” (Ogbu, 2008b, p. 10) occurs is when educators view struggles between teachers who stress formal English in the classroom and the individual dialects of students, a representation of one’s cultural way of life. Many times, the dialects spoken include an increased amount in slang and language that represent current trends in popular culture. Although students may use language to express collective identity with a group’s culture, it may simultaneously create a struggle with the formal institution of schooling.

Language is not the only aspect of one’s cultural way of life that expresses a cultural frame of reference. “Popular artifacts, such as music, language, and ways of dressing and acting, are all aspects of black popular culture spinning around the axes of black life and black people’s experiences of race and class” (Cousins, 2005, p. 250). When examining this statement by Linwood H. Cousins, the reader can see that language is not the sole aspect of cultural identity that is created by groups. Specific behaviors, music and art, or clothing are also physical representations that allow an individual to

express one's cultural frame of reference which incidentally act as a symbol of one's cultural way of life. A note needs to be made, though, in that there is possibility for struggles over the cultural boundaries that may arise in some cases. For example, a recent trend is to wear rosary beads, a religious symbol for some faiths, as jewelry. In a recent conversation with my students, many remarked that they wore the beads because they thought they "looked cool." To a religious member of a different cultural group, though, wearing the religious symbol without regard for its meaning or respect for the corresponding religion may create a struggle between the pair. As teachers do not leave their cultural ways of life at the entry door to the school, these disconnects between cultural ways of life may create tensions in the classroom. Although this is one example, similar struggles may arise over the use of vulgar or slang language popular in music or provocative dress that is permitted by parents of many young teenagers.

Although these physical aspects of culture are one example that creates tensions between members of different cultures, other actions and beliefs are also cause for struggles. Often times, cultural frames of reference are expressed through actions that influence one's whole way of life. Amish families who live without the effects of technology or the use of electricity are often ostracized from the greater American society. Similarly, cultures that accept and practice polygamist relationships are not accepted within dominant patriarchal beliefs of elite society. In these cases, cultural boundaries have the power to bring about discussions of more deep-seated struggles between a student's family and school employees. Of more immediate attention for an increasing number of teachers is interaction with both traditional families and families with same gender parents or even a grandparent acting as primary caregiver. Conversely,

a lack of awareness on the part of one side may create emotional responses that characterize the others along stereotypical lines. Glenn Jordan and Chris Weedon (1995) describe these cultural boundaries as:

In racist discourse, Culture is the property of the West, primarily of White men. This Eurocentric view of Culture maintains an opposition between a modern, enlightened, progressive West and less-developed societies which are seen as quintessentially tradition-bound. The traditions in question are unenlightened, often irrational, untouched by modern technology and industrialization. (p. 293)

The cultures that are viewed as “tradition bound” may create tension as their norms and values do not necessarily correspond to those of the elite ruling culture. These cultural expectations may include a family’s expectations for the traditional role of both males and females in society or the norms of eye contact with adults. The problem arises when a conversation is not started that allows both parties to discuss cultural morals or values to arrive at a better understanding. Without communication and the understanding that arises from open dialogue, cultural borders may be created that prohibit growth in educational systems.

The examples given thus far attempt to show how culture goes beyond the color of skin or the language spoken. Culture encompasses all aspects of the person that are gained from group interactions, both formal and informal. My experiences in the classroom have provided me with the knowledge that in some cases, teachers are unwilling to engage in active conversation with students surrounding their cultural identity—namely an unwillingness to discuss race. Furthermore, some teachers are otherwise unwilling to criticize those who do attempt these “complicated conversations”

(Pinar, 2004, p. 188) with students for having classroom discussion that is not “standards based.” Giroux (2006) speaks to this as he notes the lack of adequate discussions on the topic of race in the greater public. He describes this as:

Representations of race and difference are everywhere in American society, and yet racism as both a symbol and condition of American life is either ignored or relegated to an utterly privatized discourse, typified in references to individual prejudices or to psychological dispositions such as expressions of “hate.” (p. 153)

By ignoring the problem or pretending that racism (and I include sexism and homophobias) does not occur, we are denying ourselves, our children, and our national identity the right to mend conditions of the past and present. In the case of my experience, the premise of “standards based” instruction is an argument behind which teachers hide, both denying their own cultural frame of reference and perpetuating racist discourses in our classrooms. While not openly accepting racism in classrooms, teachers maintain the status quo by doing nothing to disrupt the power of institutions.

While some may first view that Freedmen’s Bureau teachers acted based on understandings of racial differences in the schools, there is another cultural dimension that impacted the position of the teachers in the classrooms. Religion is another aspect of the cultural background of both teachers and students that impacted the educational experiences in the Freedmen’s Bureau schools. While religion is not an overt characteristic discussed when attaining a teaching position in today’s classrooms, the Freedmen’s Bureau teacher was often chosen based upon her religious views and the virtue of piety she would exhibit in the southern community.

While today's media may not always broadcast racist events in society, there is no shortage on the footage aimed at noting societal disruptions based on religion. Whether the headlines document suicide bombers as religious zealots or debate the possible building of a mosque near Ground Zero, religion is brought into mainstream conversation through news media. The truthful representations of the beliefs of these religious cultures, though, are often diverted from this discussion. I don't remember the last time that a major news organization gave time to particular religious cultures to educate the public as to their cultural frame of reference.

The cultural boundaries constructed along religious lines are not limited to society, though. Students' and teachers' religious cultures are expressed through daily and group interactions within the classroom. "When kids come to school they always arrive already attached, psychologically, emotionally, and intellectually, to a religious tradition. Even if they profess atheism, still they are reacting within some religious tradition that has profound hold on them" (Morris, 2004, p. 43). Marla Morris states that all individuals have some type of cultural norm relating to religion. These aspects of cultural tradition cannot be denied. As the current Georgia curriculum for middle school students includes instruction into essential aspects of key world religions, these topics are also deliberately brought into classroom instruction. The manner in which the teacher delivers the knowledge, nevertheless, delegates the attitudes that are perceived by the students. Dialogue that opens the classroom to a shared knowledge of cultures fosters growth and development. Confronting world events with stereotypical views of particular religions prohibits truth and further limits the learning of the child. There is hope, still, that this dialogue will create a generation that can confront the ills of society. "If

educators would encourage intelligent, sensitive, religious dialogue between and across different religions while students are in high school, maybe a path toward fundamentalism could be thwarted” (Morris, 2004, p. 43). Educating students to confront cultural borders and respect collective identities will help to move our society forward to a true democratic civilization.

Another cultural boundary that occurs increasingly in our classrooms is the difference in cultural frames of reference in regard to motivation and the intention of schooling. Political powers have economic interests in the institution of schooling which will be further discussed later in the text. Teachers have their own unique perspectives on the role of formal instruction in the children’s lives which have been shaped throughout the teacher’s own educational experiences to perpetuate power structures learned through signifying practices. Still yet, parents and students may have another view as to the purpose of education. These varying perspectives create a cultural boundary as each party attempts to navigate within their respective role.

This interest or disinterest for education within the school setting often has to do with motivation. Motivation is one aspect of a person that develops through interactions with various cultures over the course of life. Some students find schools as a way to gain acceptance as citizens in our country. Other students and families see an end purpose of employment and a comfortable way of life. While teachers hope that students can find interest in the mission of schools, some students refuse to partake and even act with defiance each day. These divergent approaches to education and motivation (or lack thereof) for success create boundaries between teachers and students and in some cases students and other students. Research focusing on motivation, “has shown that people

from different cultures attach different meanings to achievement. . . Understanding issues related to learning and motivation of students with diverse backgrounds is important for developing effective multicultural curriculum and teaching strategies” (Salili & Hoosain, 2007, xii). From my position as a middle grades teacher, I see that navigating these cultural differences is one of the daily struggles of teachers in current classrooms. Furthermore, these cultural boundaries can also be constructed as parents enter our nation from competing countries who sometimes expect the American school system to educate their children as the lessons would occur in the home country. The motivation and goals for education from the perspective of these parents may differ greatly from holistic and multicultural approaches to education in our nation.

When such differences in motivation and personal goals for achievement differ, one of the first reactions of the teacher must be to reflect on one’s own cultural way of life, especially personal goals and achievements in contrast to the values and norms of the parents and students. This first step of reflection allows the teacher to explore his or her position of power within the classroom and the larger educational setting. This critical look at the existing structures must be taken to explore the way culture and power impact the classroom and relationships within. Giroux (1996) writes of this structure as:

Power also resides in the cultural authority of those who name, define, and legitimate how knowledge is selected and framed; and more often than not, the underlying principles that structure teacher-student relationships are neither open to critical analysis nor are they legitimated by virtue of an alternative set of ethical and political referents. (p. 19)

After reflecting, teachers must recognize and acknowledge this difference in order to allow for exploration of the problems. Through this process, the teacher must recognize the potential to colonize the “Other” or to label their cultural frame of reference as less than one’s own. A question that teachers, including myself, struggle with is how to engage with families who have differing hopes for educational advancement or literacy for their children. Although the child has acquired cultural literacy representative of their home culture, the knowledge necessary for employment and a standard of life are sometimes absent.

Several examples of this divide between me and students or families stand out in my mind. Although these students and families by no means represent all students, they are part of a problematic trend in schools throughout our nation. At several points in my career, I have sat through conferences where the student was 15 or even 16 in the seventh grade; students and parents struggled to understand the value of a classroom education when the child was repeatedly failed from year to year. Mature years beyond the 12- and 13-year-old peers in their classes, the students faced difficulties beyond reading and writing. In some cases, the family lived on government subsidies while others did not. In most of these cases, the parent withdrew the student near his or her 16th birthday with no future plan for a traditional education that would prepare the student for a job in a literate world. My own cultural frame of reference questioned how this student will care for his or her own family, knowing that the child was functionally illiterate and likely unable to fill out an application for a job without assistance from another individual. I further question myself by debating what my role is in society, a perilous line whereby I bend to the demands of the state curriculum while also acknowledging the individual needs of

students of differing abilities. I give this example to illustrate the differing values and power struggles between teacher, student, and family in today's classrooms. Where parents and students do not share common goals for classroom instruction, the child ultimately is hindered by not only the process but the lack of functional skills for today's society. Although this is an extreme case in my educational career, I cannot say that this situation has only occurred with one family. As teachers, we have the capacity to change cultural boundaries into cultural borders; it is our personal and daily decisions which are led by our own cultural way of life that guide us through these struggles.

The cultural process of "cultivation" develops a perspective on the arts that reinforces the perspective of the dominant social class in our society. Whether the cultivation of intellectual or aesthetic values occurs in a school's classroom or through family instruction, the individual is taught to view differing cultural products in contrasting ways. For cultured individuals from this perspective, the art of ballet may be viewed as superior to break dancing. Similarly, opera or symphony productions might be valued over hip hop or rap. "The racism of the dominant culture – a racism which both defines people of Colour as negatively different and denies self-worth—has given rise to strong attempts to redefine subjectivity, culture and history" (Jordan & Weedon, 1995, p. 545). As noted by Jordan and Weedon, cultural ways of life that delineate what cultural products are preferred relate directly between products of majority and minority groups. The institutions that maintain the elite perspective through signifying systems do not limit their opinions to the education of a selected group that is cultured through their education. Instead, the views of this power infiltrate the larger social realm, labeling all products of cultures in two categories.

Differing views of cultural products in our current society has origins in perspectives from more than 100 years ago. “Traditionally, culture was thought of as the ‘fine’ arts: classic works of painting, literature, music, and philosophy. This idea of culture was defined by such philosophers as Matthew Arnold . . . and was reserved for an elite, educated audience” (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001, p. 3). The contributions for these “fine” arts have been and are traditionally created by members of the white elite, usually men. The cultural frame of reference of the ruling class is represented by identification with particular norms and values in art. Other contributions by minorities and women are prohibited from this classification and hold less value in society. These cultural products are designated as “low culture” in contrast to the products that maintain white superiority which are labeled as “high culture.”

Tony Daspit and John Weaver (2005) take a unique approach to the ruling culture’s inability to recognize value and importance of including products from all cultures. “Dominant cultures are too busy constructing standards of taste and policing these standards to be interested in understanding how subcultures emerge and develop in the light” (Daspit & Weaver, 2005, p. 95). In this text, the authors write that the ruling elite spend time making standards and rules for what is accepted and not according to their own cultural values. Once the norms are defined, time and resources are spent judging individuals against these standards of behavior. The dominant culture goes to extremes to maintain the standards in order to maintain the power structure that allowed them to make the rules and regulations in the first place. Opening one’s mind to recognize and accept varying ways of life or aspects of low culture would be giving power to other groups and thereby relinquishing power in society. As previously

discussed there is a need for dialogue between members of different religions and cultural ways of life, yet the members of society who need to take part in these conversations either ignore the topic or pass blame to others. This is also the case for those who seek to maintain the elite of cultural productions. These members are fixated on maintaining standards of “quality” or “performance” instead of taking up necessary dialogues with members of other cultural ways of life.

In many ways, this conversation of cultural products directly relates to the discussion of varying cultural ways of life because the key aspects of both cultural conceptions are interrelated. They are inextricably tied by the powers of high and low, accepted and rejected, superior and inferior according to the beliefs of the dominant ruling class. Just as there is a need for conversation to mediate conflicts between cultures in the classroom, there is also a need for discussion that relates to how these products influence students or are accepted or denied in the classroom. Landon Beyer (2000) supports this position of increased attention to products of “low” culture as:

One of the things that I believe is centrally required in order to create alternative, critical, material, feminist, and social–aesthetic theories is the incorporation of forms of popular culture—television programs, movies, music, video productions, texts, video games, and so on—into the curriculum of our schools so that developing an understanding of the meaning and influence of such works becomes an important part of schooling. (p. 84)

Here, Beyer asserts that schools must create opportunities to discuss critical elements of society because the students bring influences and products of “low” culture into the classroom each day. Specifically, television, music, film, and gaming systems bring new

cultural identities into the classroom each day. Furthermore, these forms allow students to link their current culture to varying cultures from around the world.

Since it is noted that students bring aspects of “low” culture into the classroom that is traditionally devalued by elite society, teachers and schools must reaffirm the contributions of these items and the corresponding cultures. Some educators may incorrectly feel that this effort is attainable in standards-based classrooms or it is sufficient to celebrating Black History Month or Hispanic Heritage Month for a limited period of time. It is necessary to take larger actions within one’s classroom that create cultural dialogue as part of the daily interactions between teachers and students. For example, the inclusion of literature such as poetry or songs from varying cultures can be integrated into language classes. Humanities classes can explore cultural contributions of societies as they complete inquiries of different countries in their studies. Math classes can include art from many cultures and mediums to illustrate symmetry and geometrical shapes. Although these may all seem like small changes, the accompanying dialogue and resulting interest in the contributions of different cultures creates a classroom open to discussion and exploration of cultural ways of life. Furthermore, as print companies begin to see the importance of texts that support multi-cultural aesthetic products, there will be more resources available for teachers such as Richard L. Anderson’s (1990) *Calliope’s Sisters: A Comparative Study of Philosophies of Art* or the Minnesota Humanities Commission’s (1991) collection titled *Braided Lives: An Anthology of Multicultural American Writing*.

The idea of beginning a dialogue with students involving complex notions of culture, race, power, or gender is a difficult idea for many teachers. Not only is the

subject matter difficult for some, but I think this is nearly impossible for those teachers who have not independently navigated through these concepts within their own history and self. The idea of allowing the students to dialogue opens space in the classroom for knowledge to be explored and navigated in a safe way. Just as theorists dialogue through texts, students can interact similarly in the classroom. The end result of this conversation, though, cannot be further reaffirmation of one's own position supported through the silencing of another. The dialogue must be built upon the sharing of ideas and, more importantly, the understanding that there are multiple perspectives in our society that must be represented and respected for their uniqueness and value. Giroux (1996) speaks to this dialogue through democratic schools as:

Equally important is the issue of how to democratize the schools so as to enable those groups who in large measure are divorced from or simply not represented in the curriculum to be able to produce their own representations, narrate their own stories, and engage in respectful dialogue with others. (pp. 50-51)

This increase in use of cultural products and accompanying discussion in the classroom is not meant to be superficial changes like labeling items in foreign languages or decorating a door to celebrate a particular culture. Furthermore, the teacher cannot assume to possess all knowledge of all cultures; the teacher acts from a particular cultural way of life just like the students. It must be a shared discourse where multiple viewpoints are revealed to negotiate both similarities and differences. I find it frustrating to me when white, middle-class teachers stand in the front of the room proclaiming to be the authority on rap while having no cultural connection to the way of life that creates and maintains that cultural product. Similarly, we as teachers cannot attempt to know and possess the same feelings

as the emotions portrayed by colonized cultures through various art forms as described by Cameron McCarthy (1998). My role, speaking from my perspective as a white, middle-class female is to foster discussions of conditions and explore with students the contributions of various cultures in our nation's history. In many cases, my students may be the experts on their own cultural identities. In that case, they are the teachers, and I am the student.

Another position on this concept of "high" versus "low" in processes and products of cultures is the inclusion of individuals with disabilities in the greater society. In our nation's not distant past, students labeled as "Other" due to physical and mental impairments were removed from the family structure and institutionalized for most of their lives. Changes in educational funding and supporting laws have determined that students with disabilities and impairments must be able to access the curriculum in a way suitable to their needs. These requirements may vary to include increased counseling and support to deal with psychological impairments or a calculator and extended time on a test. For other students, though, it involves changing the culture of the classroom to include the student's culture through sign language.

Although people with disabilities are now legally able to access the same opportunities as all other citizens, they are relegated to low culture within the greater society. For example, although a substantial portion of our literate culture is hearing impaired, films and instructional tools do not always contain closed captioning. Thus, opportunities for this group are limited by the elite's inability to change to meet the needs of others. Furthermore, many individuals in our society still possess stereotypical views of individuals with disabilities that correspond to inhumane and unjust names and labels.

The stereotype of “retard” and the imitations of individuals with physical handicaps are inconceivably allowed to be part of play on playgrounds across our nation or responses by children in classrooms. From my personal experiences while teaching middle grades students, I am one of the few teachers who discuss implications for names such as “retard” or “re-re” in my classroom. These views are portrayed in film, media, and games that label such individuals as “Other” and become part of the students’ vocabularies without regard for origins or harm that is inflicted by their prevalence in society.

The signifying systems at work in our educational institutions which view individuals as placed at a lower cultural value than those of literate, white culture is seen in many ways in our school buildings. One example is the refusal to provide full-time sign language teachers for students whose primary language is American Sign Language in a traditional classroom. Another is a lack of action to provide a translator for parents speaking a language other than English in parental communication or teacher conferences. By denying the language of students and parents, society is placing the cultural value of that language below that of the elite and simultaneously label the student or parents as “Other.” Although some schools, such as Rochester Institute of Technology, provide sign interpreters in all classes, the value for this form of communication is not universal. As school systems reject American Sign Language and create cultural boundaries within school communities, the use of Cochlear Implants by deaf persons also creates cultural boundaries within the deaf community. Just as in the discussions of culture mentioned previously, teachers who act without reflection upon personal values and norms when teaching these students operate at the detriment of the members of these diverse cultural groups. By not placing the same expectations on all students and possibly

perpetuating stereotypical views, teachers contribute to the ongoing problem and colonization of students with disabilities.

Although topics such as autism and Asperger's Syndrome have become the center of media conversations and shows on television, there continue to be other needs that are often ignored. Students enter classrooms with a wide range of emotional, psychological, physical, and social needs that the traditional teacher is ill-equipped to handle. In response to changing times, Weaver, Karen Anijar, and Daspit (2004) open the conversation to both cyborg teachers and cyborg students and the cultural boundaries that are created by these interactions in their edited text titled *Science Fiction Curriculum, Cyborg Teachers, & Youth Culture(s)*. In this collection, Noel Gough (2004) calls for discussion and shared cultural identity between teachers and students who share the label as "cyborgs." "Teachers who accept their own and their students cyborg identities will find that many existing areas of the school curriculum provide opportunities to include cyborg positions" (Gough, 2004, p. 101). By recognizing the shared cultural identity as members of a cyborg culture, teachers can include students in the school curriculum in various ways.

Just as there is an intersection between cultural ways of life and cultural products, so is there an intersection between those previous conceptions and culture as a signifying system. Institutions across our nation are controlled by the white patriarchy that was established with the founding of our nation. Although our founding fathers fled from religious (cultural) persecution in their home nations, they would soon colonize and oppress other cultures in the newly founded country. In placing their own cultural way of life as superior over all others, they claimed a dominance that must be maintained by

keeping the same social structures that allowed for that privilege to first be established. Continuation of white privilege must therefore deny the rights and values of all other cultural frames of reference in order to maintain power.

Being part of a dominant cultural group provides power through membership. Inclusion in the dominant white culture gives privileges based solely on the color of one's skin. On the other hand, lacking that skin color denies privilege and power in society. Macedo (2006) describes these circumstances as:

There was never a "common culture" in which people of all races and cultures equally participated. The United States was founded on a cultural hegemony that privileged and assigned control to the White patriarchy and relegated other racial, cultural, and gender groups to a culture of silence. (p. 44)

This struggle over meaning is heavily contested in the educational settings of our nation. It is within this setting that multiple cultural frames of reference fight for authority and their own culture to be expressed. It is also through this institution that white elites fight the hardest battles to maintain their position by denying the authority or value of all others. Students are attempting to negotiate multiple cultures and are faced with contradictory messages between home and school. I think that it also provides the setting in which a great deal of individuals are impacted at a unique point in their lives where students do not yet have the skills to critique or resist signifying structures.

The ability of the dominant class to maintain its hierarchical position is not only limited to the K-12 classroom. Although most of my examples and discussion thus far have discussed characteristics from this institutional level, the power structure of the elite

is also maintained at the college level. Giroux (2001) discusses the role of schools as cultural systems of reproduction as:

Schools play a particularly important role in both legitimating and reproducing the dominant culture, for schools, especially at the level of higher education, embody class interests and ideologies that capitalize on a kind of familiarity and set of skills that only specific students have received by means of their family backgrounds and class relations. (p. 88)

Schools attempt to teach the norms, values, and traditions that represent the cultural frame of reference of the ruling class through daily instruction and routines established in schools. This power is also carried out by oppressing college-level students who are preparing to become teachers in these same institutions. By controlling the curriculum at the college level, dominant powers are able to limit the conversation of students and thus the threat to the cultural elite. “Teachers and their students are to comply and to serve. How can teachers intervene and say how they believe things ought to be? What can they do to affect restructuring? What can they do to transform their classrooms?” (Greene, 1995, p. 9). By not providing for opportunities to read, discuss, and take part in a democratic education, colleges maintain existing power structures. “In teacher education programs, future teachers are rarely challenged to consider the social, economic, cultural, and political frameworks in which they will be practicing their profession” (Torres Santomé, 2008, p. 196). By organizing time and assignments in all classes around objectives, assessments, and instructional strategies, colleges are limiting the power of the students themselves. Although curriculum theorists ask the poignant questions

necessary to take up the “complicated conversations” (Pinar, 2004, p. 188), these conversations must be engaged with teachers outside of the field as well.

Moving back to the K-12 classroom, there are two other ways through which the dominant class uses educational institutions as signifying systems. The signifying system functions to “produce a ‘finished product’ that will have sufficiently mastered the requisite skills and dispositions to ensure the continuation of workers for American corporate capitalism; educational institutions function in a way that guarantees the reproduction of a particular economic form” (Beyer, 2000, p. 53). With a goal of producing obedient workers, schools operate through order and timeliness. From a young age, students are expected to walk in straight lines and operate according to a schedule which functions on an abstract concept of time. This is a challenge for the maturity levels of the young and even teenagers who are not permitted to play and dream in schools. Secondly, as the student’s grade level rises, the demands for order and obedience increase as students are expected to wear uniforms and follow strict rules for social behaviors. These goals serve two purposes for the signifying system of the cultural elite. First, they erase the unique cultures of the students by stripping opportunities for cultural dress and behavior. Furthermore, the cultural elite create a working class that will continue the progression of our capitalist economy.

Another way in which signifying systems of the cultural elite work within schools is by controlling and limiting written texts available for students. Textbooks within our country are chosen to represent the values and curriculum of the states that will produce the largest economic revenue for companies. Thus, states like California, Texas, Pennsylvania, and New York hold more power in the creation of texts. “The values and

interests that govern these institutions determine what is judged as valuable” (Jordan & Weedon, 1995, p. 8). Subsequently, as texts are re-written around knowledge that these people find most valuable, contributions of many minority populations are removed from the texts.

The texts discussed thus far in the field of Curriculum Studies scrutinize and criticize the operation of signifying systems to perpetuate power structures in our nation. In many cases, personal culture confronts the agenda of elite individuals while finding commonalities within many culturally diverse groups that make our nation unique. Through this give and take of culture, it is still possible to learn from others. Morris (2001) speaks to the development of identity through an awareness of the culture of others in her text *Curriculum and the Holocaust: Competing Sites of Memory and Representation*. In a beginning chapter focusing on representation, she writes, “Understanding what we know about ourselves and others, and how we define others and how others define us, is a highly complex, problematic enterprise” (Morris, 2001, p. 58). This quote summarizes the interactions of individuals with cultures because navigations of cultural terrains do not function in neat and organized lines. Instead, cultural boundaries create tumbles and turns for each individual. For a teacher, this understanding of the problems is necessary to rise above the daily struggles in one’s classroom.

Defining the Course – Methodology

The stories primarily collected in this research are the collections of diaries and letters that have been maintained in archival collections for use today. Each letter or diary

entry has a different purpose and recipient, although all text carries the same importance in this example of qualitative research. When looking at a variety of documents in situations like this, one must take care to regard the intentionality of the writer as well as the coherence of the message between the writer and reader. Tom Phillips (1999) speaks to the importance of first examining the stories for these elements within his chapter on using letters in qualitative research as:

Thus, reading the full correspondence might help to reveal story lines; examination of how the writer makes statements might reveal positioning, after which a more careful scrutiny of what was written might offer an informative scenario on its dialogue of actions. In this way an order can be introduced into how the writer exploits these texts. Third, as generative vitality is a feature of dialogue, and the letters reveal only one party's activities, account must be taken of what the letters suggest of the other's role. If this can be done then a fuller reading becomes possible. (p. 30)

Phillips' description of the process points to key features in the use of the letters as a form of text. The story cannot simply be interpreted by a word-by-word reading of the document. Instead, the reader must include the position of the writer, actions of the writer, and reaction of the reader in the analysis. I would like to add that it is absolutely necessary to place the events described within the letter within historical and cultural time and place for both the reader and writer to truly be understood. This critical point has been voiced by many theorists in stating that analysis of documents must necessarily take place within the historical context of the event described (e.g., Hodder, 2003; McCulloch, 2004; Goodson, 1985; Goodson & Sikes, 2001). Specifically, Ian Hodder

(2003) asserts, “Thus there is no ‘original’ or ‘true’ meaning of a text outside specific historical context” (p. 156). To build knowledge through this process, the research described hereafter will place the documents in historical time and place during analysis of the text to produce results that correspond correctly to meaning within the historical context. In another way, placing the documents within a historical timeline and context allows for the researcher to see any events that have been omitted or ignored by the author. Although it is entirely possible that documents have disappeared over time or have been omitted by the owners of collections, the missing details may provide insight within silence.

More specifically, the method of story collection and analysis used in this research is content analysis. The basic elements of content analysis are the systematic collection of stories and deliberate analysis that lead to knowledge. “As a research technique, content analysis involves specialized procedures for processing scientific data. Like all research techniques, its purpose is to provide knowledge, new insights, a representation of ‘facts,’ and a practice guide to action. It is a tool” (Krippendorff, 1980, p. 21). In this process, story collection and analysis are continually intertwined through the entire process ensuring that new ideas and concepts are integrated into finding patterns and answering foreshadowing questions. This method was primarily chosen because it allows for the researcher to follow patterns and trends in the text instead of forcing one’s research upon stories to meet certain specifications or requirements. Klaus Krippendorff (1980) explains the use of historical record as:

Because letters, books, artifacts, and records kept by others do not anticipate the historian’s questions, answers have to be found by indirect methods. When

historians make an effort to infer events from documents (Dibble, 1963), they are, by definition, involved in content analysis. (p. 24)

There are no formal hypotheses or research questions to which the stories are matched, but instead the research topic is open to the stories that are embedded within the text collected and analyzed through inductive methods.

From this methodology of content analysis, it follows that there are no direct and specific research questions but only open topics and general questions that guide the initial archival analysis. “Replacing the hypotheses are foreshadowing questions, that is, opening questions that guide the research and influence the data that are gathered” (White & Marsh, 2006, p. 34). In my research, there are several “foreshadowing questions” that we posed in the early stages of research as the topic was being formulated. These questions include:

1. What did teachers learn from interactions with freedmen both inside and out of the classroom? Did these interactions change their notions of race, class, gender, and Self?
2. Did female teachers challenge traditional feminine roles in southern society? If so, in what ways?
3. The teachers were openly called “Yankees” by southern women and men. Did their actions and words manifest this cultural description? If so, how?
4. Over time, how did the women internalize the experiences and relationships they developed? How did this change their teaching or personal identity?
5. How did the concept of place impact the woman’s position or daily struggles?

6. What were the women's notions of freedom? How does this compare to modern ideas of freedom?

7. Were women truly "saviors" of the freedmen or did they act as cultural imperialists? Did this position change over time through reflection or growth?

8. How did women embody differing views of race or gender when comparing the freedmen to their own lives?

Before outlining the specific methods of coding and analysis, there is one more important point to make regarding the selection and use of content analysis. First, the task of the researcher is to bring out the messages of the text through interpretation of the narrative form. "The task of the analyst is to bring out the hidden meanings in the text" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 43). Second, the interpretation leads to knowledge of the writer's viewpoints and perspectives of their place in the 19th century, southern society. "The objective of content analysis is usually to identify that person's perspective on the topic" (White & Marsh, 2006, p. 28). With this in mind, research began with story collection followed by coding and analysis. Throughout the process, the coding and analysis are modified to adapt to new and different concepts that are revealed to the researcher through trends and patterns that emerge over time. This flexibility of the method to extract meaning from the text makes content analysis an appropriate method for research within the field of Curriculum Studies.

Although the intention of interpretation is to find the meaning of the text within the historical time and place, there is a vast gulf in the years that have elapsed since the stories were written. This makes it more difficult to completely understand the intentions and actions of the authors since I cannot place myself in their own cultural and social

place. For this reason, I have sought to read texts related to what was expected by society in the historical past and then to interpret the actions and words of the women in relationship to the norms of the time. I have attempted to understand and provide a background in my mind for the stories through both primary and secondary sources from a variety of disciplines including history, African American studies, and women's studies. This contextual knowledge of both the time and place is constructed in chapter two to provide credibility for the arguments put forth in this research. Furthermore, just as a previous discussion of culture discussed varying viewpoints, I must acknowledge the conflict that arises in my mind regarding the multiple ways in which the actions of the women could be interpreted. Similarly, I am also looking at the stories through my own lens whereby I have shared similar experiences in teaching in a region different from one's home. While my own experiences share similarities in geographic location while also being differentiated across time, I have engaged myself in a critical analysis of my role as teacher in the regard to culture and power. With this in mind, my interpretation is clearly influenced both by my cultural lens and theoretical framework through which I conduct my intellectual work.

Using Content Analysis with Text

When beginning to read the archives, I was faced with the challenge of recording manageable chunks of text while simultaneously attempting to not lose the narrative structure. This is a concern of content analysis because the removal of a line from a letter or story removes the contextual elements of time and place as well as related narrative. Some individuals even go as far as to caution against sampling sentences alone. "Sentences should not be samples, because analyzing sentences in isolation—even ones

drawn from the same text—destroys the semantic coherence, making later validation and interpretation extremely difficult” (Weber, 1990, p. 43). On the other hand, I was unable to acquire copies or transcriptions of the entire texts due to time demands as well as the copying limits of respective archive collections. As I read the diary, letter, or report, I looked for passages that referred specifically to the teacher’s beliefs of education, the curriculum of the classroom, or interactions between the teacher and both the northern and southern communities. Any sentence or passage that referred specifically to education and the freedmen was recorded whether it matched an existing pattern of the text that was already created or was a new addition to the women’s stories. To satisfy both the needs of context while meeting regulations, I collected context units usually of two to three sentences of text that conveyed the needed context for later analysis. I also systematically included the name of the author, recipient, date, location, and paragraph number to ensure that I would be able to later reasonably construct sequence within notes. Although this process proved to be timely, it would come to provide a wealth of text that could be analyzed according to themes, dates, location, author, or recipient.

As I began to record context units of selected archival texts in a formal manner, I simultaneously read for common themes and trends. Since I wished to first read the text and begin to organize themes in my mind, I waited to begin coding all of the text at one time to ensure that my codes were consistent across varying authors and collections. The purpose of coding is to systematically organize the entire collection of text into manageable chunks for the researcher. White and Marsh (2006) describe this process as:

It is not unusual to have a person doing qualitative content analysis read through the data initially with the intent of trying to see the big picture. As he reads

through the documents, he begins to tag key phrases and text segments that correspond to those questions, notes others that seem important but are unexpected, sees similarities in expressing the same concept, and continues iteratively to compare the categories and constructs that emerge through this process with other data and re-reading of the same documents. (p. 37)

Not only is the purpose of coding to organize the ideas, also it involves the more organized stages of analysis as ideas are grouped according to similarities across differing texts. Since content analysis is an inductive procedure in which the textual features are the source of knowledge, it can be understood that over time the text opens the research to more formulated questions and answers.

Within the process of coding and analysis, there are multiple steps. First, general coding takes place in which the context unit is examined. In the case of my research, I initially began coding each relevant segment of text as recorded in notes. Since some units explained multiple events or ideas, some units may have been given more than one code depending upon the content. In this case, the context unit occurred more than one time in the notes. Next, the codes were examined to find more coherent links by comparing and contrasting among the differing texts written by one teacher as well as across the selections of other teachers as well. To record both my initial interpretation of the text and a refined analysis within a pattern, the texts were given two levels of coding. For example, an initial reaction to text within an archive may have been “intolerance of timeliness” while my refined memo indicated a “cultural imperialist” remark for the white teacher’s intolerance of misunderstanding regarding a societal construct of time. These methods of recording memos are described by White and Marsh (2006) as:

Two types of memos are common: concept memos, which logically focus on emerging concepts, the distinctive ways in which these are phrased, and his own interpretation of the concepts; and theory memos, in which he focuses on relationships among the concepts and gradually integrates these concepts into a workable model. Memos reveal the subtleties of the researcher's interpretation and understanding of the constructs over time. (pp. 37-38)

As memos were recorded and revised for patterns, two important things were taking place. First, memos caused the context unit of independent archives to be clustered or grouped into concepts united by a common theme. This clustering is suggested by Krippendorff (1980) whereby "finding many such 'clusters,' the task of conceptualizing the data becomes easier" (p. 115). Secondly, it is important to note that interpretation has begun at this point. Each time stories are read, coded, and compared with other text; interpretation is performed as I assign conceptual labels to the text.

Story collection and the analysis phase of research is a cyclical process by which text is analyzed and reanalyzed as new inter-textual connections are made. At this point, codes are further examined to address foreshadowing questions or other questions that arose during the process. During the analysis of the text, nevertheless, one must also include the contextual elements of time and place both for the author and the researcher. This necessary element helps to ensure that the words are interpreted within the appropriate social, political, and emotional contexts of the involved parties. This result "is a composite picture of the phenomena being studied. The picture carefully incorporates the context, including the population, the situation(s), and the theoretical construct. The goal is to depict the 'big picture' of a given subject" (White & Marsh,

2006, p. 39). This element of context is significant to the result of the overall research because social and political conditions impacted the actions and decisions both in the 1860s and my choices today. The purpose of the research is not to publish excerpts of text but to examine the acts of the teachers both within and out of the classroom in light of the influences in their lives.

As mentioned above, the purpose of the research is to examine the “big picture” of the interactions between teacher and student and how these meetings were changed by cultural, political, or social influences of the time. The type of research being completed, though, has both a caution and a benefit of the distance in time. First, it is impossible to recreate the exact political and social events that surrounded the lives of the women and students. Although this is a negative aspect of examining this historical period, there is a great deal of both primary and secondary sources focus upon events that occurred during this time period that reference the political and social events. Second, the benefit of using content analysis is that the purpose of this method allows the text to be interpreted by finding relationships and patterns across the text. Krippendorff (1980) describes this purpose as:

Once this context is delineated, gaps in relevant detail are filled by drawing inferences from numerous bits of information. Historical methods help create a web of relationships that may ultimately answer the questions originally posed.

The process of decreasing uncertainty in an unobservable domain in an inferential one and in fact the same that content analysis follows. (p. 24)

By creating a system of organization, I have allowed for the text to be organized both by patterns in the memos, authors, recipients, dates, or cities. This is significant in that

analysis can take place from multiple perspectives allowing inferences to be made between the words of the teachers. As a mathematically minded individual, the task of collecting stories in a very systematic format was tedious, yet this method has proved successful in that the text can be analyzed for natural patterns in many different ways. In this matter, content analysis is used to make meaningful and relevant connections among the stories which then can be interpreted by me as the researcher.

Addressing Criticism

Content analysis is a widely accepted forms of qualitative methodology used in research. It is applicable to many fields due to its lack of specific requirements or overly prescriptive procedures. This does not mean that the method is without criticism. One problem that I faced early in the collection of relevant stories was the ability to manage thousands of pages of text while following the regulations and requirements of collections. Inevitably, as I sought to record context units, I was neglecting to document the text surrounding that unit. By recording the key details of the text, I would later be able to sequence the context units through the organizing document as well as looking at the paragraph number being referenced. Second, by looking at parts of text that may be one sentence or several sentences, there was room for error in finding the significant idea or multiple concepts in the text. “Large portions of text, such as paragraphs and complete texts, usually are more difficult . . . because large units typically contain more information and greater diversity of topics. Hence they are more likely to present coders with conflicting cues” (Weber, 1990, p. 16). To resolve this problem, I used multiple codes for the same piece of texting including the context unit multiple times with the different

memos. In this manner, I sought to represent the story correctly while providing further opportunities for connections across text.

Another problem that is suggested with content analysis focuses upon the way in which the stories are grouped and coded. “One set of problems concerns the consistency or reliability of text classification. In content analysis, reliability problems usually grow out of the ambiguity of word meanings, category definitions, or other coding rules” (Weber, 1990, p. 15). While there can be no way to ensure that the categories and interpretations are the same throughout all steps of analysis, I implemented multiple layers of codes to help find patterns. For example, I identified that teachers often spoke of their emotions through the text. At first, the lines were noted by words like “homesick,” “pride,” or “sadness.” Although these words all related to the emotional position of the individual, they could not be grouped easily. Therefore, I went back and changed code to “emotion” while also having a secondary code that listed the specific emotion such as “homesick.” This allowed me to group the sampled text according to specific emotions such as homesickness or by looking at the larger range of emotions over time. The process described of using two levels of codes allowed me to look at the text for patterns, and the continued revision throughout all the differing texts allowed that the same codes were used for all sources. By having a secondary note, it ensures that the smaller detail about the text could also be analyzed to ensure that the true meaning of the text was contextually interpreted.

It was very important to the credibility of this research to seek out as many teacher’s voices as possible. This research began as I started by exploring the life of Towne (1912), the founding influence of the Penn School on St. Helena Island due to the

popularity of her edited collection of diaries and letters. After reading this published account, I read the diaries of other women who also taught in the Sea Islands of South Carolina and coastal Georgia including the published collections of Mary Ames (1906), Elizabeth Botume (1892), Cornelia Hancock (1937), and Harriet Ware (1969). After reading the diaries all once, I began to notice common themes between the women's experiences and I knew that there were other stories to be found. My research continued when I traveled to Tulane University to see the depth of the American Missionary Archives. I would later borrow the microfilms for this collection through Emory University. I also acquired portions of archival collections from Cornell University, Benedict College, the New York Historical Society, the University of North Carolina archives housed at the Beaufort County Library in Beaufort, South Carolina and the Schofield collection at Swarthmore University in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Each archive that I explored included letters, reports, or diary entries that were written by 19th century, female teachers between 1860 and approximately 1872. This time period was significant because it noted the start of efforts on the Sea Islands of South Carolina before the end of the Civil War and it ended approximately when the schools were taken over as part of the public school systems of South Carolina and Georgia after the dismantling of the Freedmen's Bureau and loss of support of the relief agencies.

After collecting text from these collections, both edited prints and archival collections, I organized my text to look for patterns. In all, I collected 2123 context units taken from letters and diary entries. Some of these units were included twice during analysis as the content of the unit dealt with two different concepts. These context units included the words of 86 different teachers, 11 family members, and 9 leaders of the

Freedmen's Bureau or relief agencies. In addition to recording the words and actions of the teachers from their own narratives, I also recorded the movement of the individual teachers from 346 reports from Georgia and 204 reports from South Carolina. These reports allowed me to track the movement of the teachers and see the frequency in which the schools received new instructors. The reports and context units were selected from 1570 AMA documents, 25 documents from Cornell University and the New York Historical Society, Towne's unpublished diary on two rolls of microfilm, and four boxes of documents from Schofield's collection. The depth of text collected ensured that experiences of one individual did not speak for the entire group of northern teachers addressed in this research. By using various collections including texts from over 80 women, I sought to provide credibility to my arguments.

Questioning the Accuracy of History as Memory

Examining the histories told in texts of the field of Curriculum Studies leads one on a journey from Puritan teaching of moral values to one-room schoolhouses from the Common School Movement to the organization of today's public school system. Looking at this historical record with Hayden White's (1987) important concept that all "history is fiction" calls the curriculum theorist to question the accuracy and validity of what is written in these texts. As authors interpret the historical record and print the events and authors of most significance, what is being removed from history? Specifically, while many histories of education skip from the Common School Movement to the creation of the public school system, why are the clandestine schools that operated before the Civil War being pushed to the back of our nation's past? Where are the efforts and successes of

the Freedmen's Bureau schools during and after the Civil War? Where are the stories of the women and freedmen who worked to create and maintain these schools?

The problem with accepting the historical accounts of textbooks lies in the concept of finding the truth in history. Because historical record is a cultural conception created by groups, the objectivity and cultural frame of reference of the author or authors must be questioned. With this in mind, one must question how the author's subjectivities are embedded in the message of the text. At first, I struggled to grasp White's notion of "history is fiction." History is perceived as truth and embedded in fact. Yet, through understanding White's notion of connecting history and fiction, one sees that a historical representation is only one perception of the historical account through one author's own cultural lens. Because we cannot perceive or identify all perspectives or contradictory views of a historical period, we are always missing part of the narrative, part of history. "All stories are fictional in the sense that they are imaginative templates – conventional structures of meaning – whether the events to which they refer are thought to have existed or not" (Doran, 2010, xxvii). Thus, it is necessary to call all historical accounts into question to infer what is missing from the story, from history.

As outlined in the review of the texts by curriculum theorists, there is a tendency to rely on a course of history that is neatly organized from one movement to another. "Commitment to a particular form of knowledge predetermines the kinds of generalizations one can have of it, and hence the kinds of projects one can legitimately conceive for changing that present or for maintaining it in its present form" (White, 1973, p. 21) These histories, written by white males, ignore the contributions of women and minorities throughout the history of our educational system because there is a perceived

need to maintain the white, male power structure by asserting its purpose and progress in history. This tendency, to accept what is written in our nation's textbooks, is being questioned in today's society as minorities and women begin to assert their cultural heritage and even make it a part of the curriculum of the classroom as conflicts erupt regarding what knowledge is to be taught in communities across our nation. These individuals are further reaffirmed in their position by an unwillingness to accept the viewpoints and positions of others to challenge their version of history. Although the narrative has been created and maintained by white males for many years, there are increasing challenges from minority groups who are beginning to assert their own narrative against the accepted form of history. Hayden White (1987) speaks to this shift as:

Cultural critics, Marxist and non-Marxist alike, have commented on the death of the great "master narratives" that formerly provided precognitive bases of belief in the higher civilizations and sustained, even in the early phases of industrial society, utopistic impulses to social transformation. (xi)

Although White comments on the death of the "master narrative," movements such as the adoption of the Common Core Standards in most states of our nation push for a unified and specific set of knowledge across all public schools in our nation. These standards seek to maintain the silence of different cultures and localized knowledge specific to communities and schools. On the other hand, pressures from those traditionally unrepresented are challenging these notions and even taking the argument of the school's rights over curriculum to court. To break the master narrative and properly realign our

nation's schools, it is necessary to add the stories of women and minorities to that conversation and to the curriculum.

In order to introduce these new sets of knowledge to history, one must assert the legitimacy of the narrative being interpreted within historical context. In this research, I embed my interpretation in the diaries and letters of the women in the 1860s which are documents that are accepted for their ability to convey accurate details to the reader from the perspective of a living individual in this time frame. My interpretations are based on the lived experiences of other women with the purpose of providing new meaning and new understanding of a particular time period. The power of the words of these women rests in the ability for the stories to be added to the historical timeline. "As new sources or artifacts come to light, these will need to be incorporated into the historian's account, but they will not alter the historical reality, only our perception of it" (Doran, 2010, xxii). Robert Doran is correct in that history will not be rewritten as a result of this research, but the perception of the events of the time period most certainly will be altered by those willing to engage in this reading and reflection.

It is this exact process of negotiating the perception of history to acknowledge and make room for women and minorities that was recently called for by a curriculum theorist. Hendry, in her book titled *Engendering Curriculum History* (2011), calls for history to be muddied and dirtied by the stories of women and minorities throughout the history of our nation's education system. Through this text, she conveys that it is not enough for the stories to be added to the already written record. Instead, history must be seen for both its successes and failures. "History is understood as an emergent process, not a finished product, is an unending dialogue that creates spaces for conversation in

which multiple, conflicting, paradoxical, and contradictory interpretations can be generated as a means to stimulate more questions” (Hendry, 2011, p. 3). History always is not, in Hendry’s term, “linear” (p. 3), but instead should account for and take up the “complicated conversation” (Pinar, 2004, p. 188) surrounding the contradictions and conflicts in our nation’s educational systems. This is an important concept to analyze because the history that is commonly handed down through society was written from one specific perspective while omitting different viewpoints of the events. History must be explored for the multiple perspectives of the events that took place which simultaneously gives a voice to the viewpoints and of those traditionally ignored. History is perceived as a fiction because the reader cannot rely on the authenticity of an account based on the existence of other possible viewpoints of the same topic. This paper and subsequent research seeks to muddy the waters of history by including the stories of white, northern, middle-class women—both the good and bad of it—by examining the conflicts that surrounded cultural differences and how those relationships impacted knowledge and learning.

Hendry, like White, discusses history in terms of language by positioning history into the generative space of reading, writing, and remembering. It is this space, by acknowledging the power of language to convey meaning of a past time, which is needed in our conversations within history and Curriculum Studies. “It is the invisible relation between theory and history in which I seek a third space to engage history as discourse in order to understand how our relation to the past is continually mediated by language and memory” (Hendry, 2011, xi). She moves the concept deeper than White by adding memory into the concept of history. Traditional history is the shared memory of our

nation or community's history that is passed down as truth. To bring memory into this conversation is to question what is remembered and what is intentionally removed to the back of one's thoughts.

In fact, bringing history and Curriculum Studies brings history into the reflexive property of *carreré*. Memory allows us to move through past, present, and future. It opens a space for thought and questioning. In remembering parts of history that have been removed from memory, it brings significance to the stories of those whose history and culture has been previously forgotten. By bringing events from the past to the present, it further helps an individual to remember events or emotions in one's own history that have been repressed for various reasons. "I play with writing a history that is reflexive, generative, and that resists closure" (Hendry, 2011, p. 5). Bringing new conversations and new perspectives to the history of curriculum allows for space and makes room for progress.

My Story is my Own

As I gathered context units from archives, the stories of the women took me back into my own past. The stories evoke memories of struggles and challenges throughout my teaching career. I spent the time remembering—rethinking the situations that took place over the last six years. I wrote these stories as accurately as my mind allowed—some stories more fluid, others were choppy segments of thought. I feel that my stories are an important voice to be heard. My stories are significant because I am one of the teachers that represent the percentage of teachers who entered the profession in Georgia from a northern state. My stories are those of a white, northern, middle-class woman entering a diverse southern classroom.

To sit and reflectively write stories of my teaching career is a foreign task for me. When I was first told by a professor to write my own story, I questioned the ability of my math-minded self to write creatively about my past. Consequently, my reflective practices have evolved since my beginning days of teaching as I have acquired new vocabulary and new outlooks. While engaging in reading for my doctoral coursework, I was first drawn to the personal side of teaching including the stories of diverse teachers. In particular, I was drawn almost immediately to the autobiographical reflective practices of William F. Pinar (e.g., 1974; 1974/1976b; 1975/1976a; 1988) and Madeleine R. Grumet (e.g., 1988a; 1988b). Knowing that my research and inquiry have to begin with my personal struggles and place in the social and political world, I sought autobiographical theory to write about my personal experiences within modern classrooms.

Pinar's published works pertaining to autobiography can be traced to the mid 1970s. During his years as a doctoral student and young professional, he first explored autobiography as it pertained to the literary genre. In 1975, Pinar published "*Curreré: Toward Reconceptualization*" to support the search for personal identity through inquiry while specifically naming this method as *curreré*. This article is an important foundation for autobiography because the description of *curreré* would further serve to support his next publications that focused on autobiography as a form of inquiry. Pinar and Grumet combined their personal theories in 1976 in a collection of articles that focused on autobiography as a form of curriculum inquiry. Both theorists were interested in the implications for the field through autobiography and saw the Reconceptualization as an opportunity to advance this reform. In this collection, Pinar (1974/1976b) developed a

specific method of autobiographical inquiry in “Self and Others” while also positioning autobiographical inquiry within the field of Curriculum Studies. Specifically, he detailed a method of inquiry that involved simultaneous reflection on a piece of literature and one’s present situation. Through this method, Pinar shifted the attention of inquiry from the experiences of the past to the importance of the present and future.

Pinar’s next two selections in his edited collection with Grumet again turn to *curreré*. Pinar (1975/1976b) first noted that his intentions for *curreré* were to create a genre with the same reflective properties as autobiographical inquiry. He points to the work of Paulo Freire as an example of how dialogue can lead the individual to development of not only thought but also action. From this acknowledgement, Pinar notes that reflective thought may not only change the individual through an exploration of the Self, but will also lead to reflective action. In this manner, Pinar involves *curreré* and indirectly the reflective qualities of autobiography into the political realm. Pinar (1974/1976a) then goes on to develop his method for *curreré* by first leading the individual into the past and then moving to the future. The four steps of this method are known as the regressive, progressive, analytic, and synthetical. Due to the correlations between the reflexive methods of *curreré* and autobiographical inquiry as described in these publications, I believe the Pinar intended for the two methods and topics to support one another. They offer slight variations that can be used independently when the situations or circumstances arise. This flexibility makes autobiographical inquiry more useful to a variety of individuals.

Like Pinar, Grumet (1988a) points to the results of reflection as a means to understand relationships with other individuals. In this way, she believes the public and

private aspects are brought together. This ability to unite the public and private aspects of education is not only possible, but Grumet (1990) finds it necessary. She notes that recognition of the past and present through autobiographical inquiry eventually creates a united culture that must happen beyond the schools. Thus, this component will allow me to tell my story in relationship in the context of the events and bring understanding to myself.

Yet, this personal knowledge is not the only result of the autobiographical inquiry. As a practitioner in the classroom, my voice and story have a unique position within the field. On the other hand, as the practitioner in the classroom, my voice and experiences are rarely requested or acknowledged by the higher powers within my county and state. Many curriculum theorists such as Pinar, Grumet, and Ivor Goodson (1985) have argued for the inclusion of these stories within the field of Curriculum Studies as a way to bring attention to the political struggles that take place in the everyday classrooms of our county. Pinar (1988) notes that the purpose of qualitative research is to find “particular understanding” (p. 134) and argued that practitioners are the individuals who possess this knowledge of everyday life in classrooms. Most importantly, Pinar cites autobiographical inquiry as a means through which the teacher practitioner could communicate with the theorists and administrator. While articulating personal knowledge, the teacher is acting politically to give a voice to a role that is traditionally silenced in our society.

Some theorists write that teaching is by its nature a highly political act (Giroux, 1996; Goodson, 1998; McCulloch, 2004; Pinar, 1988). Teachers make daily choices to either comply with political directives or fight against the inequalities that are faced in our classrooms and our world. Therefore, the role of the teacher is critically linked to the

political implications of education within American classrooms. For this reason, Pinar and other theorists working within autobiographical inquiry strongly support a connection between autobiography and political analysis. For example, Gary McCulloch (2004) also notes that documentary inquiries traditionally serve a political purpose. “The critical tradition is heavily theoretical and overtly political in nature, emphasizing social conflict, power, control and ideology” (p. 46). Although the voice of the teacher is traditionally silenced in the classroom, McCulloch notes that theoretical work necessitates the connection of the teaching world and the political world. For these reasons, the implications for this research cannot be separated from political aspects of profession.

The work of Pinar and Grumet is essential to note at this point as I focus upon my research interest because the work of these important theorists has been fundamental in forming my foundation as a scholar, specifically in my ability and necessity of bringing my own stories to paper. Although my doctoral coursework opened my mind to writing about my own life, my research into the archival relics of a time period 150 years in the past has brought forth memories and stories that had been previously forgotten. Specifically, understanding the struggles and actions of the women in a different time has brought awareness in my mind to my own similar struggles in my teaching career. I have spent much time in the regressive phase of *carreré*, revisiting my personal educational experiences and my learning experiences from my teaching career thus far. Through this process, I have also engaged in the progressive phases of *carreré*, seeking answers for the future, setting goals for myself and the betterment of my classroom practice. Now, the context of this dissertation is set in the analytic phase, comparing the past and present together.

This cyclical process of rethinking my decisions, actions, and teaching practices brings a voice to my stories that are an important piece to this dissertation because it connects the past to the present in a unique way. Furthermore, it serves as a narrative that captures my history, the history of a teacher in the present time who faces the same challenges and experiences as the women in the 1860s. There is a caution, though, in telling my story as it provides a written account of life that involves living individuals that still can be connected to that time and place. For this reason, elements of my stories will be fictionalized to protect the identities of those involved including students, parents, and other teachers. The ability to fictionalize my story is a device that allows the meaning and message of the event to be conveyed to the reader while protecting other individuals from direct criticism. “In the historical narrative, it is the content alone that has truth value. All else is ornament” (White, 1987, p. 41). Qualities of characters, plot, and sequence are all supporting elements of the narrative but are not necessary truth elements for the reader.

The purpose of including my own stories within this text is to allow the reader further text to investigate and make meaning. As the stories compare the past to the present, the analytic phase of *carreré* allows for interpretation to have meaningful conclusions that impact both the writer and the reader. This interpretive process of connecting the past to present is aided also by fictionalizing my stories. By fictionalizing the actions and sequence of events, I am able to create space between myself and my text that allows the reader to actively take part in the interpretation and meaning-making process. My story represents stories of countless women in today’s classrooms, not just my own. More importantly, though, I am able to document the course of my reflective

thoughts, actions, and decisions. I am making room for and problematizing the role of the teacher in the southern classroom in current times. This dissertation will contain an “Autobiographical Rememberings” at the beginning of chapters to symbolize the importance of the chapter’s concept in today’s classrooms. This text will provide the reader with an autobiographical remembering that was inspired by researching, planning, and writing that chapter’s text. The interludes are meant to capture my own purpose, my own journey through the process of *carreré*. They are a record of my historical narrative as I struggle to meet the social, cultural, and political demands of teaching in a southern classroom. They document both the errors in judgment and the moments of recognition that I faced during the journey. At times, the remembering of the past creates a critical lens as I realize what I could have or should have done. In each case, the remembering takes my story back to a place that was once forgotten but is now brought forward as I challenge myself to understand the cultural demands of the teaching profession.

CHAPTER 2

CONSTRUCTING A NEW HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN COASTAL GEORGIA AND THE SEA ISLANDS OF SOUTH CAROLINA, 1850-1870

I have wanted to be a teacher for as long as I can remember, but the reasons have evolved over the years. If you asked me at the age 18 why I wanted to be a teacher, I would have told you because I loved children. I loved being with children, playing during the summers with children, and saw teaching as a logical extension of that feeling. During the first class of my introductory education course and required observation hours in a Pittsburgh public school as an undergrad student, the teacher told me that I should never teach in a public school because I would not last. She told me I was only cut out for private school. My naïve self thought that she was obviously mistaken; I knew I was going to be a good teacher. Over the course of my undergraduate education, my passion for children and desire to have a full, well-rounded résumé led me to various jobs during my four years. I worked in a day care and I was a camp counselor. I taught SAT prep classes for high school juniors and seniors.

Upon recommendation from a friend, I applied and was accepted to work for the University of Pittsburgh during my senior year of college as a tutor to athletes. I had no idea what my job would entail, but I would be working on campus and add another dimension to my résumé. What began as a part-time job to earn money became my passion. I tutored my peers in classes from pre-Algebra through Calculus 3. I tutored one-on-one, learning to write upside down as to not embarrass a football player when I

needed to demonstrate how to work a problem. I encouraged my students to organize study groups, and I would join them to answer questions and give sample problems. I created real-life problems of how to solve multi-variable algebraic expressions by relating the problems to what was meaningful in the lives of the students. I sent and answered text messages urging the students to keep studying and cheered for them when they got a good grade. I had lengthy discussions about why some were in college and what a degree would mean for a family. My role had gradually evolved from that of a peer tutor to a confidant and counselor. Interestingly, this overlap foreshadowed the multiple roles that I play each day ranging from mother, father, or social worker to counselor, time manager, hair bow stylist and teacher each week. Over time, my students would bring friends to their sessions; I was known by their girlfriends as a tutor, a helper. Over time, it wasn't good enough just to get a C; my students were earning B's and reaching for A's. Over time, I realized I didn't just want to be a teacher because I loved kids. I wanted to teach in the easiest and most meaningful way I knew while encouraging all of my students to achieve.

Flash forward just over three years to my second job as a teacher in the Savannah-Chatham County Public School System. I had accepted a middle grades ELA position after leaving my first teaching job as a third grade teacher. I quickly realized that many of my seventh grade students read on a fourth or fifth grade level, and some could write no more than two paragraphs. The academic concerns of my students, though, were the lesser problems in my weekly interactions with some students. At two points in those first years of my teaching career, I was requested to attend a conference with a parent and a school administrator. Both students being discussed in these cases

were African American boys in my class. They did not cause much trouble, but they were having difficulty meeting the Georgia Performance Standards. In one meeting, I walked in and sat at the small table along with the parent, student, and principal.

The administrator asked the parent, “What is the problem you would like to discuss today?”

“She is racist,” replied the parent. The words hit me like a punch to the stomach.

The administrator, in a calm tone, asked me to describe the performance of the student in my English class. I supplied his grade report which showed several incomplete assignments. I explained that the student had been attending tutorials and working on the grade level content, but he had recently stopped.

The administrator turned to the student and said, “Why aren’t you doing the work your teacher asks of you?”

“I don’t want to do the work. It’s as simple as that.”

There was no need for me to reply or refute his words; he was being honest. The administrator then responded, “Well I believe this is your problem not hers. You may now leave the meeting. Thank you, Ms. Janiczek.”

My administrator excused me from the meeting to speak with the parent and child, so I do not know what was said behind the closed door. That was the last time the matter was discussed with me, and I felt later that week as though the administrator must have supported my position in the classroom as the child returned to class completing his work and attending the tutorials as they were offered. Although the administrator addressed the situation with the parent and student, I still felt a lingering feeling of anger from the

parent. For the remainder of the year, every interaction with the student was guarded as I wondered from where the next accusation would come.

As I write this, sitting and contemplating my “struggles,” my weaknesses, my less memorable points in my career, I have difficulty acknowledging my own assumptions and criticisms of situations in my students’ lives. When I taught third grade, part of the state curriculum was to teach the different regions of Georgia. Through discussions with my students, I realized that many of my students had never even been to the beach. Living in a coastal town with a free public beach about 15 miles from the school, I mentally criticized the parents for never taking their children to the beach—never letting their toes touch the sand and water, never having the experience of looking out across the horizon to see nothing but water. Thinking back on that moment, I still criticize my own reaction for not acting on the lack of student experiences. I could have done more to schedule field trips to provide some of the experiences that the students lacked. On a different note, I still dread calling parents to discuss a student’s weakness or problems, not knowing how a parent will react, not knowing how a parent or guardian will judge me by my voice, by my word choice, by my message. I still hesitate because I don’t always know who I am calling—parent, step-parent, grandparent, and guardian. I have had the instances of not knowing the family’s language, of not being able to communicate effectively or at all with the family due to my lack of knowledge of a second language. The computerized list of demographics about a student does not reveal to me the intimate knowledge of the student’s family structure that would give me a greater sense of comfort when making necessary calls.

In many instances, the life experiences of my students did not match my personal history in many ways. I learned to talk to students and hear their stories. I immersed myself in their learning and in their activities. I corrected grammar mistakes and attended city league basketball games. I learned who sang in choir at church and who went home to live with grandma. When knowing that a student was sleeping during class because someone was fighting all night or mom was out late, I realized that the home life was not left at home. The conditions traveled with the child to my classroom. I donned the hat of another role as an advocate for my children, and I more importantly recognized that I had a lot to learn.

When I think back to my teacher training as an undergraduate and master's student, I remember one lesson vividly. I was attending the same introductory education class as I had mentioned before, the first of less than a handful of the mandatory pre-requisite classes for acceptance into the Master of Teaching program at my college. This discussion took place within the walls of a building called Posvar Hall, the education building at the University of Pittsburgh. This was a large cement building that housed the education department while also carefully showing the location of the original home plate of Forbes Field, a daily reminder of the sports heritage of Pittsburgh. The class started with listing characteristics of ourselves: hair color, race, height, ethnicity, family structure, etc. A discussion ensued among the professor and college juniors and seniors that focused upon differences that educators face in classrooms. While this class-long opportunity allowed for open discussion of topics that would be enormously relevant to our futures as teachers, this is the only conversation or lesson during my formal teacher training that I clearly remember which focused on such important topics as race, class,

and gender prior to my first teaching job. As a young student with limited personal experiences, I remember the tone of this lesson as one of possibility. I thought of different types of books that can be used to highlight someone's unique history or learning words in different languages in the elementary classroom. I imagined class pictures of diverse students smiling happily into the camera. I do not remember thinking how diverse a classroom could be when focusing on the multiple characteristics of all the different students at one time. I was not aware of how these cultural differences would impact a student learning the day's reading lesson or math lesson. I am quite sure that it did not cross my young mind that I would have to tackle barriers that those differences created within a classroom every day as a teacher.

After finishing my master's degree, I anxiously packed up all my belongings to make a 700-mile trek with another eager teacher to begin our new careers as teachers in the South. Our belongings included posters, bright library books, and bulletin boarders for our classrooms. Our minds held all the lessons of a Yankee education and our perspectives as children of middle-class families. While taking my first job in a third grade classroom in Savannah, I began a two year long, district-sponsored induction program for all new teachers called "Thrive." With meetings held on 13 different days over two years, the topics included student learning objectives, best instructional practices, writing across the curriculum, and how to creatively use poetry in all content areas to name a few session topics. In my opinion, we never discussed more pressing and critical issues associated with education in Savannah; race was never discussed. Likewise, the drastic differences between the middle-class teachers and their many students of all races and ethnicities living at the poverty-level were never discussed. The

diverse needs and qualities of our inclusion students were never brought up. The varying beliefs of families in regard to education in their child's life or the needs of immigrant students who learned English as a second language in our classrooms were not mentioned. I give these examples to show how cultural aspects of our diverse students, which are quite different from those of the traditionally white, middle-class teachers, are rarely discussed in our school systems whether at the K-12 level or within some institutes of higher education. These issues are important and necessary when looking at the statistics of the county in which I teach. Currently, while over 61% of Savannah/Chatham County's public school population labeled as African American students, there are approximately 51% of their educators described as white (R. Ramon, personal communication, January 9, 2012). In 2009, the number of white teachers was listed at 64% (S. Ambrose, personal communication, November 12, 2009) which notes a further racial disparity in the county's classrooms just a few years past. These statistics are meant to illustrate purely the racial differences that exist within schools which I believe are not openly discussed or mentioned with new teachers. I was not prepared to face the challenges of a diverse southern classroom, and the induction program that was to "support" me as a new teacher did little to help bridge the gaps to attainment of cultural competence.

Fast forward another two years to a summer class at Georgia Southern University during an elective class for my doctoral coursework. I had been teaching in Savannah for approximately four years by now. The professor begins by asking us to describe our culture. Although I do not remember all the descriptors that I mentioned that day, I do remember "Polish" being a characteristic I had chosen. I was raised with

a Polish heritage even though my ancestors had gained citizenship a few generations past. During my youth, I attended a Polish Catholic church and a Polish Catholic elementary school. Each weekend (and even one weekend this past summer) was spent at Polish bazaars listening to polka music while eating pierogies and kielbasa sandwiches. At Christmas, we continue to celebrate wigilia, a traditional Christmas Eve dinner, where we share wafers and hopes for the New Year before dinner. I was taught that I am Polish, a descriptor that equated ethnicity with the formalities of holidays and celebrations, clothing or jewelry instead of a characteristic that encompassed an understanding of the cultural or political identity of immigrants from Poland.

When I took my husband to Pennsylvania to meet my family, we went to visit my grandmother in her small apartment. As my grandmother sat questioning Gabe, she first was pleased that he was Catholic. At one point, she mentioned, “Well at least you aren’t one of those Irish kind.” At this, he pleasantly responded, “Well ma’am, actually I am Irish and French and Lithuanian and a few other things.” At this comment she did not seem pleased, but her opinion was not stated at that moment. I tell this story to show how I was raised in that your ethnicity was equivalent to your race. I was Polish, not white. As I look back on classes and subsequent reading, I realize that little in my upbringing or formal education had taught me that I am white. Other than checking the obligatory box of white or Caucasian on applications and forms, I had no understanding of what that label or of my race constituted in the greater society. I had no experiences of myself as a white woman in contrast to a woman of another race. This social construction of identity is different in the American South where racial notions of white and black permeate social interactions while simultaneously are ignored from discussions. I was not seen as

the Polish teacher who attended the Catholic Church, I was identified as a white teacher in the same way as the other white women were described. My unique cultural heritage that to me symbolized my family's history and place in the world was dismissed for a larger and more powerful signifier of my culture. The problem that I faced during interactions with others was that I myself did not understand the meanings behind being white; I did not understand the cultural significance of whiteness and could not identify the ways in which my actions and words matched white power.

When I moved to Savannah, I do not remember processing what life would be like in a southern city. I was so caught up in moving away from family and friends for the first time that I didn't think about the big picture of life below the Mason-Dixon Line. I had no clear idea of what life would be like for two young women, let alone, two young, northern, white, middle-class women, entering a southern city and southern schools. When I think back even further, I do not recall ever learning about the South or the Civil War in a formal educational setting. Being quite bothered and perplexed by this, I e-mailed several friends from high school to see if I was missing a memory. Each responded that they remember learning about the Civil War in seventh grade, and one had even recalled making candy during one of the units. We all recounted similar memories of the curricula of our advanced literature and history courses to include ancient civilizations and some events in our nation's history. In no way did we recall any discussions of the South, the Civil War, slavery, or even race in these courses. Since I opted to not take AP US History during my senior year, I did not have the opportunity for any coursework that may have been offered in that way.

*As I compare my education to that of my high school peers, though, there is one difference in that I attended a different school district about a half hour drive from my high school. While they were learning US History in seventh grade, I was learning about ancient histories. My coursework in my high school re-taught the curriculum that I had already experienced. At a different point, I remember reading *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* for a class, but it was a summer reading assignment that was not discussed in class. We spent the rest of that senior AP English course with required reading of classical literature. This discussion with my friends brought up several questions in that we were not exposed to important lessons in our nation's history or even discussions of race. I, in fact, did not have a conversation with a person of a different race until I entered college; my white, middle-class, rural background sheltered me from any interaction with members of different races. Even during my undergraduate and master's degree coursework, I never chose courses related to American or southern history. My education regarding the South and all things related actually did not begin until I taught English/Language Arts in a seventh grade classroom and entered my doctoral program. Since that time, I have immersed myself in a variety of texts related to the history of Savannah and the surrounding areas. During my first years of teaching and multiple embarrassing moments, I recognized that I needed to be educated beyond my classroom learning.*

Reflecting on my own educational and societal experiences made me question my knowledge of race and racism in American society. Racism did and does exist in the North, and I can recall members of my high school graduating class displaying Confederate flags on the back of their trucks after school. As I look back on that time the

flag was a symbol of racism by those students. Since we had only one African American family in our school, I never experienced any actions or interactions between the flag bearing teens and the African American family. I understood the perceived position of the white males but didn't explore or analyze the relationship further in my mind. When I moved to Pittsburgh, I saw firsthand how racism can disrupt families as a friend attempted to challenge her parents' notions of race as she dated a black man. As I interacted with members of different races in classes and socially, I do not remember any overt acts of racism. There were discussions in the news about not going to particular parts of town due to increased violence, but I never analyzed or perceived these warnings for the racial underpinnings. Maybe I was naïve to think that racism was not as rampant as it truly was or perhaps my experiences had taught me to ignore the societal problems that did not directly affect my position and my life.

The result of these past experiences or perceived inexperience is that I was in no way prepared to confront the notions of region and race that I faced when moving to Savannah. In the back of my mind, I knew that slavery and the Civil War marked the history of the southern states, but I had no idea of how many southerners still clung to the memory of grandeur and the ills of racism. The Confederate flags hung from flagpoles and attached to bumpers didn't surprise me; this was something that I had experienced previously. Nevertheless, in the South there is a different connotation of the Confederate flag being proudly raised. It is a symbol of deep racial divide of the South, a symbol of hope to return to times where whites occupied positions of power that allowed for the oppression of the African American race. It is a symbol of those who overtly portray their

racist position while many others shelter their own perspective to hide their deep seated hatred for Others.

I give these stories to situate my formal and informal education within the circumstances of my present life as a teacher in a southern school. Despite statistics that report many new public school teachers leave the profession in four to five years, I have persisted and am currently teaching for the seventh year. This is not to say I have not questioned how long I will remain in the classroom. On the other hand, although I have only just finished my sixth and half years as a public school teacher, I am considered accomplished by my peers and supervisors. Most of my students routinely score in the highest percentages for state testing both when passing and exceeding standards. I am perceived as being tough on my students, holding the highest expectations for both academics and behavior in my classroom. I am described as a leader among the staff, providing professional development training and answering questions or offering help when needed. I was also given the honor of being named Teacher of the Year, through nomination and election by my peers during the past academic year. Personally, I do not easily accept the accolades. As I turn a reflective eye on my teaching practices and beliefs, my accomplishments and failures, I question my daily authority as the teacher in the classroom. Although my students score well on tests, what I am doing to truly prepare them for society and life? What lasting impression will I have on my students? Ongoing readings, reflection, and discussions of culture during my doctoral studies have directed me to take a self-reflective autobiographical focus in my own research.

Looking at the diversity of the student body I teach and the curriculum I am mandated to cover, I question what more I should or could be doing for my students. I

spend time pondering why I am not directly interacting with some students on a particular day. I discuss passionately how to help other teachers meet the diverse social, emotional, and educational needs of our students. I question my own actions and how I deal with student difficulties each day. I hesitate before conferences and conversations with parents, unsure of how a family's beliefs or circumstances will conflict with those of the educational institution of which I am a part. On the other hand, although I am mandated to teach a particular curriculum in my classroom, I am given the freedom to teach within particular boundaries in many ways. Furthermore, my classroom is my own, and I have the independence to build relationships with my students based upon honesty and respect.

Consequently, as a white, middle-class, northern teacher in a Southern urban area, I cannot ignore the challenging situations that I see in my school system. Each day I view battles that the parents, students, administrators, and teachers fight against the political system. We are bombarded by messages to do one thing or the other as a "best practice." Regardless of the knowledge level of students entering my class, I am evaluated in part based on the state scores of every student. A goal of this entire dissertation research is that it will lead me on the journey to explore the cultural significance of teachers in the past regarding social, economic, and political factors and to reflect and acknowledge my participation in these circumstances in today's schools. In chapter 2, the text will allow the reader to explore the history of education on the Sea Islands and coastal regions of South Carolina and Georgia. This chapter is necessary to provide the historical context of time and place that was responsible for creating a map

and system that is still followed in today's public school system. It is within this context of time and place that the 19th century teachers operated their schools on a daily basis.

History, like race, gender, and place, is a social construct whereby ideas are created, retold, and perpetuated through power structures in society. In many cases, the history that is widely disseminated through a culture is written by the white, male segment in order to convey ideas of progress and unified movement through time. From a different perspective, though, history is filled with battles and conquests, victors and oppressed, winners and losers.

Southern society was fragmented after the Civil War. This disruption of society was perpetuated by the continuous movement of African American individuals and families seeking homes and work along with shifting positions of northern teachers and relief workers and throughout the region. For these reasons, educational conditions varied greatly between locations throughout the region. Although the Freedmen's Bureau as a whole was dispatched to oversee educational efforts, a leader of this organization was directed to individually oversee only one geographical part of the South. For example, one official would have monitored schools throughout South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. This chapter serves to construct a historical context of education during the Civil War and Reconstruction within the geographical locations of Savannah, coastal Georgia, and the Sea Islands of South Carolina. Not only do these locations share similarities and differences in leadership of the Freedmen's Bureau and the missionary associations that

offered assistance, but they are also historically significant in my current teaching position. Furthermore, the work of aid agencies and northern, female teachers began earlier in the 1860s, even during the Civil War, in this region than any other geographic region of the South. This “rehearsal” for Reconstruction was watched by leaders and members of society to see if progress could be made and established a framework for schools across the South after the final shots of the Civil War had been fired.

White southern men, recently freed African Americans, teachers of all races and both genders, and politicians—all together determined what would become our modern day school system across the US South. This is not to say, though, that there was an absence of schools before and during the Civil War. In fact, in Savannah, Bluffton, Beaufort, and the surrounding coastal areas, there was a system of schools in place for white children. Although African American children were still prohibited from learning to read and write due to state law, clandestine schools and independent instruction still took place to teach literacy skills. Incidentally, the schools that were established before the Civil War and the leaders who maintained their organization would provide the foundation for the immediate efforts during Reconstruction.

To construct a complete history of the opportunities for education in the South during the Civil War and Reconstruction would be an enormous task. Furthermore, like all historical inquiries, actions within the South must be placed within the larger trends across our nation. For this reason, I have reviewed the literature relating to this time period and the more prominent historical trends in education that examine the conditions in the North and South during this time. It is important to contrast the institutions that were in place in the North in against more privatized movements in the South.

Furthermore although several curriculum theorists have briefly discussed or mentioned these efforts, they have omitted a critical time period and individual authors who were crucial to the changes.

History Written by Curriculum Theorists

When discussing trends in education during any period in our nation, I believe that one must position the time period being discussed against prior movements of relevance. As the purpose of this paper is to detail the educational efforts during the Civil War and Reconstruction, it is essential to position the activities of the 19th century within other movements that took place beginning in the colonial period of our country's history. As many colonists initially came to this county to flee from religious persecution, religious and moral values became a prominent part of the everyday lives of these individuals. This emphasis on the religious and moral values of the society would have been conveyed to children through instruction both within the home and the school. For example, early scholars of some American collegiate institutions were impacted by a focus upon moral instruction. This perspective was evident as morals were taught to students of Harvard and Yale as well as other institutions through theology, the study of Latin and Greek languages, and reading of scripture. The importance of the religious spirit must be mentioned because a tradition of moral instruction was created within the New England school system during the colonial era. As many teachers within the Freedmen's Bureau schools were products of these same institutions, perspectives from

the colonial times could be seen as an influence upon curriculum scholars and the American school system for many years to come.

The educations of Harvard, Yale, and other institutions of higher learning were only aimed at a small population of Americans, thus the decisions made by the leaders of these schools only impacted a select number of students. As our nation became more populated in the first half of the 19th century, leaders began to implement schooling that would impact a wider range of children from all levels of society. In the 1830s and 1840s, Henry Barnard and Horace Mann took strides to shift the view of education to the opportunities that were available to all school-aged students. The perspectives of these two individuals on the content of a proper education still included religious and moral instruction like many of their predecessors, yet the focus of the curriculum went further to include spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic as appropriate subjects for all students. Up to this point, schooling had been limited as it was only available in some cities or through private schools. The Common School Movement, as designed by Barnard and Mann, advocated for equal educational opportunities for all students which directly indicated a shift in the impact of schooling to reach all children and therefore the purpose for schools in American society.

Through the work of Barnard and Mann, the Common School Movement brought attention to the perspective of schooling as a means to educate members of all socio-economic groups. Beginning in the mid-1800s, socio-economic pressures would begin a shift in the perspectives of some prominent curriculum leaders. With the progression of industrialization in northern cities and an increasing number of immigrants, aspects of society were impacted by the amount of factories and the new work force necessary to

occupy these jobs. This change in the economic needs of the country prompted many curriculum theorists to question how to best educate portions of the public for work in these industrial jobs. This topic of properly educating students of various classes would become the focus of a key shift in thinking and practice during the remainder of the 19th century and early 20th century.

The Common School Movement, although sometimes believed to have provided equal opportunities for all students of all ethnicities and races, was still divided upon racial lines in the 19th century. Although each state and city upheld state rules in their own manner, the circumstances in Boston are one example of the disparities that occurred in the mid-1800s. Even before 1800s, the free African Americans petitioned the school system of Boston to provide educational opportunities for their children. Displeased with the efforts of school leaders, the African American community organized their own school in 1798, first to be held in a home and then moving to the African Meeting House. Although the school building was under the operational power of the Boston School System, it was widely known that this school, named the Smith School, received less funding and materials than those for white children. Subsequently lawsuits would be filed in the following years with a final ruling in 1855 declaring all Boston schools to be integrated by law. Although written in the books, the law was not enforced throughout the city, thus perpetuating a power whereby white and African American children remained separate. These details are told to illustrate that although the Common School Movement is believed to bring opportunities to all students throughout northern institutions, the conditions in fact remained unequal up to and throughout the Civil War. The experiences of the northern, middle-class women who were educated in northern

cities such as Boston would have been products of the thinking behind these movements and the unequal distribution of supplies and teachers.

Over time, a new perspective for American education emerged which contradicted the theory behind the Common School Movement. An 1876 publication by the National Education Association is one example of theoretical beliefs that were changing at this moment in history. “The public schools, being for the masses who are destined to fill the ranks of common laborers, should give a semi-technical education, and avoid purely disciplinary studies” (National Education Association, 1876, p. 77). As stated, it was believed that some students, namely immigrant children, should not receive similar educational experiences as children of other social status. This example demonstrates a shift in perspective that was directly impacted by the beliefs of factory owners and politicians who sought to ensure that members of the immigrant population were being taught skills necessary for compliance in the workplace. Thus, those identified by socio-economic condition as occupying the lower portion of society would receive a semi-technical or vocational education. The curriculum for students was now dictated by the economic status of the family.

The details of the Common School Movement and push for vocational training are recorded and scrutinized by many leading curriculum theorists. Authors such as William H. Schubert and Pinar may be the most recognizable contributors to the documentation of the history of the field based on their number of publications, but there are also many others whose contributions are notable. As each author takes a unique approach to documenting the history of American curriculum, it allows for the history to be framed in different ways. For example, Schubert’s (1986) *Curriculum: Perspective*,

Paradigm, and Possibility outlines the past shifts in perspective and future possibilities for the field of Curriculum Studies by presenting different views of the same topic throughout the chapters. On the other hand, works such as James W. Fraser's (2001) *The School in the United States: A Documentary History* and George Willis, Schubert, Robert V. Bullough, Craig Kridel, and John T. Holton's (1993/1994) *The American Curriculum: A Documentary History* provide replications of primary sources from different time periods as a way to convey the socio-economic and political context along with the popular curriculum discussion of the time period. Although these examples are very different in the type of writing, they exemplify the variety of texts that are incorporated in examining curriculum as a historical text by different authors.

To continue a discussion of the contributions to the field of curriculum as a historical text, I would like to note a topic from *Understanding Curriculum: An Introduction to the Study of Historical and Contemporary Curriculum Discourses* by Pinar, William M. Reynolds, Patrick Slattery, and Peter M. Taubman (2004). Parts of this book give an overview of the history of curriculum by describing specific texts and their corresponding influence on the American school system. For example, the authors mention Spencer's (1860) publication that argues for the purpose of education to be the preparation of individuals for future life (p. 73). The text then describes educational conditions that occurred in the South including one-room schoolhouses and seasonal calendars that were determined by the growing seasons (p. 85). Although this text points to one specific example of curriculum theory and the subsequent condition of schools in the late 1800s, it does not go into any more detail to describe the varying and horrendous conditions or relevant theory from the time period. Many aspects of the schools and the

diversity of instructional opportunities are missing from the discussion of this time period.

Other texts by key curriculum theorists also focus upon the time period of the 1860s and 1870s. In particular Herbert M. Kliebard's (2004) text, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum*, begins by naming some of the key curriculum publications prior to 1893. Even though the title of the selection limits the time period to 1893-1958, discussion within the text includes prior perspectives of curriculum. For example, Kliebard details the reports of the Committee of Ten and the Committee of Fifteen as well as Josh Mayer Rice's 1883 survey of American schools. In addition, his text goes deeper into the social, economic, and political factors of the time period. For example, Kliebard's commentary notes his feelings relating to the correlation between quality teachers and a decrease in family influence and changes in the economic and political structure of the country as magazines and newspapers became a critical means of conveying ideas across great distances. In this manner, Kliebard offers new information and discussion to the previous publications.

Another example of a work by curriculum theorists who discuss the trends in education during the late 19th century is Schubert, Ann Lynn Lopez Schubert, Thomas P. Thomas, and Wayne M. Carroll's (2002) *Curriculum Books: The First Hundred Years* which includes a discussion of curriculum literature between 1861 and 1909. Of particular significance to my topic is that the text names some key figures in curriculum development of the time to include William Chandler Bagley, Herman Horne, W. E. B. DuBois, and John Dewey. In addition, this text is unique in that it devotes a portion of each chapter to social and political conditions of the respective time period. In this

manner, this text provides a key overview of the historical context of time and place that is appropriate when discussing the contributions of particular theorists.

The last key text I wish to mention offers the field a different perspective on this time period that is worth noting. *Turning Points in Curriculum: A Contemporary American Memoir*, by J. Dan Marshall, James T. Sears, Louise Anderson Allen, Patrick A. Roberts, and Schubert (2007), replicates some of the previously discussed content in that the text discusses influential figures of the second half of the 19th century. The authors include the impact of G. Stanley Hall, Horace Mann, and Henry Barnard as part of this discussion. In addition, the text points to problems within the curriculum field and unique perspectives of past events by different contributors. One key aspect of the content of this book, though, is that this is the sole text which devotes a portion of the discussion of curriculum to the work of DuBois and similar authors who have contributed to the discussion of curriculum for African Americans after the Civil War. In fact, the authors describe DuBois to be one the of first 50 curriculum scholars in the field (p. 13). This discussion is an important contribution to the field of Curriculum Studies not only because the key points are unique when compared to other historical texts; but more importantly, most texts ignore the important contributions that were made by those who helped build the school system of the South after the Civil War. Many authors in other fields, including history, have documented the important work of philanthropists, teachers, and freedmen to establish schools that would become the foundation for the public school system of the South. As curriculum theorists fail to mention the influences of those working within the schools during the Civil War and Reconstruction periods,

these important contributions and a key aspect of the history of the American school system are forgotten within the field of Curriculum Studies.

By examining the previous texts as historical inquiries, my intention was to investigate how theorists have examined the years prior to the implementation of public schooling for all races in the South. Each author highlights different movements within our nation's history in a different way. Some authors highlight specific movements related to the 19th century and early 20th century although no single text provides a comprehensive review of all educational movements throughout our entire nation. More specifically, the texts do little to mention the laws against reading and writing by slaves, the tradition of private education in the South, and the struggles to gain freedom for education after the Civil War, the movement for institutions during and immediately after the Civil War by both African American and white individuals throughout the South. Furthermore, in discussions of moral education in schools and later the Common School Movement, the previously discussed theorists primarily focus on the trends in northern schools. Without a doubt there were a greater number of school age children and schools in northern states, but that does not excuse the neglect of the movements and perspectives in other parts of the country. Without a discussion of the varying trends and perspectives in this time period within southern schools by modern theorists, a gap has been created in our history. I believe that this observation is necessary to make because there is a place in the field of Curriculum Studies to take up the conversations that have been neglected. This discussion has the capability to further complicate the conversation of memories of the South.

The Exceptions to the Rule

As mentioned previously, I believe that Marshall, Seas, Allen, Roberts, and Schubert (2007) correctly identified DuBois as one of the first African American curriculum theorists. Therefore, when examining the social, economic, and political structures of the late 1800s and the impact of leading figures, I believe that one must include the contributions of DuBois and Booker T. Washington. Like Marshall, Sears, Allen, Roberts, and Schubert, I see their work as important contributions to the field because they detailed curriculum perspectives and shifts within the South during an influential and groundbreaking time period. Although there are abundant records maintained by the northern, white, female teachers, there is far less documentation as to the goals and ambitions of the African American community. These individuals are important because they are two of the key figures who initially provided documentation of the struggles to develop differing curriculum for southern schools as well as the socio-economic and political context for discussion of the curriculum. Specifically, they provide historical context from the viewpoint and perspective of the African American community. I highlight these authors at this point as contributing to the historical record as their important contributions will be used in subsequent chapters to provide a voice for students, families, and parents.

DuBois' (1903/1994) publication of *The Souls of Black Folk* is a unique blend of autobiography and historical text. Within the book, DuBois wove the story of his personal voyage to becoming a teacher with a description of the prevalent aspects of southern society at the time. As an autobiographical story, he documented his own interactions with individuals and communities as he worked as a teacher. Then, as a

historical commentary, he portrayed the struggles that occurred in the South as the Civil War ended and the freedmen began to rebuild. He cites the Freedmen's Bureau as a resource for building schools along with the important work of the white, northern female teachers that traveled to the South to teach. The magnitude of his work as a curriculum theorist truly begins as DuBois (1903/1994) discussed the effects of different types of education on the futures of individuals. First, he discussed his personal position and belief that the freedmen needed to gain political independence and self-examination (p. 5) through education. Additionally, he noted the contributions of Fredrick Douglass to positively influence curriculum (pp. 29-30) while criticizing the position and impact of Washington (pp. 22-35) on the curriculum of the South.

Like DuBois, Washington also provided an autobiographical account of his life as a student and teacher and then followed with commentary as a curriculum theorist with his beliefs of schooling. Washington's (2000) text *Up from Slavery* documented his educational experiences as a child and later at Hampton using autobiographical technique. As the text continues, Washington outlined his goals of establishing an industrial school to serve African American students in the South. He summarized his personal beliefs for the curriculum at Tuskegee and also how he implemented his plan to benefit the students. As the content of the text serves as a descriptive record of the development of the Tuskegee Institute, Washington's publication is another example of curriculum as historical text to outline the curriculum trends after the Civil War for African Americans in the South. Later in this text, he turns to more political events in this historical time period and documents his position in society removed from the curriculum and operations of the school.

These two authors are chosen for their differing viewpoints regarding education for African American students. As curriculum theorists, they discuss and debate different educational opportunities for students while being impacted by their own autobiographical experiences and cultural values. Although there are many others who provide historical records of events and educational experiences from the African American perspective such as Douglass (1855) and Carter Godwin Woodson (2009), both DuBois and Washington bring the experience from the perspective of both student and teacher.

Establishments of Education Prior to Reconstruction

The previous discussion, written from the perspective of curriculum theorists, looks at the educational opportunities and curricular trends of our entire country beginning in the 19th century. Although theorists have mentioned trends such as the Common School Movement or vocational training, it is erroneous to assume that the same or similar institutions existed in each state and city. In fact, the circumstances of schooling varied according to the political, social, and cultural conditions in each location. For this reason, a more specific analysis must be developed that examines conditions within particular places during a certain time period. In the following pages, I will construct a review of the circumstances within educational institutions during the time period of the Civil War and Reconstruction within the geographical location identified as the low country of South Carolina and coastal Georgia. These locations share

characteristics of geographic, economic, and political identities that created similar conditions for schools.

Pre Civil War Georgia and South Carolina

The Common School Movement had gained momentum in northern locations during the 1830s and 1840s. Schools were created based on the needs of the increasing amount of children, especially minorities, in growing cities and towns. Trends in the South were different, though. White students and families fortunate enough to live in a city sometimes had varying levels of schools, although many were still private institutions. Those living in rural areas, which characterized much of the South during the 19th century, required private tutors to meet the geographical needs of families. Both of these types of education were found in coastal Georgia, Savannah, and the low country of South Carolina during this time period.

Several authors discuss the existence and conditions of these schools in their texts. Both J. D. Griffin's (1963) *Savannah, Georgia, During the Civil War* and D. Orr's (1950) *A History of Education in Georgia* provide details of schools within Savannah and surrounding areas prior to the Civil War. Griffin (1963) begins his discussion of the educational institutions by noting that although there were no public schools in Georgia prior to the Civil War, "There were schools, however, and among some people there was a strong appreciation of the value of education. Perhaps Savannah was more interested than any other part of Georgia in educating her youth" (p. 222). Griffin was most likely speaking about the education of white students in this quote since discussions of schools for African American children were rarely mentioned in such texts. Yet, it can be inferred that this important interest in education would most likely continue for both white and

African American children after the war due to the significance in Savannah's society. Both authors note that the Chatham Academy opened its doors to students in 1788, being the first institution of record in Savannah since the city's founding in 1733. This institution offered educational opportunities as private teachers were able to rent rooms for individual use. The goal of this process was that Chatham Academy sought to have "centralized somewhat Savannah's school population" (Griffin, 1963, p. 223). This service uniting private teachers within one building continued throughout the Civil War. Although students were required to pay private teachers at Chatham Academy, a free school was also established within the Savannah city limits.

The establishment of a free school for working class white children was not initiated only from the generosity of the white middle- and upper-class citizens. Jacqueline Jones (2008) points to a much different function for the free school when compared to the intention of the Chatham Academy to teach white students who paid tuition. She states that the city of Savannah was ridiculed by northern journalists for lacking facilities for all children when compared to the Common School Movement. "Savannah's lively daytime street scene, with its large number of mischief-making boys, gave proof of the city's failure to require a common school education of all its 'white-headed children'" (Jones, 2008, p. 53). Opened on February 10, 1817, the Savannah Free School was established "to provide for the educational, religious and moral training of poor children" (Griffin, 1963, p. 224). Similar free schools were also developed in Glynn and McIntosh counties (Orr, 1950, p. 72) with the addition of a boarding school named Sunbury Academy. Both Griffin and Orr note that often these free institutions were sponsored by societies or religious organizations which also elected a board to supervise

instruction. Subsequently, the free schools offered more than just an education; the institutions removed poor white boys from causing havoc in the streets much like the manner in which the schools of the North helped to control immigrant children in its cities.

Two other institutions were also started prior to the Civil War that would continue during Reconstruction. First, under the guidance of the Roman Catholic Church in Savannah, the Academy of St. Vincent de Paul was created for female students with classes including the regular academic selections along with various art classes and sewing (Griffin, 1963, p. 225). Although tuition was paid, support was also gained from fairs and bazaars throughout the year. Second, with a donation of \$5,000 from Peter Massie of Glynn County, the Massie School was also initiated in Savannah. This school for poor children would become one of the first public educational institutions as the city assumed responsibility for \$3,000 in yearly expenses beyond the initial building construction costs (Orr, 1950; Griffin, 1963). Both of these schools serve to demonstrate a growing interest from different parties to develop educational opportunities within the city.

Fraser (2003) moves beyond describing the initial development of these schools and comments on the implications for education received in these institutions in the content of *Savannah in the Old South*. Describing the types of instruction in Savannah schools, Fraser (2003) writes:

Opportunities for private instruction in various subjects abounded in Savannah. Schools for affluent young women prepared them for both the domestic arts—the three R’s and needlework—and such “polite” accomplishments as French,

dancing, and music. The wealthy also employed private tutors. For those unable to attend day school, twenty-nine evening schools offered courses for apprentices and older tradesmen from the 1790s to 1812. (p. 174)

Like Griffin, Fraser notes the appreciation for education in Savannah as various types of instruction were developed for different segments of society. Affluent young men and women were not the only benefactors of the institutions, but working class individuals were also given opportunities. In Fraser's commentary, he also describes that the number of white children attending schools rose between 1850 and 1860. "In 1850. . . only 35 percent of all white Savannahians between the ages of five and twenty attended any schools" (Fraser, 2003, p. 275). In contrast, Fraser (2003) notes that in 1860, "40 percent of Savannah's children between six and eighteen" (p. 275) attended school. The inclusion of these statistics allows Fraser to show the increased awareness and attendance of white children in schools prior to the Civil War. This growth supports an increased value of and interest in education as more children were enrolled over time.

Charleston, viewed as a city that complements Savannah both economically and socially both in the past and present, also shared similar educational opportunities prior to the Civil War. Like those in Savannah, conditions in Charleston were also various and dependent on the religious institutions that contributed. The history of education in Charleston, though, predates that of Savannah. Robert Mills (1826/1872), in his text titled *Statistics of South Carolina, Including a View of Its Natural, Civic, and Military History, General and Particular*, provides details of educational movements early in the state's history. Mills describes the early history of the city as:

The first Free School in this state, was founded in Charleston, as early as 1712; since which, extensive means have been created to dispense knowledge among the destitute, both by the state, and by various benevolent societies, already noticed. There are four Free Schools established in Charleston, under legislative patronage. The liberal salary of \$1200 is allowed to each teacher. These, with the numerous private academies and schools distributed through the city, evince the particular attention paid to this most important subject. (p. 438)

In this text, not only does Mills describe the generous allowance per teacher considering the time period, but also demonstrates the range of academies, both private and public as Free Schools. This early time period in the institutions of Charleston and South Carolina are also chronologically listed in George C. Rogers, Jr. and C. James Taylor's (1994) *A South Carolina Chronology: 1497-1992*. Like Mills, Rogers and Taylor trace educational opportunities back to 1712 and the establishment of Free Schools, yet Rogers and Taylor differ in that they mark September 12, 1743 as the establishment of the first school for African Americans in Charleston, then Charles Town. "The purpose was to train them 'in the principles of Christianity and the fundamentals of education, to serve as schoolmasters to their people'" (Rogers & Taylor, 1994, p. 29). The two sentences dedicated in this text are important because they mark a willingness of individuals to educate African Americans, not only in Christian values but also to continue educational opportunities for the race. This statement, though, lacks detail in that although this establishment was made in 1743 laws had been previously passed that forbid the instruction of slaves. Without contextual facts, the presentation of this isolated instance

provides an inaccuracy into the state's history by presenting a notion of progress when it was only an isolated event.

The focus on Free Schools continues in Edmund L. Drago's (2008) *Confederate Phoenix: Rebel Children and Their Families in South Carolina* and David Duncan Wallace's (1951) *South Carolina: A Short History 1520-1948* as the authors outline the efforts to establish public schools prior to 1860. Like Savannah, private and free schools in South Carolina were conducted for differing levels of society. "The early free schools in the cities were underfunded and carried a stigma. Rural parents taught their offspring a rudimentary education until they were old enough to attend school. Their labor was still needed on the farm" (Drago, 2008, p. 50). The Free School was a form of public school by which some students paid tuition while a certain percentage of students were admitted free of charge in an effort to teach all white students. The stigma associated with this institution centered around the demand for students of different socio-economic classes mixing within the same classroom while claims were also made that the inclusion of all parts of the population lowered standards and levels of education (Wallace, 1951, p. 462). In these schools, the curriculum included both Latin and Greek and the teacher was initially to be a member of the Church of England in the early years of its formation (Wallace, 1951, p. 81).

The offerings of these southern schools changed leading up to the 1850s as the shift focused upon trends in northern institutions. In 1856, C. G. Memminger and W. J. Bennett visited New York and states within New England to study the structure of the Common Schools that had been successfully established. In that same year, the school system of Charleston was opened after being modeled from the knowledge obtained by

the northern visitors. Additionally, “nine Northern teachers familiar with modern methods were obtained. The commissioners prepared for three hundred pupils and were overwhelmed with six hundred, now that the stigma of ‘pauper school’ had been removed” (Wallace, 1951, p. 464). This school would gain political and economic support as it came to be supported by a general tax authorized by the legislature. The benefits of the initiative proved successful, though, as a normal school was established in 1860 (Wallace, 1951, p. 464) which “employed fifty-three teachers” (Drago, 2008, p. 51).

Other authors discuss the opportunities for children outside the city limits of Charleston. In the city of Charleston, the Free Schools and Normal School served the lower class population while private institutions remained the choice for members of the upper class. In the more rural areas of the Sea Islands, though, most families were not members of the slave owning elite, but instead working families that relied on the industry of the time. These are important contributions to acknowledge portions of the rural population that sought opportunities for their children. Like the schools of Charleston, other institutions were established to serve the white school-aged population of some Sea Islands, both for male and female students (Mills, 1826/1872; Rowland, Moore, & Rogers, 1996). Specifically, two schools are noted to serve these rural communities by providing schools for the white children. “The second oldest school in the Beaufort District was the Black Swamp Academy, founded in 1818 to educate the sons of the planter community of upper St. Peter’s Parish” (Rowland, Moore, & Rogers, 1996, p. 287). Although this community was not considered upper class, the curriculum of the Black Swamp Academy “included not only standard grammar but also instruction in French and German – reflecting the heritage of the Swiss and Salzburger families that

had settled that neighborhood two generations before” (Rowland, Moore, & Rogers, 1996, p. 288). Shortly thereafter, in the 1820s, the May River Academy was also founded on what was then called Kirk’s Bluff, now known as Bluffton (Rowland, Moore, & Rogers, 1996, p. 288). In other areas, such as Hilton Head or Port Royal, schools would not have been created due to the small population of students and distance between residences. In fact, many plantation owners lived in the cities while the slave population inhabited and worked the plantations on the islands year round.

The educational efforts of Charleston and the Sea Islands were productive considering the geographic distance between the cities. After the creation of the Normal School in 1860, Charleston was credited in enrolling almost half of all school-aged, white children within the city. “The total school enrollment was thus 28,993 out of an estimated school age population of 60,000” (Wallace, 1951, p. 465). This success, though, would come to a halt with the onset of the Civil War, specifically in 1865. In this year, the governor of South Carolina ceased all funding for educational efforts on account of the devastation throughout the state.

Whether examining the privately funded teachers in the Chatham Academy, the church sponsored St. Vincent’s, or the free schools offered, each institution served a specific portion of society for Savannah and the surrounding areas of Georgia. Similarly the private institutions, the Free Schools, and the other public opportunities such as the Black Swamp Academy provided opportunities throughout the populated regions of Charleston and the Sea Islands. Over time, in both states, educational institutions were established and attendance was noted to increase as more opportunities were available. It is important to note the establishment and function of these institutions prior to the Civil

War because efforts to regain control and continue these same schools would prove difficult in the mid to late 1860s. Nevertheless, it is essential to note that these schools only offered opportunities for white children. Teaching African Americans to read or write was still strictly forbidden and punishable by the law.

The Civil War Alters the Terrain

The Civil War brought conditions to the South that disrupted every aspect of society. As men, young and old, were drafted to protect the interests of the Confederate Union, teachers were moved to the front line at a large rate. Miss Emma Holmes' (1979) personal diary has been printed under the title *The Diary of Miss Emma Holmes, 1861-1866*. This text provides a rare published account of how the war affected every aspect of southern society from her perspective as a white, middle-class woman from Charleston and later other locations in South Carolina. Of particular interest is her report that by 1863, "The schools here are much broken up" (Holmes, 1979, p. 245). The remaining pages of her diary document her attempts to find consistent employment as a teacher for white students. At one point, she took a position in a school for girls. When that school was closed for lack of interest, she contemplated the job of teaching eight of a family's 11 children at their home in a rural area. Due to the turmoil of society during the Civil War, teaching positions were only for short periods of time as a family often did not have the ability to make consistent tuition payments. In this manner, Holmes' diary illustrates the changes to the educational institutions in Charleston. Since similar circumstances affected many parts of the South that were ravaged by war, it can be inferred that similar struggles took place in many cities for both teachers and students.

Although Charleston had begun to implement a public school system with over 50 teachers, the Civil War disrupted that institution as teachers were engaged in the war as troops and reductions were made to funding by the South Carolina governor in 1865. These budget cuts seemed initially to be short lived for white students, though, as “the constitutional convention of 1865 took notice of the need of public schools. In 1866 the legislature instructed the governor to appoint a committee to look into the condition of the schools” (Simkins & Woody, 1932/1966, p. 416). The swift actions in the face of devastation caused by attacks on Charleston and other cities during the Civil War shows a continued interest in educational opportunities for students, yet it would be some time before these institutions would again be possible for students of all socio-economic levels. On the other hand, Drago (2008) documents the attempts by white elite citizens to secure teachers for schools and reestablish education for their children. In 1864 and 1865, the governor of South Carolina had the power to grant exemptions for military service which would allow these teachers to return to prior positions. Nevertheless, the requests were not always approved. “Some applications were simply declined. Small schools in rural areas were ignored. Established schools with twenty or more students had the best chance at getting exemptions for their faculty” (Drago, 2008, p. 53). The actions of parents to regain teachers demonstrated the continued emphasis that was placed on educating children even amidst the ravaging conditions of the Civil War and their political influence in reference to teachers and education despite the ongoing conflict in their state.

Forbidden Learning

South Carolina enacted laws that prohibited slaves from learning to read or write in 1740. This would come 130 years before Georgia legislature created laws that forbade slaves from learning to read or write in 1870. Within this state at a local level, state decisions were underwritten by the city of Savannah. In 1817 the city of Savannah itself outlawed teaching both slaves and free African Americans (Jones, 2008, p. 54). That law was intensified in 1829 and again in 1833 as the punishment for teaching a slave was raised from a fine to include public humiliation at the end of a whip (Perdue, 1971, p. 124). In 1857, the Dred Scott decision reaffirmed beliefs in restricting the rights and freedoms of slaves by yet again restricting the freedom of the written word from African Americans. Although laws were in place, some members of the African American community did not always submit to the demands of the white society and lawmakers but instead followed personal ambitions and resolve.

It is documented in slave narratives that educating slaves to read and write did happen. These occurrences do not characterize a large portion of the population but are included to document the differing positions that individuals took when political and religious values clashed. In Annie L. Burton's (2006) *Women's Slave Narratives: Annie L. Burton and Others*, the author archives the work of religious individuals to provide educational opportunities. Burton (2006) describes her own experiences as:

Some rich people in Clayton, who had owned slaves, opened the Methodist church on Sundays, and began the work of teaching the negroes. My new mistress sent me to Sunday school every Sunday morning, and I soon got so that I could read. Mis' Mary taught me every day at her knee. (p. 9)

This account serves to record both schools and private efforts in some areas, even at the expense of white owners. More popularly known, Susie King Taylor's (1988) *A Black Woman's Civil War Memoirs: Reminiscences of my Life in Camp with the 33rd US Colored Troops, Late 1st South Carolina Volunteers* documents her attendance at a school. She reports that she learned to read and write by traveling secretly to a woman in Savannah and concealing her books in packages. "The neighbors would see us going in sometimes, but they supposed we were there learning trades, as it was custom to give children a trade of some kind" (Taylor, 1988, pp. 29-30). Over time, she would receive instruction from Mary Woodhouse, a free woman, Mary Beasley, another African American teacher, and a playmate named Katie O'Connor. These reports note that not only were children taught to read and write along with skills, but parts of the white population participated in these events. Furthermore, this description notes that members of society accepted instruction that included "trades" within the city of Savannah. Although public laws forbid educating slaves, some individuals took the risks and accepted the necessity of some instruction.

These efforts to educate children and adults are not only recorded in slave narratives. In fact, clandestine schools are recorded to have operated in some areas of the South. Both these schools and specific individual efforts are detailed by many authors in their attempts to describe the circumstances that predated the Civil War. DuBois (1962) remarked that these attempts were not consistent; abiding by the law was the norm. "There was teaching, here and there, by indulgent masters, or by clandestine Negro schools, but in the main, the laws were followed" (DuBois, 1962, p. 638). DuBois also goes on to record his knowledge of clandestine schools. He notes, "Schools for their

children had been supported by the free Negroes of Charleston since 1744, openly at first—clandestinely after the law forbade them” (DuBois, 1962, pp. 642-643). Also in Savannah, “the most noted of the clandestine schools for free colored children was opened in Savannah in 1818 or 1819 by a colored Frenchman named Julien Froumontaine, from Santo Domingo. Up to 1829, this school was taught openly” (DuBois, 1962, p. 644). The inclusion of these details by DuBois shows that not only did the schools operated, but their existence was part of the knowledge of the African Americans that was shared across time and place.

Other authors reveal similar efforts by the African American population to provide clandestine schools in Savannah. In 1855, Sister Frances of St. Stephen’s Episcopal Church began a school for black children, and in 1865, James Porter, a free person of color, moved from Charleston to teach music at St. Stephen’s congregation where he soon operated a clandestine school of his own (Hoskins, 2002, p. 113). Speaking of clandestine schools in Savannah, Jones (2008) continues to note the efforts prior to the Civil War by noting that “all of the city’s churches sponsored some sort of religious education for black children” (p. 54). Under this presumption, this operation would include some type of school at the First African Baptist, Second African Baptist, Third African Baptist, the Methodists’ Andrew Chapel and St. Stephen’s Episcopal. Individuals were also noted for their own efforts by authors. For example, Robert Eugene Perdue (1971) notes, “Deveaux, a free Negro, taught blacks secretly in her home from 1836 to 1864” (p. 125). Also, on a plantation located at Richmond Hill, it is noted that while “Mary Magill taught several slaves to read the Bible” (Michie, 1990, p. 42), her husband “in full realization of violating social and political responsibilities, John Magill

even took the initiative to teach one of his slaves, Bruce Williams, to read and write” (Michie, 1990, p. 42). Thus, the efforts to provide the necessities of reading and writing were not only provided by churches, but also by free individuals of different race and status in the southern society.

It is important to include the efforts of these authors to document the instruction that took place to help understand how approximately 10 percent of slaves were taught to read and write during slavery. This insistence to learn to read and write despite possible persecution of the law demonstrated an interest to learn and a willingness by some individuals to help. On the eve of the Civil War, these actions speak to the interest in education not only for white citizens, but also for African American slaves. It is from this position in society that the freedmen would move forward, seeking the world of the written word.

The Civil War disrupted not only the educational systems that were in place for white children, but is also brought about important changes in society that would allow freedmen to gain rights and freedoms that had been denied by slavery. As Sherman’s army symbolically marched to the sea, the troops left behind a stretch of land on which millions of former slaves now existed without the bonds of slavery. Members of this population would use their newly acquired freedom to demand opportunities that had been denied, beginning immediately with a desire for education.

Many historians have analyzed the desires of the freedmen to gain educational institutions for themselves and their children immediately following acquisition of freedom. Jennifer Carol Lund Smith (1997) comments on the general state of society by describing, “One of the primary tasks facing African Americans in their post-bellum

passage from slavery to freedom was to empower themselves to be able to exist in an environment made hostile by their former masters” (iv). I think that although Smith is commenting on the general conditions during the Civil War period and the state of destitution in which the freedmen were left, his choice of the word “exist” does not do justice to the goals and work of the people. They didn’t merely want to exist, to live, to survive. I think that a profound quality must have been held deep within that allowed the former slaves to pursue the liberties that had been previously withheld.

This deep desire for a better life is described by several authors in their discussions of the work that began immediately for the freedmen. Steven Hahn (2008) writes:

Freedpeople clamored for schooling because they viewed it simultaneously as a rejection of their enslaved past and as a means of power and self-respect in the postemancipation world. Literacy would permit them to negotiate the new relations of production and exchange. . . It would expand their political horizons and better equip them to exercise the new rights of citizenship. And it would enable them to read the Bible. (p. 16)

This perspective of Hahn notes that the slaves expressed self-respect and a desire for the power to control their own lives. As this author places emphasis on political rights of citizens and the ability to read the Bible, Hahn notes a commitment to do more than just exist. He also mentions a desire for education to increase an awareness of political operations. “It was also a place where they could be taught about the course of Reconstruction, the substance of their rights, the goals of the Republican Party, and the importance of voting” (Hahn, 2008, p. 17). This statement supports my position that the

freedmen did not want to merely exist. They wanted to be active participants in the country from which they had been denied so much. James D. Anderson (1988) also remarks on the will of the freedpeople to acquire schools. “The foundation of the freedmen’s educational movement was their self-reliance and deep-seated desire to control and sustain schools for themselves and their children” (p. 5). This position of Anderson coincides with that of Hahn to demonstrate the power and achievements that were desired by freedmen. This same position that emphasizes the will and desire to hold power over their lives is also noted by several other authors including DuBois (1962), Smith (1997), and Eric Anderson & Alfred A. Moss, Jr. (1999). This position by these authors supports a common view of the will of the people to provide schools for children even before the end of the Civil War. Although each author points to the pursuits of the freedmen, a generalization cannot be made that documents all pursuits as religious, political, or economic realms. The conditions for the freedmen varied before and during the Civil War, thus creating different goals for individuals and families. This discussion is necessary in understanding the prevalence of schools during the 1860s because it provides the historical background of the former slaves and the cultural positional that they occupied at the time.

During and after the Civil War there were countless individuals who traveled throughout the South for political, economic, and religious purposes. They published letters and reports to their readers in the North to document aspects of southern society. Troops and other individuals traveling from the North often remarked in their observations that the freedmen immediately set about to learn to read, looking for teachers in the soldiers or religious workers during the war. “From early in the war,

chaplains and other soldiers had helped the contraband to learn to read” (Bentley, 1955, p. 169). Another account notes, “The first educational efforts came during the war, when the Negroes, refugees and soldiers were taught at various camps and places of refuge at their own pressing request” (DuBois, 1962, p. 642). These accounts reveal the immediate interest in education by freed slaves and set the ground for the work of the Freedmen’s Bureau and philanthropic societies. Their publication also notes the interest in northern readers to learn about the freedmen.

As recorded in these traveler notes, the freedmen immediately went about forming schools independent of outside efforts. “Native schools” were often formed independently by slaves and taught by either an African American that had acquired freedom prior to the war or a freed slave that had been taught to read by a master. Sabbath schools were also sponsored by the increasing amount of African American churches throughout the South. These schools usually operated at night or on weekends and assisted in basic literacy instruction. Some of these schools had been operating as clandestine schools prior to the war and now were able to operate in society. Efforts to begin and sustain schools varied, though, in correspondence with geographic location. “Outside of cities and larger towns and away from the densest plantations, the burdens of establishing and running schools fell chiefly to the freed people themselves” (Hahn, 2008, p. 16). On the other hand, “the comparatively high population of African Americans in these cities allowed freed people easy contact with one another and facilitated their ability to congregate” (Smith, 1997, v). These geographic differences were not the only problems facing the freedmen.

Although they may have exhibited extreme desire and self-reliance to seek educational opportunities, the former slaves did not have the resources to independently operate schools. Land and buildings would take time to acquire; books were in high demand. Individuals holding an education were also in demand to teach in the schools. Smith (1997) describes this struggle between the freedmen and other parties as:

The central question was who, or which group, would control the schooling of the former slaves. Southern white people and northern missionaries vied for hegemonic control over the nature and content of education for the freed people. At the same time, African Americans had their own views regarding the education of their children and themselves. (v)

This struggle for control over the organization and curriculum of the schools would introduce a complicated mixture to include the intentions of the freedmen, philanthropic northerners, the employed leaders of the Freedmen's Bureau, and the white population of the South.

The Port Royal Experiment – Rehearsal for Reconstruction

A timeline of the events leading up to the official designation of the freedom of slaves has several markers that made progress toward Constitutional freedom. For some, freedom was acquired when troops entered a plantation or town. In other cases, the events of the country were hidden to an illiterate society dependent on information from owners. For others, freedom became “reality only with the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment in December, 1865. But the commitment of the nation to the principle of

freedom for all had been made in 1863 when President Lincoln had issued the Emancipation Proclamation” (Abbott, 1967, p. 3). On the Sea Islands, the commitment to freedom had been taken up even prior to the Emancipation Proclamation by a group of philanthropists looking to assist the former slaves.

On November 1, 1861, the United States Navy under the command of Commodore Du Pont entered the Port Royal Sound while the Civil War raged on the land beyond. On the following day, as the troops set foot on the islands, the white population fled their properties while leaving behind personal possessions, slaves, and land. More than 10,000 slaves remained to greet the troops. These slaves and the troops were equally in positions of disarray as neither was prepared for the sudden victory and drastic changes to a way of life.

Two authors, Martin Abbott (1967) and Willie Lee Rose (1964), have documented much of the efforts of the Freedmen’s Bureau and the philanthropic associations on the Sea Islands of South Carolina in their extensive volumes. Another smaller publication, written by Luther P. Jackson (1923) entitled “The Educational Efforts of the Freedmen’s Bureau and Freedmen’s Aid Societies in South Carolina, 1862-1872” also discusses this same time period. Together, their texts provide a comprehensive timeline of the events and participants as reconstructed through archives and diaries. Each of their texts focuses upon the overall society, including political, social, cultural, religious, and educational efforts. In particular, they document how the chief agents of the Freedmen’s Bureau and the philanthropist teachers acted to “civilize” and educate the former slaves. The period of time and interactions between agents and freedmen is

commonly called “Rehearsal for Reconstruction” as the activities took place even before the end of the Civil War.

Following the arrival of the Navy, the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States sent a representative to survey the conditions of the freedmen at Port Royal, Beaufort, and the surrounding islands. The results of this report supported the position of E. L. Pierce as an agent of the federal government. It is Pierce who was responsible for implementing and carrying out initial plans for federal and philanthropic efforts in these areas. “If the experiment of a guided transition to freedom could work in the Sea Islands, where slaves had lived in such great isolation and ignorance, Pierce thought it could be ‘hopefully attempted’ anywhere in the South” (Rose, 1964, p. 29). This experiment would come to include political and economic aspects to include assistance with land sales, distribution of rations, and oversight of growth of crops including cotton, the legalization of marriages, and educating the freedmen. Aspects of these plans were developed in part at a public meeting at the Cooper Institute in New York on February 20, 1862 at the request for assistance from Pierce. “The meeting adopted resolutions to meet both the short-term physical needs and the longer-range educational requirements of the Negroes” (Rose, 1964, p. 41). Within two weeks, 53 men and women were aboard a ship on the way to South Carolina.

It is from this initial effort that the schools on the Sea Islands of South Carolina were formed. Although Rose (1964) reports that Pierce initially did not want the women to accompany the men on their trip (p. 44), he soon found them of great use. There was an immense amount of land and many freedmen within Pierce’s area. Among one of his first duties, Pierce “delivered teachers and superintendents to their far-flung plantations”

(Rose, 1964, p. 85) where the teachers “were joyfully accepted everywhere” (Rose, 1964, p. 85). These newly formed schools under the direction of Pierce’s teachers would add to the school in Beaufort that Reverend Mr. Solomon Peck had already begun in 1862. In fact, to make organization of these efforts more manageable, “the islands were divided into four districts which contained a total of one hundred and eighty-nine plantations” (Jackson, 1923, p. 8). With increasing amounts of organization, arrival of northern missionaries, and donated supplies, the establishment of the institutions of education would rapidly continue across the Sea Islands in the coming years. According to Rose (1964), at the close of the 1862 school year, 1,700 children were already attending school on St. Helena, Ladies, and Port Royal Islands with another 500 on the island of Hilton Head (p. 230). Abbott (1967) reports that by the end of the 1866 school year that figure had monumentally grown with at least 8,000 students enrolled in 54 schools (p. 86).

Although the Freedmen’s Bureau is typically given recognition for efforts to provide educational experiences for the freedmen, the bureau can be noted for only administrative work. Primarily, the Bureau conveyed the needs of particular communities which were reported by principals and teachers in the different regions to the missionary associations which were then responsible for hiring teachers. In addition, “it did perform other needed functions, among them the investigation of school needs, the co-ordination of the work of the various societies, and the publicizing of the cause and progress of Negro education before the nation” (Abbott, 1967, p. 85). As the Freedmen’s Bureau provided the legal and administrative functions, the aid societies provided monetary and curricular support for the individual teachers in accordance with the goals of that individual society. The conditions of the school buildings and curriculum in these schools

varied under the influence of the teachers and corresponding aid societies. The group that had traveled to the Sea Islands in 1862 was under the sponsorship of both the Education Commission of Boston and Freedmen's Relief Association of New York. Not only did these groups sponsor the teachers by providing a salary and other assistance through materials sent to South Carolina, but they also controlled the position the teachers took in one key way. Each teacher sent to the South was chosen by the particular society for her viewpoints, both religious and political. Thus, the society was able to explicitly control the attitudes the teachers expressed through their selection.

Rose speaks to the daily instruction of these early schools by first noting that there was a great deal of rote memorization of letters. Students were grouped according to ability with one teacher typically teaching between 50 and 100 students. Abbott (1967) further discusses the curriculum of the schools by describing the specific content that was taught. Abbott (1967) writes:

In addition to the three R's and some religious instruction, the program included courses in geography of Europe, Asia, and South America, history, physiology, natural philosophy, Latin, and classical literature. Apart from the practical uses implicit in the three R's, some schools also included a vocational course or two in such areas as sewing. (p. 91)

This description illustrates that the schools commonly taught reading, writing, and arithmetic that would provide the foundation to the students' continuing education. Other topics, though, varied according to the position of the teacher and the philanthropic sponsor. In either case, another common element of the schools was that the teachers and sponsors sought to reproduce the types of schools that had gained prominence in the

North. “It was, on one hand, a curriculum concerned with substance and content, with moral maxims, and with promoting mental and social discipline; it was, on the other, one that included subjects wholly foreign to the experience” (Abbott, 1967, p. 91). The moral instruction of the freedmen, though, was not only to be conveyed through instruction within schools. The teachers took their work to convey moral positions beyond the schoolyard and into night classes, church functions, and general society.

As mentioned, young women were selected based on moral and religious values that would be conveyed through their actions within the southern communities. One cultural value that the teachers attempted to convey to the freedmen was the uniform pattern of family life including one, heterosexual union symbolized by a marriage celebration. An “important extracurricular activities of the missionary teachers was the effort to regularize Negro family life, to make it conform to the accepted pattern. . . Negroes having more than one ‘wife’ were now obliged to make a choice” (Rose, 1964, p. 236). In this manner, the instruction of the teachers went beyond the schoolhouse to include moral and cultural values that coincided with the northern, religious views of the 19th century. More importantly, it undermined the value placed in the African American woman as the head of the household and forced conflict upon unions that were made and broken by the selling of slaves throughout the region.

It is important to note that although the efforts of these individuals in South Carolina in the early 1860s are considered to be fairly uniform, the daily functioning of schools was not. Some teachers such as Towne had buildings to function as schoolhouses that were donated by northern supporters. Others taught in barns, sheds, or the open air. The instructional duration of the day was also varied as families needed children to work

in the fields. For example, Rose (1964) reports, “Nearly all the Negro children came to study under disadvantageous circumstances, getting in their lessons between chores and field work” (p. 231). Furthermore, the continuity of the school depended on the length of the school term as decided by the northern aid associations and the endurance of each teacher to face harsh living and working conditions of the time as many teachers returned home after less than a year. Despite these circumstances, authors note that the freedmen consistently placed their trust and faith in the schools as inferred from continued attendance over time.

Although both Rose and Abbott gathered their information to give an overview of the efforts of the Freedmen’s Bureau officials and northern teachers, they go a step further to mention schools and teachers that were recognized for their distinction. Abbott notes the Avery Institute and the Franklin Street School, both of Charleston, for their excellence in teaching freed slaves. The Avery Institute was sponsored by the American Missionary Association and taught by “Francis L. Cardoza, a free-born mulatto” (Abbott, 1967, p. 92) while the Franklin Street School was taught by a group of twelve Canadians. Both Rose and Abbott note Towne’s Penn School at St. Helena Island also as a model for other schools. Other teachers noted for their continued dedication to their schools include Schofield, Mather, and Abby D. Monroe.

The efforts of these individuals to assist the lives of the freedmen was seen from the beginning as a temporary measure to assist in lives until the government was able to make a more secure plan. There is no doubt that these individuals worked in some way to assist the freedmen in negotiating labor contracts, land sales, and other disputes that developed over time. Yet, the legacy of the school system under the leadership of the

Freedmen's Bureau and the philanthropic organizations would come to a close as the Freedmen's Bureau ran out of funds for education officially in 1870. By 1873, the New England Freedmen's Aid Society would turn over control of the remaining schools on the Sea Islands to local authorities.

Reconstruction in Savannah and Surrounding Coastal Areas

I feel that it is important to note that the focus of this research encompasses two locations with a close geographic location and social characteristics. The Sea Islands, Savannah, and surrounding coastal Georgia shared an interest in cotton production and slave labor that maintained that product to meet the demands of northern production. They differed, though, in that Savannah was comprised of both free African Americans and those still bounded by slavery. The Sea Islands of South Carolina were comprised of plantations dependent on slavery that underwent a dramatic transformation with the arrival of the U. S. Navy in 1861. What would occur on the islands during "Rehearsal for Reconstruction" would serve as an experiment and model for the efforts that would later take place throughout the rest of the South. Savannah and the surrounding areas, though, would struggle to maintain existence through much of the Civil War before being claimed by Sherman. The time is not the only difference for educational efforts, though. In Savannah, the foundation had already existed for education of both races, whether the slave owning population was aware or not.

The body of literature reporting the efforts to provide education after the Civil War has several important contributions. First, Jones' (2008) *Saving Savannah: The City*

and the Civil War provides an account of the educational institutions within Savannah in relationship to the other social, economic, and political functions of the city. Her commentary provides an important overview to understand the efforts of both black and white leaders within the context of time and place. Another of Jones' (1980/1992) works, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873* serves as at a deeper account of the efforts of northern teachers across the state. This work also places their efforts within social and political time and place. This book takes it a step further by taking a more critical look at class, race, and sex within the stories. Lastly, the work of Henry L. Swint (1967) entitled *The Northern Teacher in the South: 1862-1870* provides a view written from a different time period and perspective. His content includes important commentary on the differing societies and the relationships between northern philanthropists, Freedmen's Bureau agents, freedmen, and members of southern white society. Each of these authors provides important information written from a historian's viewpoint. Nevertheless, it is important to also have accounts from other individuals as well.

Civil War Rages, Savannah in the 1860s

As the philanthropists from Boston descended on Port Royal and a high school was established in Beaufort for the freedmen, Savannahians attempted to maintain control over their lives. Husbands and sons were called to war while wives attempted to maintain homes and plantations. At the same time, slaves and freed people of color were willing to step beyond the limits placed by owners. Throughout this time of upheaval, some schools remained open in Savannah, charging tuition for those interested in attending (Orr, 1950, p. 176). The march of Sherman to the sea would cause further devastation, though, as

ruin lay in the wake of his troops. Christmas of 1864 marked the fall of Savannah under ante-bellum southern white rule.

Only days had passed since Sherman's gift of Savannah to Lincoln when the African American leaders of Savannah, using the framework that had been established in clandestine schools for many years, organized and opened a school under the title of the Savannah Education Association. On January 10, 1865, five hundred children assembled for what would be the first school for freed black children in Savannah. The children assembled at the First African Baptist Church and marched to the old Bryan Slave Mart. This building that had stood for the separation of families and destruction of lives would now be home to a school for the children of slavery. With James Porter as principal, the institution would serve as an immediate step toward education. In the same year, the Savannah Education Association (SEA) would open the Oglethorpe Free School with Louis B. Toomer principal. It is no coincidence that these two leaders would serve as founding principals of these institutions; Charles Lwanga Hoskins (2002) notes that both operated clandestine schools prior to the Civil War (p. 115).

Details of this time period are scarce as not many documents written by African Americans were maintained over time. Nevertheless, Hoskins' (2002) book continues to tell the story of the Savannah Education Association by using what records were kept and handed down through tradition. In 1866, several more schools opened under the guidance of the SEA. In addition to that at the Bryan Slave Mart and the Oglethorpe Free School, schools operated exclusively by African Americans were the Yonkers School at the First African Church, the Hospital School, the Lamar and Andrew Schools both at Andrew Chapel on New Street, and the Bethlehem High School (p. 116).

During this same time, efforts to educate freedmen were gaining momentum elsewhere in the state. Although the Education Commission of Boston and Freedmen's Relief Association of New York worked to secure schools on the Sea Islands, they would come to have little influence within Georgia. Instead, the American Missionary Association (AMA) would become the prominent philanthropic organization within the state. Swint (1967) notes this status of the AMA by describing, "The American Missionary Association was probably the most representative of the sectarian associations engaged in missionary and educational work" (p. 11). Perdue (1971) also describes the efforts of the AMA to establish schools across the state of Georgia as, "By the end of 1865, the American Missionary Association was financing five schools, the New York Society of Friends and the National Freedmen's Aid Society two, and the New England Freedmen's Aid society one school, in Chatham County" (Perdue, 1971, p. 128). Although Perdue reports that a school was sponsored by the AMA in Chatham County in this early stage, this report is not shared by other authors. Nevertheless, the reach of the AMA would soon be felt by citizens of Savannah.

The Freedmen's Bureau also gained momentum over these years and would impact the Savannah schools in the near future. Originally, "The Freedmen's Bureau was the child of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, created by the War Department in 1863 to suggest methods for dealing with the emancipated slaves" (Foner, 1988, p. 68). Although the Inquiry Commission was begun in 1863 and investigated such things as the conditions at various locations, the Freedmen's Bureau was not given official designation or funding until 1865. This is important to note that the efforts of federal workers were seen on the Sea Islands as they controlled rations and land sales in

the absence of other government officers, although they were not working under the title of the Freedmen's Bureau in the early stages of their work. While in existence in 1865 and 1866, though, the Freedmen's Bureau would have little effect on educational efforts in Savannah. "The main activities of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1865 and 1866 concerned the physical and economic needs of the negroes. It also directed educational opportunities for the freedmen in connection with Northern philanthropic societies" (Thompson, 1964, pp. 61-62). Although authors such as C. Mildred Thompson note a role of the Freedmen's Bureau, it was to "direct" activities. It cannot be argued that the Freedmen's Bureau had a large role in the relief programs immediately after the Civil War due to their limited resources and the lack of power over the schools. Additionally, they were only one part of the political powers that engaged popular opinion at this time. Congress and local agencies also had tremendous power to give or take funding from the Freedmen's Bureau and the people themselves. David Tyack and Robert Lowe (1986), in their journal article titled "The Constitutional Moment: Reconstruction and Black Education in the South," discuss the role of political influence, especially of the Republican Party. Although the particular actions of these individuals are beyond the scope of this paper, it is important to note that they did control power in many cases to determine what happened in particular states.

The work of white individuals is of note at this moment in the discussion. To this point, the schools for freed slaves had been created and run by African Americans themselves. No outside assistance had been provided, and these conditions were accepted by southern whites. Perdue (1971) speaks to these conditions as:

The general attitude, however, was one of indifference. Whites did not greatly care if blacks obtained education, as long as the white man himself had an education. Many whites, however, were unable or unwilling to educate their own children. For instance, only 675 of Savannah's 2000 white children of school age were attending school in 1865. (p. 135)

This statement by Perdue serves to comment on the indifference by many southern whites to the education of the freedmen within their southern cities and towns. It also serves to record the difficulty that the whites had to renew the educational system for white children on their own from before the war. In response to these struggles, the state and local governments assumed responsibility for public education for white children only. First, "in Savannah, where a 'Board of Public Education for the City of Savannah', to superintend the education of white children from sixteen to eighteen years was established in March, 1866" (Thompson, 1964, p. 123). Next, on December 12, 1866, a state system of organization was begun that established a system of common schools much like those in the North "with a state superintendent appointed by the governor, a commissioner for each county... Free instruction in the Georgia schools was offered to 'any free white inhabitant being a citizen of the United States and of this state'" (Thompson, 1964, p. 121). These actions of the local and state governments institutionalized education across the state and placed the responsibility for the funding on the citizens, both black and white, through taxes even though the schools only operated for white children. Furthermore, the taxes were raised since pre Civil War rates "given the increased number of free citizens, the elimination of taxes on slave property, and the decline in land values" (Fitzgerald, 2007, p. 154). Thompson (1964) and

Fitzgerald's (2007) information in their texts provides important details of the political and economic conditions and events in the 1860s that preceded changes for schools serving freedmen. These changes are important to note because it was increasingly noted that financial maintenance of the schools required funding beyond tuition paid by patrons.

Despite the lack of support from political leaders and the white southern society, the work of the freedmen throughout the state of Georgia in 1865 and 1866 was enough to secure land and operate schools for many children. Paul A. Cimbala (1997) discusses the financial aspects of this production throughout his text *Under the Guardianship of the Nation: The Freedmen's Bureau and the Reconstruction of Georgia, 1865-1870*. Cimbala (1997) writes:

Georgia's ex-slaves translated this enthusiasm for education into a significant financial commitment for a people newly entering a free-labor workplace. By the end of 1866, the state's freedpeople who reported their efforts to the Freedmen's Bureau owned 57 school buildings and wholly or partially supported 96 of 127 schools in the state. (p. 110)

Although freedmen had supported a great deal of schools across the state through independent means, the efforts will still not enough. Thousands of children were not receiving an education. Countless others were missing materials such as furniture and books that were desired within the schools. "Poverty undercut black educational efforts, forcing many schools to turn to the Freedmen's Bureau and Northern societies for aid" (Foner, 1988, p. 98). For these reasons, as well as others, the SEA gave control to northern philanthropic societies to assist with instruction within the schools. When Beach

Institute opened in 1867 under the direction of the American Missionary Association, most of the teachers were white northern individuals, a stark contrast to the predominantly African American teachers that had previously comprised the schools of Savannah. Perdue remarks that this particular transition was appreciated by parents. “This did not disturb those Negro families who sent their children to Beach Institute, for most of them were upper-class blacks who patterned their lives after whites” (Perdue, 1971, p. 136). Hoskins (2002), though, uses different and contradictory language to explain the position of African American parents and citizens at this change. He remarks that the SEA was “gobbled up” (Hoskins, 2002, p. 116) by the AMA. His word selection evokes a much more physical and immediate feeling than the acceptance described by Perdue. Jones, also, gives comment to the overtaking of schools such as Beach Institute. “Incomplete but intriguing evidence indicates that, when presented with a choice, black parents preferred to send their children to schools taught by native members of their own race” (Jones, 1980/1992, p. 65). These contrasting reports demonstrate that transitions and influences of the missionary associations were received with mixed feelings by members of the African American community. It is from these mixed emotions that they daily education within the schools would move.

Over the following years, efforts in Savannah for the education of African American children would now be controlled by the AMA. For white children, though, the number of schools gradually increased. Bowden (1932) provides one of the most detailed accounts of schools for white children in his text *Two Hundred Years of Education Bicentennial 1733-1933, Savannah, Chatham County, Georgia*. In this book, he details the yearly efforts to provide schools for white children. First, he notes that in 1867 there

were five schools for boys and girls including Massie and a Boys' and Girls' Primary School. Then, in 1868, there were three private schools that served the white children to include the Chatham Academy Classical School for Boys, Savannah Institute for Young Ladies, and the Academy of St. Vincent de Paul (pp. 251-252). These private schools were in addition to the schools noted for 1867. Of significance in 1869 is the beginning of public schools with a high school opening on October 4, 1869 that charged students three dollars a month for tuition. During this year, several schools also began operating year round to include Chatham Academy and Massie along with others (p. 254). The number of private schools also increased to nine schools in 1869 (pp. 264-265). It is significant to note both this author and these schools for several reasons. First, the author does little to include any mention of the schools that operated for African American children within the same city and time period. His only references are through reproduction of a news article on Beach Institute's yearly examinations and the eventual growth of the Savannah Board of Education to include schools for students of all races. Although schools were progressively opened across the city, "School privileges for white children during the Reconstruction period were very limited" (p. 207). When looking at the trend in schools for white students, Bowden importantly records that although the amount of schools steadily grew by the end of 1869, the number of schools was not proportionate to the number of white children within the city, thus supporting Orr's position. Furthermore, Thompson (1964) supports this same position by noting that, "In 1870, opportunities for education in Georgia had not caught up with the position they had reached before the war" (p. 334).

This information regarding the prevalence of private schools for students is important to the history of Savannah in contrast to the education of the African American students. When I moved to Savannah, I was at first confused by the number of private institutions of different denominations throughout the city. After living here, I began to notice that when people ask you “What school did you go to?” they were referring to one’s high school alma mater, not the collegiate level choice as I first would mention. Almost immediately upon announcing and planning my wedding, people then shifted the question to what private school I will send my unborn children to in the future. The history of white institutions in the city of Savannah is important to note because in this current time a majority of middle- and upper-class, white children go to private schools. While recent changes in the economy have caused slight shifts in this tradition, the private schools are still full of students whose parents maintain a separate tradition of schooling within the city.

Although detailed records have been maintained to document the history of schools for white children, records for the opening of various schools sponsored by the AMA in Savannah are not published like that of Bowden’s report. On the other hand, numbers abound for the years 1865, 1866, and 1867 that document the magnitude of the efforts made by freedmen, the philanthropic agencies, and the Freedmen’s Bureau alike. Thompson’s (1964) account reports, “For 1865 the Freedmen’s Bureau reported 66 schools, 66 teachers, and 3,500 pupils in Georgia” (p. 125). Next, Cimballa (1997) reports, “By June 1866, such Northern benevolence sustained the bulk of the cost of 125 teachers attending to the needs of 8,000 pupils in 113 schools at 45 locations” (p. 120). Whether the records are accurate is not within the realm of this discussion. Instead,

reports such as Alan Conway's (1966) demonstrate the efforts by the freedmen and aid societies to maintain schools. "In 1868, it was estimated that a hundred and seven schools were being supported wholly or in part by the freedmen who owned thirty-seven of the school buildings" (Conway, 1966, p. 91). Other reports demonstrate the magnitude of the contributions of the African Americans by noting the large amount of money that is was donated to support the schools in these few short years. When considering that reports state that African Americans were "contributing millions of dollars in educational self-help" (Anderson & Moss, 1999, p. 4), one must consider the destitute conditions that existed after the Civil War. Most freedmen had no possessions or monetary savings from times of slavery; any contributions made by the freedmen were given directly from the day-to-day earnings of the people. Increasingly, despite all the time and financial support that would was given, the efforts of the freedmen and northern philanthropists were not enough to meet the needs of all children.

When schools fell short of financial obligations, leaders frequently turned to the Freedmen's Bureau for assistance. On the other hand, the Freedmen's Bureau was similarly unable to meet requests due to financial limitations of the organization stretched across the vast needs of the southern population. "The federal government failed to provide the Bureau with sufficient financial resources to do great things for education, and commonly held beliefs about the proper extent of federal intervention in areas long considered the province of local government" (Cimbala, 1997, p. 105). In some cases, officers provided administrative work to help secure a teacher through an appropriate society. The Freedmen's Bureau did provide buildings, materials, rations, and in some cases textbooks. One example of the ability to provide buildings is the construction of

Beach Institute for the school's opening under AMA teachers. Overall, though, the Freedmen's Bureau fell short of the expectations and needs of the people, thus placing an increased emphasis on the northern societies and the freedmen themselves. Therefore, I think that historical texts give far too much credit to the federal agency in light of their small budget and limited existence in the face of so many needs throughout the region.

Northern Teachers

To this point, the discussion of Savannah's schools has focused on the maintenance of schools for white children and the efforts of the freedmen, philanthropic organizations, and Freedmen's Bureau to create schools for African American children. When looking at the schools and the body of literature surrounding the endeavors, one must acknowledge the enormous task that teachers handled in their day-to-day functions. Two of the most detailed accounts of the work of the female, northern, white teachers are both written by Jacqueline Jones. In the first book, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873*, published originally in 1980 with a reprint in 1992, she gives a detailed account of the lives and efforts of the teachers across the entire state. In this description, she contributes an in depth analysis of existing archives to document the many facets of teaching for these women. Jones' (2008) *Saving Savannah: The City and the Civil War* chronicles the work of the teachers within the social and political context.

Jones' contributions are not to be forgotten as a historian exploring the educational efforts for freedmen within Savannah. In both texts, her commentary provides an important overview to understand the efforts of both black and white leaders within the context of time and place. While the first book looks at the work of the female

teachers throughout the state, the latter provides a comprehensive look at the conditions in the city of Savannah during a specific time period. Although the material content of these two texts overlaps in some areas, the tone is decidedly different. In Jones' 1980/1992 publication, her position on the work of the teachers is clear as she titles the women "soldiers;" this title itself insinuates that the women were fighting a battle through their role as teachers. The text, though, goes only as far as to describe conflict of curriculum and conditions through the eyes of the northern women. She does little to openly debate or oppose the historical position of the women, mainly painting the cultural differences between teacher and student in a positive way. For example, she describes the overall circumstance toward education as, "Teachers observed a universal enthusiasm for schooling" (Jones, 1980/1992, p. 63). Although the teachers may have been well received in some areas, such a positive connotation has proven false for many populations of both white and African American southerners. Furthermore, she delicately describes the curricular decisions of the teachers within the text. She writes:

They believed that all black people should learn basic literacy skills to prepare them for life and work in a democratic society. . . The long-range purpose of schooling, in this view, was the intellectual and moral growth of responsible individuals who recognized their duty to God, country, family, and self. (p. 109)

Again, she looks at diaries and letters for the good of the cause, for the possibility of growth through the educational efforts of the women while falling short of noting the ill effects of this type of education. In her second text, though, Jones (2008) tackles the more difficult topics by describing situations where teachers entered less desirable circumstances to begin schools. "Making do with makeshift classroom and shortages of

books and other supplies, the women found their duties alternately exhilarating and exasperating” (Jones, 2008, p. 227). In the same paragraph she goes on to describe the work of a northern teacher as “her greatest challenge initially was to tame restless beginners” (Jones, 2008, p. 227). The words chosen in this second text, I believe, more accurately represent the struggles and feelings of many teachers during the 19th century. Again, Jones does not critique the role, actions, or words of the teachers. In falling short of critique and analysis she falls short of the bigger concepts and conflict of the time.

Like the work of Rose (1964), Jones’ books allow the reader to investigate activities in support of schools within the larger social and political context of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Jones (2008) then goes farther than the work of previous authors to detail lesser known schools that operated within the Savannah area while also documenting the school establishments in light of the social and political circumstances within the region. Her extensive investigation of archives revealed more isolated efforts, which although still often under the supervision of AMA or another society, were shorter in duration. First, she mentions the work of Harriet Jacobs (2006), an African American known best for her personal account of life in slavery (p. 251). Next, she tells of two teachers forming a school in the Freedmen’s Hospital who operated outside of the city limits. In addition, she describes the work of Esther W. Douglass and Frances Littlefield who operated a school from within their home. This location was approximately 15 miles from Savannah, yet attracted more than 120 students on the first day of school. With the assistance of a new teacher, “they sponsored an ‘industrial school,’ teaching women and girls to cut patterns, baste, sew buttonholes, and make collars” (Jones, 2008, p. 256). This report of an industrial school in 1866 would come before more popular efforts by

Washington and other Hampton-Tuskegee supporters to spread vocational schools throughout the South.

Although Jones found that Douglass, Littlefield, and Harriet E. Gaylord were able to organize and sustain a school in a more rural area, other teachers were met with less success based on their geographic location and political influences of the Freedmen's Bureau. Smith (1997) reports on the independent efforts in Liberty County, south of Savannah. "In the five years before the American Missionary Association (AMA) moved into the county, independent teachers established schools, without the interference of northern missionaries or teachers" (Smith, 1997, p. 77). This school would undergo rapid changes in the coming years due to financial instability to include several different teachers, both white and African American, which represented private interests and the AMA. Requests for teachers in Darien, a location south of Savannah, took until 1868 for support from the Freedmen's Bureau. Duncan (1986) reports:

The American Missionary Association (AMA), with the invitation and support of the Freedmen's Bureau, began sending missionaries to Darien in 1868. Annie Wilkins taught eighty day students and large night school. Through May 1870, the AMA had at least two teachers in Darien instructing black children during the day, their parents at night, and all ages in Sunday school. (p. 63)

Whether an industrial school, rudimentary lessons from perpetually changing teachers, or day and night classes in Darien, each example demonstrates one type of school that operated during Reconstruction in Savannah and its surrounding areas. In comparison to the Sea Islands, the schools underwent more changes from year to year due to the changing population of both students and teachers and inconsistent financial support.

Not only was the staffing of teachers and student population different from location to location across time, but the particular interests of the teachers also changed based on their personal position and intention for coming to the South. Most schools in Savannah operated from a common set of practices like the schools on the Sea Islands. “The general curriculum included geography, physical and political; spelling, with definitions, oral and written arithmetic; and singing” (Swint, 1967, p. 81). Other commonalities include that “The typical freedmen’s school opened with prayer, scripture reading, and a singing of hymns and patriotic airs” (Swint, 1967, p. 80). These common features of the schools of Savannah and the surrounding areas mirror the core elements of instruction found in schools on the Sea Islands due to the commonalities in the sponsoring philanthropic organizations that chose teachers. From the close relationships between the interest in literacy and moral values, one can see the understanding behind Jones’ (1980/1992) belief that “the twin goals of morality and literacy became inextricably entwined” (p. 122). Variation from this report most likely occurred in particular schools, yet it can be derived from common discussions that these elements predominately occurred in schools.

Other aspects of teaching and the curriculum varied according to the will and choices of the teachers. Jones (1980/1992) offers details regarding elements of the hidden curriculum that were conveyed daily to the students. Each of the values or norms corresponded to northern, middle-class, religious values of the 19th century. The concepts were often foreign to the African American students who had been taught by the system of slavery for so many years. One value that the northern teachers placed upon the children was an emphasis on “punctuality and discipline” (Jones, 1980/1992, p. 123).

With often little more than a bell and in most cases no clock, the teachers called the students to order on a fixed time schedule within the classrooms. From a cultural standpoint, these students had previously functioned under the rising and setting of the sun; a fixed schedule would have been foreign and quite frankly unnecessary with the absence of clocks. Another value expressed through lessons was the teachers' economic goals for the freedmen. "They recommended that the freed people save as much as possible from their meager wages and patiently await the day when they could afford to buy a small house and a piece of land" (Jones, 1980/1992, p. 161). Although it is most often acknowledged that the goals of the teachers were religious instruction and literacy training, African Americans were also expected to adopt the northern values of land ownership and self-reliance. Furthermore, the purchase and consumption of liquor, then, thwarted the moral values and economic goals and were not permitted in night classes.

The text written by Jones in 1980 makes an important contribution to history by printing accounts of teachers and details of their schools. I find this text problematic for key reasons. First, looking at the title of Jones' first text eludes to the position she, as well as other historians in the 1980s, took toward the female teachers. The women were seen as "soldiers" coming to the South to fight for rights of former slaves. This sentiment carries through her text as she presents the women in the highest moral light as saviors for the African Americans. Although my first reading of her text did not question this position, after reading letters and diaries of the teachers themselves I find that she omitted portions of the stories whether willingly or unwillingly that may present the teachers in a less than perfect ways.

Another author also presents his text from a specific historical position. His content includes important and specific details as to the differing societies and the relationships between northern philanthropists, Freedmen's Bureau agents, freedmen, and members of southern white society. The work of Swint (1967) entitled *The Northern Teacher in the South: 1862-1870* provides a viewpoint written from a different time period and perspective than that of Jones. Although he gives a great deal of information regarding all operating missionary societies and a variety of teachers, he often makes sweeping judgments for all teachers regarding their capacity to teach and moral position without supporting these statements with proof. For example, he groups all teachers together as religious zealots and true abolitionists who saw the teaching profession as a way to spread personal beliefs. This statement is not supported with anecdotal notes or statistical detail as to the background or intentions of the teachers. Therefore, although he presents a great deal of factual information, his sweeping generalizations are not strongly supported nor may they be true for all teachers included in the reach of the statement. His position, although not openly stated, is understood in that he feels the northern teacher invaded southern society to elevate the freedmen to an unearned place in society. As a southern man, he saw the work of the abolitionist teachers as an attempt to undermine the southern society or further give punishment after the Civil War.

Butchart is another author that has contributed to knowledge of the women's lives and professions as Freedmen's Bureau teachers. Butchart, a history professor at the University of Georgia, has made the teachers who taught freedmen the focus of his research. Like Swint's text, Butchart's (1980) first publication focuses the content of most chapters to detailing the information related to the various missionary associations,

society, and government during the Civil War and Reconstruction. This first text was published in 1980, which is similar to Jones' collection in that Butchart takes a position of glorifying the work of the teachers. For example, he devotes a chapter to the work of teachers and titles this portion "'The Real Heroes of Their Age': Teachers Among the Freedmen." In this chapter, he documents types of curriculum taught in schools and notes the prevalence of young, white women as teachers doing the hero's work of teaching the former slaves. This chapter notes the primary occurrence of women as teachers.

In researching Butchart's (2010) second book, a great deal of archives were investigated spanning all the missionary associations and southern states to document the characteristics of teachers, both women and men and both black and white, who taught in the schools. In this book, Butchart's argument and focus changes as he seeks to show diversity in the teaching community during the Civil War and Reconstruction era in southern states. Although this changed view of diversity within the teaching profession is in direct comparison to the traditional view of the female, northern teachers, Butchart notes that this revised position is par for the course in historical writing. "Because the portrait has been incomplete and inadequate, it has distorted our understanding of the first generation of teachers in southern black schools and our evaluation of early southern black education" (Butchart, 2010, xi). Thus, the book is important for two reasons. First, Butchart contradicts earlier assumptions as to the makeup of the teaching force by noting the quantitative makeup of the teaching population. Second, this magnitude of research is also necessary to document the true characteristics of the teachers while also proving (through quantitative statistics) that a portion of the teachers were northern women of the middle-class (p. 23). I think this shift in his position, as evident through the publications,

clearly shows the necessity of revisiting historical knowledge. This movement away from the popular thinking of all teachers as young, white, middle-class women also brings to the conversation a greater need to focus on the variety of cultural influences on the classrooms.

Each of the examples above discusses the role of female teachers and contributions to education. Although the works focus on a variety of historical time periods and places, no theorist in the field of Curriculum Studies has yet to focus specifically on the contributions of the female women who moved during or immediately after the Civil War to teach in the South. Furthermore, in some cases, personal communications of the women have been maintained in archives that are accessible to researchers. Thus, not only are the biographical stories of these women able to be found from the perspective of historians through publications of diaries or letters and their historical analyses, but more importantly, one can read the words of the women themselves as they describe their educational and societal activities on a weekly or even daily basis.

Who They Were

In the following chapters, portions of the teachers' texts will be used to demonstrate the women's actions, thoughts, and words. As it has previously been mentioned, the passages will be looked at for their historical significance in the southern society of the 19th century. The women focused upon show a variety of cultural characteristics despite the fact that they were all white, northern women who traveled to the south to be teachers. Some women were single, some were married or widowed, and some chose to never marry. Women were of different faiths ranging from Unitarian and

Congregationalist to Quaker and Baptist. Some women were able to move and pay her own expenses while other women shared a portion of her monthly earnings with families at home. A few women dedicated years to one institution like Mather, Towne, and Schofield. Some women moved from school to school throughout their teaching experiences like Margaret Burke, Sarah H. Champney, and Annie R. Wilkins. Other women stayed even shorter lengths of time in the southern states to return home after a year or two.

The diversity within the teachers themselves is important to note for several reasons. Teachers moved to the southern schools for a variety of reasons and stayed for different time frames. Due to differences in religious upbringing or family affiliation, the teachers also had different perspectives of their role within the schools and society. Therefore, to categorize all women as the same because of their whiteness, gender, and origin would be incorrect. The teachers exemplified a variety of cultural systems and ways of life within the southern schools. To better understand the significance of their work and their lives, it is also important to know about the women themselves, where they came from and why they were in the southern schools.

Towne was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on May 3, 1825. Her mother died when she was still young, so she moved with her father's job first to Boston and then again to Philadelphia. In Boston, she gained insight into the abolitionist cause and has since been linked to Garrison. After her family moved to Philadelphia, she was influenced as an abolitionist by Rev. William Henry Furness, the minister at her Unitarian church who was a known abolitionist. Towne was educated for some time as a homeopathic physician at Philadelphia's Women's Medical College which aided her

efforts as a doctor on the Sea Islands, although there is no proof of graduating from this college with a degree.

In 1862, Towne was part of one of the first groups to travel to the Sea Islands to join over forty others even before the end of the Civil War. She and the other relief workers were originally sponsored by the National Freedmen's Relief Association and embarked from New York City. Upon arrival in South Carolina, she worked as a doctor to help the sick and elderly. This fact is unique because Towne did not initially move to teach in a southern school. She volunteered to travel to the Sea Islands to use her medical training. Soon after her arrival, Towne was joined by Ellen Murray, her lifelong partner. Together they would later purchase the Frogmore Plantation where they would live together for the rest of their lives. Historical texts do not confirm whether Towne and Murray were intimately acquainted or lifelong friends, but the bond shared through their dedication to the Penn School cannot be denied. This bond is further blurred by the omission of most details of the relationship between Towne and Murray in the edited version of Towne's (1912) work.

Together the pair would also open a school in January of 1862 to be called the Penn School on Saint Helena Island, named after William Penn. This school was the oldest and longest running school out of all the institutions begun by the initial efforts of the northern men and women, and the school's establishment in 1862 predates the end of the Civil War and beginning of Reconstruction. This school's founding is important as it would come to be the longest running school that was begun under the Port Royal Experiment. At the Penn School, Murray initially assumed the position of teacher while Towne aided in daily operations as well as continuing her medical role in the community.

After aiding with students, Towne was soon drawn to the educational goals of Murray and together the pair would work to provide a high level of education that emulated northern institutions. At times, efforts of Towne and Murray were targeted by Baptist and Methodist ministers because of Towne's Unitarian faith, but the incidents did not deter her lifelong work.

The Penn School was established without a designated school building, and the Philadelphia Commission later sponsored the first official school building in 1864 after shipping the necessary materials from Philadelphia. The Port Royal Relief Committee of Philadelphia sponsored the daily operations of the school through July of 1871 as interest in the southern cause dwindled. At this point, Towne gained the title and ownership of the property on which the Penn School was built and continued to receive monthly financial support from the remaining funds of the relief association for some time. Towne and Murray would continue to teach and lead the Penn School while Towne also served as superintendent of the surrounding schools. Despite the loss of funding, the school would not come under the direction of the state of South Carolina under Towne's leadership. With Towne's passing in 1901, the objectives of the school changed as the name was called the Penn Normal, Industrial, and Agricultural School with new principals and new curriculum. The focus at this point shifted to teacher training and industrial sciences. The school finally closed in 1948 although it became a symbol for the educational efforts of the community throughout its existence.

Like Towne, Ames was also a Unitarian by faith who went to South Carolina to open a school in May of 1865. Ames is often compared to Towne for their shared faith, but Ames did not maintain her teaching position for very long. Initially, Ames and her

friend Emily Bliss heard Ware when she spoke in Springfield to recruit teachers to the southern cause. Both Ames and Bliss signed contracts without approval from their families and immediately questioned their decisions when arriving in South Carolina. Together, the women began and operated a school for over one hundred students on Edisto Island, part of the Sea Islands of South Carolina. In September of 1866, funding for the women's positions was cut and the school shut its doors. Both women returned to their northern homes, never to teach in another southern school.

Ware was a Boston native who traveled to the Sea Islands as part of the Port Royal Experiment in April of 1862. She was soon joined by her brother, Charles P. Ware, a Harvard graduate. Ware was a grandchild of Henry Ware, a Unitarian minister and professor at Harvard. Upon arriving on Port Royal Island, she began teaching in the praise house where children assembled for class and had over 138 students by the second week in May (Rose, 1964, p. 87). During her time in the southern communities, she would also begin a store and travel throughout the community teaching northern techniques for cooking and baking. She would teach in the Sea Islands until 1867 when she would return home. She would visit Towne again in 1868 for a short visit.

Hancock (1937/1956) was both on February 8, 1840 at Hancock's Bridge, New Jersey. She was the fourth child born in a Quaker family. Answering a call for nurses, she first found herself in Gettysburg tending to the hurt and dying. This calling would also take her to Virginia and Washington D.C. After the war, she returned to Philadelphia where she was sponsored by the Philadelphia Friends Association for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen. This sponsorship took Hancock to Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina where she would begin a school later known as the Laing School. During her

time, she not only taught but also acquired material items such as books and clothing for her hundreds of children and families. She would teach and serve as principal until 1875 when she returned to Philadelphia from continued illnesses. Her printed diary includes accounts from both her time as a nurse during the Civil War and as a teacher after the Civil War.

Like Hancock, Schofield was a Quaker born February 1, 1839 near Newtown, Pennsylvania. Living near Philadelphia, she was familiar with abolitionist reform activities both through her family's involvement and the Quaker community. Prior to her move to South Carolina, her mother traveled to teach Native Americans and served as a model for Schofield as she surpassed 19th century expectations for women. Schofield initially landed on the Sea Islands in 1865 where she taught for a few years before moving to Aiken, South Carolina. In 1868 she purchased two acres of land and began the Schofield Normal and Industrial School in 1870. At this school, students learned basic reading, writing, and math in addition to trade skills such as blacksmithing and sewing. Schofield was inspired to do the work of this school by her religious faith, and she often had family members visiting her throughout her time in the South. It is to this school that she devoted her life's work and where she died in 1916.

Botume went to Beaufort, South Carolina in October of 1864. Originally from Unadilla, New York, she would maintain her school in at Old Fort Plantation, near Beaufort, South Carolina by until 1902. She was sponsored by the Freedmen's Aid Society, the Church of the Disciples of Boston and a private family in Boston throughout her teaching. Finding detailed and accurate biographical information on Botume, though,

is difficult because she is not referenced often in periodicals or histories of the region, and her edited collection of text is not chronologically dated.

Mather is known in the coastal South Carolina region for her lasting impression on the city of Beaufort. Born in 1823 to a Congregationalist minister, Mather lost her mother when she was only fourteen. Although it cannot be determined exactly, many believe that Mather was trained at a college or normal school in New England for her teaching positions. Other details of Mather's life show that she had quite a different history from many of the other teachers discussed in this research. Mather married Joseph who would become a Baptist minister during their marriage. During this time and prior to her move to South Carolina, she had successfully taught for many years in a Boston public school. In 1867, she saw it necessary to move to the southern states to find continued opportunities to follow her religious faith. Both her youngest son and husband had died, and she was attempting to provide for her older son through her new teaching position. Unfortunately Joseph Jr., her older son, also died in the coming years at a young age. This left Mather alone with her faith and her full attention to the productivity of her newly created school. Begun in 1867 first as a school for girls, Mather supported the school mainly through her own financial means until taking sponsorship in 1881 from a Baptist women's organization. Like Towne's Penn School, Mather's school would gain prominence in the community as the school was expanded up to eighth grade by 1902 and to the high school level in 1932.

The women described thus far dedicated volumes to their lives in the southern states. They are part of historical memory because of their lasting impressions on the southern school systems and the maintenance of their stories through published and

archived collections of their work. Many other teachers also moved to South Carolina and Georgia. Details of their lives, though, are missing for several reasons. First, these women often stayed in the schools for only a short number of years before returning to northern homes. In these cases, extensive documents pertaining to the women's lives would not have been maintained from the 19th century until current time. For those women that spent years serving the Freedmen's Bureau or American Missionary Association (AMA), the family's history or other background information was not contained in the archives collected for this research.

Analyzing the lengths of stays in the southern schools details the work of some teachers according to the breadth of their efforts. In particular, it notes the length of time in which the teachers stayed and the frequency of their moves between schools. For example, Annie Allender first corresponded with the AMA in October of 1864 from Connecticut. She taught on Hilton Head Island in November of 1864 and December of 1865 through June of 1866. After returning north for the summer months, she then moved to Augusta for December of 1866 through June of 1867. This time in Augusta was plagued by illness and Allender even fainted while teaching. She died in December of 1867, just a few months after returning home from Augusta. Another teacher who passed during her stay in the South was Elizabeth Hill. From Hingham, Massachusetts, Hill began teaching at Mitchellville on Hilton Head Island in December of 1866. In April of 1867 she closed the school for a northern summer. She then returned to teach in October of 1867, shortly before her passing. Her death was spoken of in the diaries and letters of the women as a reminder of the risks of teaching in the rural areas. Similarly, Julia M. Marshall left her Long Island, New York home to teach in several Savannah schools. She

taught from November 1865 to June of 1866 and November of 1866 to April of 1867 before returning to her northern home for marriage. Only a few months after marrying her husband, she passed away.

The untimely passing of these women was documented in AMA publications and a reminder of the risks in teaching in the southern community. Although the weather and disease were often reported to be problematic, other comments also refer to dissatisfaction with cultural elements of the southern society. For other women, conditions were too great to handle, and they left after a short time in their teaching positions. For example, Anna A. Carter left her Bridgewater, Connecticut home to teach at Hilton Head Island from January of 1863 through October of 1863. Being unsatisfied with the position, she left before the beginning of a second school year. Like Carter, Ella P. Fenton left her Mt. Kisco, New York home in 1866 to teach on the Stoney Plantation at Hilton Head Island from December until May of 1867. She too returned home to never teach in a southern school. Other teachers with short teaching spans include Martha A. Forsaith with a short time on Paris Island, Sophia P. L. Gerrish who left her Massachusetts home for two teaching years at Sea Island on Hilton Head Island, and E. A. Lane who taught between July of 1864 and April of 1865 before returning to her northern home. These women document that the teaching experience was not a permanent and life-long pursuit for some of the many teachers. Also, by examining the records of particular teachers, the documents show that women sometimes moved to a new school before returning home. In the case of Theresa J. Phillips, she moved from Beaufort to Hilton Head Island for a second school year before returning to Vermont.

Just as the archival records document movement between schools before quitting a teaching position, reports and letters also document the frequency of movement for some teachers and how they used their experience to even move to other states to pursue AMA records. Several teachers exemplify the frequent movement of teachers across the southern states. One such teacher is Champney who originally left her Massachusetts home in August of 1866 for Alberdeen, Mississippi. After one school year in Mississippi, she would next arrive in Brunswick in the fall of 1867. She received this placement with Sophia Russell as an answer to a Freedmen's Bureau request for teachers in this area. She would only last one year in this school due to disagreements with the Douglass Risley, the same Bureau agent who requested her presences in the rural land. During the three school calendar years beginning in the fall of 1867, she would teach in four Georgia cities before returning to Alberdeen in the fall of 1870. Champney was not done teaching, though, as this experience provided the background for more opportunities with the AMA in Michigan in the coming years. Just as Champney used her experience to gain a position in Michigan, Mary K. Colburn taught in several southern schools before moving across our nation. Colburn started her voyage South from Worcester, Massachusetts in 1865 where she was living with her married sister. She first taught in the Massie School of Savannah. In the next two school years, she would teach at the Andrew School and Lamar, also located in Savannah. Colburn, though, would not return to the coastal city as her teaching assignments would then take her to Norfolk, Virginia for one school year, Newton, Georgia for one school year, and then an assignment in California.

Each of the examples above demonstrates how women dedicated years to teaching in several different locations and moved between schools to achieve positions in

the southern schools. Although we cannot assess the reasons for the teachers' movements from all correspondence, we do know that regular positions were offered to these teachers. The dedication of other women was also shown as some chose to remain in the southern schools during the summer months. When most teachers left their positions in May or June to return to their northern homes for up to six months, these women continued the educational experiences of their students year round. One woman was Mary Still. She left Philadelphia in April of 1865 to teach in Beaufort through June of 1866. In this case, she maintained her position for over one calendar year. After taking a vacation to her northern home, she again returned to Jacksonville, Florida for seven more months of teaching. Wilkins also stayed in the south while other women returned to their homes for the summer months. Wilkins, a native of Boston, arrived at Seabrook on Hilton Head Island in January of 1867. She would continue her efforts, including summer months, at Hilton Head Island, Bluffton, Brunswick, and Darien through May of 1869. During this time, she traveled often between the different schools, including alternating between Darien and Bluffton as shown in the origination of her letters. Wilkins' time in Georgia was not yet done and she again found a position in Albany for the 1869-1870 school year.

In some cases, women were chosen to travel to their schools together. From the perspective of the AMA, this ensured safety when the women were traveling and companionship after arrival. In one case, the archives show one such relationship. Sarah M. Burt and Julia A. Shearman both wrote from Northampton, Massachusetts shortly before their departure for Virginia. The pair then taught from December of 1865 to June of 1866 in Lexington, Virginia. After a northern vacation, the pair again united to teach in

Augusta from January, 1867 to March of 1867. At this time, letters of Shearman show her new capacity within the AMA as she traveled to Fernandina Beach, Savannah, Augusta, and Atlanta during 1867. Meanwhile, Burt maintained her teaching position through March of 1868 in Augusta.

Moving Beyond History

The words of these women who moved hundreds of miles away from the comforts of home to teach in diverse schools are important to me as a young, female teacher who shares the same experiences. The purpose of this dissertation, though, is not to simply reprint the words of the women or reconstruct biographies as many historians have done. Instead, the purpose is to examine the words and descriptions for greater insight and meaning. Barbara Finkelstein (1988) describes the possibilities for this type of work as:

Through the lens of biography, historians have constructed creative windows through which one can glimpse several otherwise undiscoverable realities. Indeed, biography constitutes a unique form of historical study that enables education scholars to explore intersections between human agency and social structure. Biographical studies situate historical storytelling at the margins of social possibility where social change originates, constraint and choice merge, large and small social structures intersect, cultural norms converge, and the relative force of political, economic, social and cultural circumstances becomes clear. (p. 46)

This statement makes two important points. First, the storytelling must be placed within a cultural and historical context of both time and place for meaning to be made. Second, meaning can be made through the interplay between the political and cultural environments of the time period as well. Although there is much room for discovery, this does not take place in a haphazard way; instead, deliberate techniques must be employed that allow the stories to speak clearly to the reader.

When a professor introduced me to the topic of the Freedmen's Bureau schools and the idea that women had come before me who shared similar experiences, my interest was sparked. I sought answers to the variety of problems and conflicts that erupted within schools and classrooms throughout our region. The journey, thus far, has not necessarily given me the answers in a neat, clear-cut way that I had anticipated. The autobiographical accounts of the women, like my own rememberings, have brought to the surface more struggles and questions than I anticipated. Nevertheless, this journey through the history of the time period and educational opportunities has served as a starting point to look at the conflict within the historical past. This historical memory must be explored first in an attempt to understand not only to answer my own questions of why educational opportunities are so divided within the Savannah but larger questions that loom related to conditions in the US South.

The End of the Road

The entire course of educational efforts for white and African American children during the Civil War and Reconstruction demonstrate a clash of wills between all interested parties. African Americans saw education as a path to freedom and the life that was previously denied by slave owners. Northern philanthropic teachers hoped for moral

and religious instruction along with the three R's. Officials from the Freedmen's Bureau were torn between a desire for independence of the freedmen and the obligation to provide basic necessities.

The late 1860s brought large changes to the educational system of Georgia for many reasons. At first, schools such as the institution established at the former site of the Bryan Slave Mart were taught by African Americans who first established the institutions. With the involvement of the various missionary associations, though, both white and African American teachers were educating freedmen throughout the South. Specifically, both white and African Americans, both northern and southern, both men and women engaged in the educational activities of the region. With the upheaval of the Savannah Education Association (SEA) fresh in the minds of freedmen, both races were now represented in the schools. This continuance of the African American teachers was due in part to increasing parental support for teachers of the same race, yet this was not the only change within the school system. Although seemingly insignificant, the transfer of power between the African American and white teachers signified more than the interest and assistance of the aid associations. Soon after, with the close of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1870 and decreased interest of the northern philanthropic agencies, African American parents made strong arguments for the inclusion of all schools under the guidance of the state and local boards of education; the idea for public schooling was born in the minds of the African American parents. "Parents made public claims for the right to educate their children" (Williams, 2005, p. 70). It would not be until 1872, though, until the Savannah Board of Education would assume full responsibility for the first public school for African American students in Savannah (Hoskins, 2002, p. 117).

Therefore, one cannot deny that the efforts to petition for the state control of education for all students was a by-product of the educational system of the freedmen both during the Civil War and Reconstruction throughout the state of Georgia.

There is no doubt that the lasting memory of the efforts to perpetuate schooling in the South created the legacy of public schools. Some authors such as Eric Foner (1988) attribute the eventual success of universal public schooling to the Freedmen's Bureau. He writes, "Bureau schools nonetheless helped lay the foundation for Southern public education. Education probably represented the agency's greatest success in the postwar South" (p. 144). It is here that I disagree with the position of Foner and more in alignment with another curriculum theorist. Pinar (2004) writes that "public education for all at public expense was, in the South, a Negro idea" (p. 120). Like Pinar, I attribute the idea of the public schools to the African American leaders, parents, and students. Yet, I believe more strongly in the efforts of those who fought daily battles against oppression and insurmountable social conditions to create and maintain the schools. It was the drive and persistence, politically, emotionally, and financially, that forced the schools to remain a part of southern society after the Civil War.

The transfer of power over the educational institutions, though, leaves me with more lingering thoughts than clarifications. If you look at history, the idea of education was clearly an African American idea within the region being investigated. Schools were started, supported financially, appealed for, and attended regularly by children, adults, and the elderly. With this level of interest and enthusiasm for the written word, what deterred so many of our nation's children and families from supporting the educational institutions and notion of schooling? Is the resistance against schools a resistance to the

white leaders, the white decision makers, and the white teachers? Similarly, what changed in terms of the educational goals of the schools as power was shifted across racial lines? Was the same support given for instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic? Due to the poor economic state of the freedmen, it could not be anticipated that the financial burden of the schools be placed wholly in their hands, but what is the responsibility of the state or nation to provide for a variety of educational opportunities with differing curriculum for the freedmen? Is this any different today?

There are not and cannot be clear answers to these differing perspectives, both in the past and present. As mentioned previously, we must engage our students in active dialogue to explore the multiple perspectives and viewpoints regarding a topic. Even if that dialogue is taken up with a focus upon exploring all perspectives, how do we measure progress over time? Or can we measure progress at all?

CHAPTER 3

NAVIGATING THE RACIAL TERRAIN OF TEACHING AND LEARNING

I stood outside the school, standing with two of my students who had remained for tutorial after school that warm spring day. As an African American female walked by, my students started remarking about her hair. From my viewpoint, all I saw was that it was not in the neat, ribboned braids that my students wore.

“Stop making fun of other people, girls. It’s not polite.”

“No, Ms. Smith, her edges...” I didn’t hear the rest as I searched my brain for the meaning of “edges” when referring to hair.

“What are edges?” I asked honestly. I had learned by now that asking questions was half the battle.

“You know; the part of your hair. That’s why we keep our hair in braids, so the edges don’t fall out.”

Edges? Wispies? Thoughts ran through my head.

“Girls, you may call them edges, but white girls call them wispies.”

“Why do you call them wispes? Where does that come from?”

I shook my head, scattering hairs from my loose blonde ponytail, probably disheveled to begin with as it usually was by the end of the day. As the thin hairs blew in the warm breeze, I said, “Look, wispies.”

We all laughed as the girls got into the arriving car and left for that day.

A few days later, I was in the middle of a lesson as Alexia raised her hand, “Ms. Smith, your edges are everywhere today.”

“Why thank you, Alexia, I’ll fix the wispies.” Both girls giggled as I put my hair back up in another messy ponytail to start my lesson again.

As I started the class, I spoke out with my usual, “Is there anything that someone wants to start today’s discussion with?” We were studying Martin Luther King, Jr.’s famous “I Have a Dream” speech. I realized then how over taught that speech can be in American classrooms, but the intent of the lesson was to place that piece within a historical context for the students in comparison to another piece of literature we had just discussed.. Almost all students had at least heard of the speech at some point in their schooling. I had found that although my middle schoolers understood that slavery was over, many had limited historical knowledge of the Civil Rights Movement and other African American priests, speakers, or authors who spread similar messages of equality and fairness.

I looked out at my mostly white, middle-class students. I received the usual, “Oh, I heard that before,” or, “Can we listen to this on YouTube?”

As I reflected on how to spark an interest in this lesson, a hand went up in the back of the room. Jamal, a male student, had shifted from his usual position of watching for the buses out the front window of the school. He had his copy of the speech in his hand. “This speech really meant a lot to kids like me. Most people they expect me to just

sell drugs and go to jail or kill someone. Most people theys don't see me other than black and male."

As he went on to explain which lines of the speech were important to him, every body in the classroom rotated in the seat with fixed eyes gazing on this student. Sure, Jamal was one for talking in the halls or at lunch. He would sit next to a group during partner work, but he never had contributed to this extent. His input prompted a discussion in the classroom that afternoon that I believe shifted many students' perspectives of their fellow students. Although our school population encompassed a mixed group of races and socio-economic status and some students interacted on a day-to-day basis, they rarely discussed the racial biases or racism that surrounded them in their southern community.

In the next two weeks, Jamal had become a regular contributor in our unit's discussions. He was prepared with his materials and had pre-read the article, poem, or story the night before. As a class, we discussed the work of Alice Walker, Flannery O'Connor, and Nikki Giovanni. He worked in groups to help write poetry imitating the styles and themes of these authors. This class was becoming my favorite of each day—leading one another into the world of literature and an environment that permitted the students to ask why.

One Thursday afternoon, my lunch group returned to class in an especially perturbed state. They were unsettled, quietly watching one another and waiting for something to happen. One male, Evan, in particular appeared restless. Once class began, he pulled up his hood and covered his head, resting it on the desk. I was in no way prepared for what would happen next. As I walked over to Evan and asked him to join

class, a running stream of slurs and profanity ran from his mouth. He exited my room as quickly as I asked him, and I returned to the rest of the students. The class, disrupted by this event, began to complain about similar recent behavior out of earshot of teachers. Fear was heard in many of their voices; this boy had recently entered our school with a reputation for inappropriate behavior. One female in particular emphasized that he was physical with her and some other girls in the school. She was going to go home and tell her mother, but she felt safe in my classroom environment to voice her concern.

Only a few seconds had passed since Evan had left the room. I barely had time to take in the details that were spouted toward me when I saw him run back into the room, rage written across his face. My female student, who seconds before had felt safe to voice her concerns within the walls of my room, was suddenly pinned against the painted yellow, concrete cinderblock wall. I ran to hit the emergency call buzzer and then back across the room to get her away from this boy. In the mayhem that ensued, he apparently swung at me twice, and I somehow avoided both the blows.

At that day's dismissal, I had finally gathered myself and was finishing a lesson in my last block. Car riders and busses were called in the usual fashion and students filed into the halls, hastily moving toward the front of the school. About half way through dismissal, shouts and screams could be heard from the bus ramp. Administration and our police officer were quickly called, and the school was placed in lock down. My homeroom students instinctively sat in their seats, frozen in fear of the unknown cause of the lockdown. I, on the other hand, was on the way to my side emergency exit door. Jamal had just walked out my classroom door, and my heart told me he was the cause of the disruption.

As I ran to the front of the school, I saw the school nurse staring up into Jamal's face. She had him backed against a school bus; students hung from the windows cheering. Our school's police officer had the other student in her arms—Evan, the same student who early that day had pinned my student against the wall and swung at me.

I ran straight to put myself between Jamal and the other student, I looked straight into Jamal's eyes and repeated, "Listen to me; unclench your fists." Over and over I spoke the same line, trying to remove him from his angry trance. At one moment, his eyes met mine, and I knew he was listening. I told him to turn and walk to my classroom. He did.

As the remainder of the school was dismissed, I sat in my room with Jamal. I had locked us into my room. In the distant part of my mind, I feared that the other student would come after me. Mainly, I didn't want Jamal's friends to know who he was after. No more punches needed to be thrown. We sat in silence. As the fists pounded on my wooden door and the shouts were heard from his excited friends, we sat in silence.

After a few minutes, an administrator and police officer unlocked my door. I was verbally reprimanded for taking a student into my room without notifying the administration. The thought had never occurred to me, and I apologized. I explained that Jamal's friends had come to his aid, and the video-tape of the hall proved I was correct in this assumption. As a newly arriving police officer explained to me that he would take custody of Jamal, I realized that I couldn't find the words I wanted.

"Why did you do it?"

"He disrespected you."

"You are going back to jail you know."

“It’s ok.”

“Good luck...” The words barely trickled from my lips. I could not begin to understand why he had fought, knowing that the status of his probation would put him back in jail. I gathered my things, walked out my door and into my car. I drove away and cried.

A few days later, Evan was back after a five-day suspension for fighting. Despite my request, he was placed into my classroom to spend his day with the same students who feared him. Over time, many more threats to me and other students, and frequent calls from angry parents, the administration placed him up for expulsion.

On the day before St. Patrick’s Day holiday, one of my administrators walked into our wing and asked my friend Jan and I to come to her office. Confused, we followed. As I entered the conference room, I saw an African American woman seated at the table. I was followed by two other white females, the administrator and other teacher.. The entire uncomfortable event lasted only minutes. The administrator explained that this was a parent conference to explain my problems with Evan, the son of the woman seated beside me. The principal asked me to describe what problems I had with his behavior. The uncomfortable setting glued me to my seat. Here sat three white women, two barely out of college, describing our perspective of her son’s problem behaviors. As I spoke, I looked down at my black t-shirt, adorned with a green, sparkly shamrock. The shirt was a small rebellious act when paired with my dress pants and suit jacket. I hardly had the courage to gather my words. My student’s mother didn’t say a word. I left the room, vowing never to be placed in a similar setting ever again.

I sat in a plastic chair beside my students. Some milled about the room helping one another with matching flash cards of fractions, decimals, and percents or solving subtraction problems. The students were required to ask one another for help, with my voice only being needed to affirm the accuracy of one's work. One of the students, one of the only girls in the class, looked at me intently for several minutes.

"What's wrong, Jasmine?"

"Are they real?"

"Are what real?"

"Your eyes. They blue."

I thought about what was different that day from any other before I answered. I did not have my glasses on that day, but instead wore my contacts. "They are real. What do you mean?"

"Show me."

I touched my eye, showing here there was no covering or trick. Carefully, I asked, "Said, yes, my eyes are blue. They are always blue. My husband's eyes are green."

"So when you have babies they can have blue eyes?"

"Yes." I thought for a moment before asking my next question. "Have you ever been around a white person before me?"

"No," the young sixth grader answered before returning to her work. "I want Christmas color eyes. You know, red and green."

For the remaining days of summer, I would take off my glasses each day and she would peer intently into my eyes. They were always blue.

The examples above demonstrate racial tensions that continue to exist in our nation's classrooms despite years of "progress." The same problems that erupt in society are simultaneously negotiated in the classroom. Students enter classrooms with learned behaviors and social constructions of race from parents, media, other students, and even educators. Students may hear a phrase or statements from adults in their world and not understand the meaning or implications of language or action. With society and media providing continuous input of experiences to the child, there is often no safe place to discuss and question those events in their worlds. As the school's role in society is to foster the social, emotional, physical and mental capacities of our children, discussions of the history and prevalence of race and racism must be a critical part of this discussion.

The role of the teacher in the transformative process of education, though, must begin at a place of reflection upon one's own actions and perspective of the school environment. Although teachers may not overtly express their racial beliefs of the classroom, meaning is expressed in other ways. The environment of the school, expectations for students, communication with parents or guardians, and responses to improper behavior all carry meaning of the teacher and the corresponding institution. This hidden curriculum must first be explored by a staff. This reflection and action must take place to formulate personal understanding of race, otherness, and even whiteness in

society and the classroom before students can be meaningfully engaged by these same teachers.

When I explain my dissertation topic to friends, family, coworkers, and other individuals, many automatically have assumed that I am writing about a racial divide or conflicts associated with race. That alone is not my intention. I believe that race is a social construct, a signifying system that is embedded in the cultural milieu of our nation and our nation's history. I feel that the concept of race needs to be explored beyond overarching trends or data points. Discussing race must explore the ways it impacts the classroom on a daily basis. Many curriculum theorists have dedicated volumes to the role race plays in American society and schools (Giroux, 1996, 1997; Walker, 1996; Apple, 1998; deMello Patterson, 1998; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1998; Maher & Tetreault, 1998; McLaren, 1998; Rodriguez, 1998; Titone, 1998; Johnson, 2001; Pinar, 2001, 2004; Watkins, 2001, 2005; Kunjufu, 2002; Kuykendall, 2004; Howard, 2006; Noguera, 2008; Payne & Strickland, 2008; Tochluk, 2008). I am not intending to replicate their work but to instead build upon the discussion with race being one component of cultural interactions between students, teachers, administrators, and family members.

No discussion of teaching in a southern city or southern town can be taken up without the topic of race. Recognizing, debating, and analyzing the issues of race in our country, both past and present, is necessary to move both our society and our schools into the future. Giroux (1997) asserts that this task cannot be completed, yet it is still necessary to challenge in our society. Similarly, I believe that it is a necessary task for teachers to challenge the expectations and conditions of our school systems and to bring the attention of fellow teachers and students to such ideas. As a component of culture,

race is a socially constructed piece of one's Self through which an individual is assigned expectations and roles in society. Although race is but one part of a conversation regarding culture, race carries a power to identify human beings as different with contrasting roles in society. This focus upon differences as a way to control portions of the population is a position from which our country cannot move forward to respect all individuals for their own qualities and characteristics that make them unique and valued as part of our nation. "A society that remains racist, undemocratic, and discriminatory will not tolerate the transformation of schools and their democratization" (Macedo, 2006, p. 154). Regardless of the impact that is made with one child or one family, the job of transformation is not done until racist practices are undone on a larger scale. That is not to say, though, that the job is too big or impractical for teachers. We must begin transformations with our students for they are the future of our great human race that has the most power to move forward into the unknown.

In this chapter, I will explore the notion of race in many different ways. First, I will explore the social construction of race and whiteness in terms of ethnicity and our nation's historical memory. Although the actions and words of the Freedmen's Bureau teachers took place almost 150 years prior, racial prejudice still permeates social, political, and economic institutions and systems in our society and continues to be a relevant topic when discussing our nation's educational systems. To provide context, I will review the literature related to race in the field of Curriculum Studies and a brief account of the racial relations in our nation's past regarding both white and African American, both northern and southern. From this discussion, I will explore the efforts of the teachers of the freedmen along William Watkins' (1993) definitions of "Black

Curriculum Orientations.” There is no doubt that the women worked from their cultural frames of reference, but they also navigated their roles within different social, political, and religious circumstances. These orientations allow for the deliberate words and actions of the women to be explored as they correspond to movements of the time. This role of the teacher will lastly be explored in comparison to the goals of the African American community which they served.

Exploring Race and Ethnicity

When exploring social constructions in society, race and ethnicity are two concepts that are of interest in regard to the research of this dissertation. At a biological level, race and ethnicity have different meanings. From a scientific standpoint and to some extent, ancestors share biological similarities that carry down particular genes from generation to generation. On the other hand, members of all races also share genetic commonalities as are all part of the human race. The definition of race is sometimes tied to the genetic makeup of individuals regardless of one’s location on Earth. Nevertheless, the location or movement of those same people can affect the observed ethnicity of the members as their participation in a new country’s cultural milieu contains new signifiers and terms. I am an American while my Polish ancestors living in the country are Polish by birth. My racial makeup does not define me as white, though, because whiteness is exhibited by the use of power and authority and is not directly connected to genetics. Although race and ethnicity share differences in their nuanced definitions, they are often used interchangeably in texts and society. Both terms are used to describe one’s culture

and shared history with a group of people, yet these terms carry different significance in society both historically and today.

Ethnicity traditionally refers to a group of people with a shared culture and historical ancestry. It is also seen as a manner of learning cultural norms and values of a group through patterns and lessons within that group. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, immigrants to our nation were labeled by their ethnicity in census reports and schools. Upon arrival in a city, the ethnicity of a family determined in what neighborhood one would live and what house of worship one would attend. The cultural value of an ethnicity, though, was not limited to the way of life of a group. The signifiers of this ethnicity, whether Polish, Jewish, or Irish, were not only a symbol of day-to-day life but became a symbol of one's place in society and expectations for social and political participation by those in power. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, texts show that the terms "ethnic" or "ethnicity" were not openly used in society to identify groups (Roediger, 2008, p. 138), but the nationalities of the immigrant groups still conveyed the individual's status in society.

Ethnicity is referred to as a social construction because of an individual's ability to learn the qualities and significance of participation in that group. The importance of ethnicity in the 19th and 20th centuries lies in the social significance of the power that is and was carried by the particular group. For example, Irish were cast to the lowest level of society regardless of their skin color. In this manner, ethnicity can also carry a use of power to delineate social and political meaning upon a group of people solely based upon their national origin. Immigrants from different parts of Europe were recognized as white

or nonwhite by the Puritan elite class based not upon the color of skin but for unseen and social constructed signifiers. Allan G. Johnson (2001) describes:

One way to see the constructed nature of reality is to notice how the definitions of different “races” change historically, by including groups at one time that were excluded in another. The Irish, for example, were long considered by the dominant white Anglo-Saxon Protestants of England and the United States to be members of a nonwhite “race,” as were Italians, Jews, and people from a number of Eastern European countries. As such, immigrants from these groups to England and the United States were excluded and subjugated and exploited in much the same way that blacks were. This was especially true of the Irish in Ireland in relation to the British, who for centuries treated them as an inferior race. Note, however, that their skin color was indistinguishable from that of those considered to be “white.” If anything, the skin of most people of Irish descent is “fairer” than that of others of European heritage. But their actual complexion didn’t matter, because the dominant racial group has the cultural authority to define the boundaries around “white” as it chooses. (p. 22)

Actions of socially identifying groups as white or nonwhite conveys a power onto a group based on their cultural history beyond skin color. In this manner, identification with the white race gains significance and power in society over those deemed nonwhite, those of an inferior class. Leaders used this system of power to maintain their own status and role of leadership over those classified as “lesser beings” regardless of skin, intellectual ability, or cultural way of life. This is significant to note in a discussion of race and ethnicity because the leaders of the 19th and 20th centuries did not only use this

power over African American slaves but also over other members of the human race with a similar skin tone. The white race was not based on a biological factor but a social, political, and cultural power over others.

As stated above, the labeling of individuals based on social constructions of race was not consistent through all of our nation's history. Where the late 19th century and early 20th century labeled Irish, Poles, and Jews as non-white and cast to a lesser place in society, times would change this hierarchy. During and after World War II, Japanese would come to occupy a similar position of oppression and degradation as men, women, and children were moved to detention camps on the west coast after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Due to the selfless actions of Japanese soldiers, all Japanese were characterized as primitive or savage and a threat to American society and lives. Although some Japanese would prove their loyalty by serving in the war, the opinion of Japanese had changed in the eyes of white elites. Throughout all the changes in society over time and the eventual overthrowing of Jim Crow laws in the South, African Americans continually occupied the lowest rung on the social ladder, perpetually labeled as uncivilized, uneducated, and savage.

The social construction of whiteness determined one's role in society, both economically and politically. Over time, children of immigrants faced conflicts of whether to maintain their cultural signifiers of their ethnicity or to become Americanized in society. "Children in the second generation had to decide whether and how to assimilate and Americanize – to weigh whether to hold on to neighborhood and parish ties, language, the customs of their parents, and even to their names" (Roediger, 2005, p. 177). A dismissal of one's ethnic heritage symbolized recognition of the possibility to

attain a different status in society and the ways in which society characterized individuals and groups. A dismissal of one's ethnicity symbolized possible attainment of whiteness and the power associated with that race. For example, David R. Roediger (2007) describes Irish sentiment as, "Irish-Americans instead treasured their whiteness, as entitling them to both political rights and to jobs" (p. 136). As the worker exchanged his or her ethnic heritage for whiteness, social and economic mobility were observed to be within reach.

The descendants of the immigrants to our nation recognized that whiteness was more than a social classification or a naming based on their skin color. Whiteness is a racial term that symbolizes power. "Viewed as a position of power, those who did not possess white identity often sought it" (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1998, p. 9). As a social construction, race is more than the color of one's skin or the cultural ways of life of a group of people. Race is the attainment or control of power and the accompanying actions that keep this power from other cultural groups. Being classified as white allowed members of the Irish, Polish, or Italian ethnicities to take part in different economic opportunities as well as increased opportunities for children's education and social mobility. "Race defines the social category into which peoples are sorted, producing and justifying their very different opportunities with regard to wealth and poverty, confinement and freedom" (Roediger, 2008, xi). Race defines the social construction of power that is associated with a social group beyond the cultural ways of life and traditions of a people. "Whiteness is often a metaphor for assimilation – here, forced participation in the language, traditions, institutions, and beliefs of the economically, racially, and politically dominant group" (Chabram-Dernersesian, 1997,

pp. 114/115). Whiteness became the desired classification for immigrants to attain the “American dream” despite the loss of a family heritage, cultural knowledge, or group membership. The power attained by being “white” mean social and economic opportunity for not only one’s Self but also one’s family. From this discussion of whiteness, I must interject that my personal position with my own ethnicity and whiteness is complicated. I have come to understand and recognize more clearly the opportunities that have and are presented to me based on my race but self-identifying me as white is still an ongoing process.

Reviewing Textual References to Race

When examining authors who have contributed to the discussion of race, there are several important contributions made by scholars. These individuals have written about race from different perspectives which give the reader varying aspects to explore within the subject. For example, some authors devote collections to the identity and representation of race within society while others explore the role of race in institutional settings or the curriculum. This variety of approaches to the subject allows for the construction of the term race to be explored for its complexity and importance within discussions of culture and education.

Identity and Representation

One way in which authors discuss race is in terms of identity and representation of the Self. When initially exploring the construction of identity through reading within my course work, I had difficulty understanding the dual relationships in the construction

of racial understanding and identity. Being self-identified as Polish, I was brought up not to construct my identity through a white racial description. To me, a Polish descendent is a shared heritage of struggle in a new land as my ancestors worked in the coal mines of Pennsylvania to provide food and clothing for family and friends. It is a shared heritage of dance, music, food, and holidays that I shared with members of my church and family. Growing up in a Polish Catholic church and attending the associated school, I have many memories of celebrations and activities that highlighted the community in which we were apart. As an adult, being Polish is the memories of my grandmother and aunt collecting clothes from family and friends to send to relatives in Poland. My mother tells me about growing up and how her mother would never turn someone away from a warm meal in the basement, even if they were just passing through on the train. It is looking at the history of coal mining and seeing my family on the receiving end of oppressive economic conditions.

Before and during a portion of this research, I did not easily self-identify as white; this was a troubling concept for me because of my lack of understanding of the racial significance of the white race. When I think of those who self-identify as white, I focus upon those who use whiteness as a power over others. For example, southern whites still demonstrate power through overt racism. Government officials and leaders continue to act against minorities, whether Latino or Native American, to eradicate history, language, and culture. I do not believe that I consciously act with overt oppressive intentions toward any other race or group, nor have I been raised to do so. I have always been raised with the message that if you can work hard enough, you can achieve anything, yet this American dream is in itself an example of the power of my race and personal history.

Furthermore, while it is the dream of white Europeans who come to America with hopes for a better future, this is not shared by members of other races who enter our country. On the other hand, I work within an institution controlled by white, male leaders and follow the dictates of this system to maintain my job. Even now, I struggle with articulating this relationship through my work and discussions with others. These discussions of race focus upon the knowledge and identity not only isolating the discussion to particular members of racial groups but also within discussions of our American identity. By forgetting aspects of our nation's history and ignoring contributions of racial groups or sub-groups, the identity of our nation and culture is skewed by those forgotten and absent.

Two authors discussed here create texts derived from personal experiences as black females; in particular, they do so from the viewpoint of Black Feminist Thought—bell hooks and Patricia Hill Collins. One of hooks' (1990) early texts, *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics*, includes essays on race and gender to focus on identity in a unique way. hooks notes, "The overall impact of postmodernism is that many other groups now share with black folks a sense of deep alienation, despair, uncertainty, loss of a sense of grounding even if it is not informed by shared circumstance" (p. 27). She suggests that to replace this gap in identity, one must turn to the cultural and social commonalities that have made the African American race unique and strong throughout history. For this purpose, she points to music as a cultural influence or form of nostalgia for one's home as links that can unite people across time and distance. It is at this point that hooks' feminist position is keenly seen. Through her text, she weaves the stories of strong, African American women who endured the trials of slavery to maintain cultural

and familial traditions separate from the white owner's world. hooks (1990) describes this role of the female, African American woman as:

The task of making homeplace was not simply a matter of black women providing service; it was about the construction of a safe place where black people could affirm one another and by so doing heal many of the wounds inflicted by racist domination. (p. 42)

Although the strength of the female head of household maintained the collective identity and courage of a people, it was soon attacked by other social forces which removed this important role from the cultural identity of the people. Specifically, this strong role that maintained the family and culture of the African American people has been torn down by patriarchal and racist aspects of society beginning with the Reconstruction period of our nation's history.

When taking classes as a master's level graduate student, professors stressed the important of multi-cultural literature and inclusion of cultural differences in the classroom. At the time, I did not understand the impact the school plays in changing students' cultural knowledge and traditions because I was educated in a system where my parents' expectations matched those of the school. My family culture and privilege was confirmed by the educational institutions which attended. Our nation's schools, though, are making a terrible step toward a more refined set of common knowledge and a separation of children from their family's past. Written over twenty years ago, hooks makes an important observation by noting that different groups now share similar feelings of "alienation, despair, uncertainty, loss of a sense of grounding" (hooks, 1990, p. 27) due to the suppression of their culture through power structures in society and

schools. This topic is important for two reasons. First, she could not have anticipated the national movement and even court cases that wrongly prevent the teaching of texts important to a student body. Second, I recognize the power of the teacher to control daily classroom decisions both from my own practices and through the letters and reports written by the 19th century teachers. The disparity between daily practice and theory illustrates a stark contrast between the theory of multi-cultural education that is supported throughout our nation and the day-to-day practices of classrooms. Although hooks addressed changes in identity that were relevant in the distant past and continue today, her theoretical knowledge has not impacted the practices of all teachers and legislature of state and local governments to ensure that the classroom meets the diverse needs of students. In fact, the exact opposite is happening across our nation as all students are expected to engage in a standard curriculum with no regard for personal experience, knowledge, or culture. In this manner, the canon being taught in the classroom is maintained by power structures to support whiteness while negotiating Others' cultural values.

Like hooks, another author works that writes from a Black Feminist position is Collins. This author is also widely known for several books on race and gender as she writes from the intersection of these topics. Collins (2006), in *From Black Power to Hip Hop: Racism, Nationalism, and Feminism*, discusses the intersection of popular culture in the late 20th century with notions of race in our larger political and social context. In particular, she examines the prevalence of negative images of members of the African American race in film and media that convey cultural expectations and norms. "In the 1990s, images of poor and working-class Black American youth as athletes and

entertainers flooded global popular culture” (Collins, 2006, p. 3). These negative views are in stark contrast to the prevalent and dominant views that Americans are characterized by “Whiteness, Christianity, wealth, masculinity, and heterosexuality” (Collins, 2006, p. 7) consequently perpetuate racism in this country. This juxtaposition of norms in media and film between whites and non-whites creates the background for the text’s next discussion of racism and feminism as relevant to the current generation. Through this discussion, she develops what she believes is meant by national identity and what that concept means for African Americans. Through these discussions, Collins provides an exploration of racial representations and the impact of these representations on the cultural memory and identity of our nation as a whole.

The focus of Collins’ text explores the attempted eradication of racism through the Civil Rights Movement. Although it is stated that this time period created openings for equal opportunity and a society without racism, Collins’ argues that the exact opposite has happened. Political and social institutions have maintained power structures based on privilege and oppression solely based on race. Communities remain segregated throughout the South. Although employers do not ask for racial statistics on an individual’s application, inferences are made based on one’s name, zip code, and other personal information. Even as our nation’s schools are becoming resegregated, media and social institutions ignore the reasons for such change. While some leaders state economic reasons or explore the benefits of community schools, little voice is given to challenge racism in the separation of races along color lines. Collins’ text is connected to the focus of this research because it provides details of the problems within our country that have not been changed since the end of the Civil War and the freedom of the slaves. Power

structures have remained in place that prevent true eradication of racial profiling or equal and shared power in communities. This topic of national identity is also important when looking at the changes in history to immigrant families entering our country. In the 19th and 20th centuries, many of the immigrants accepted the normalized view of Americans as white, Christian, and wealthy and gave up personal and family culture to conform to the societal expectations when entering this country. Language, religion, dress, and food were forgotten as generations sought the American way of life and the American dream. In this manner, not only does power of social constructions of race define cultural expectations but it creates a unified image of members of that race and perpetuates stereotypes within the country.

To follow the contributions of hooks and Collins, I think that the work of Vivian Gussin Paley must be mentioned. As a teacher for many years at the University of Chicago's research school, she has written several books. Paley's (1979) text titled *White Teacher* is a reflection upon of her own practices, ways in which she prepares students for the world, and navigation of her own identity as the teacher in the room. Although this text is not widely regarded for its contributions to the field, I feel it is noteworthy for one key reason. When I first read this book during my doctoral coursework, I was struck by the apparent honesty that she allowed the reader to experience as she reflected upon her own inadequacies in her role as teacher. Within the text, she explores the ways in which she navigated her identity as a Jewish student and white teacher while also describing her words and actions that addressed race in her classroom. By weaving stories of her experiences with children into her own reactions, Paley invites the reader into a conversation with the text that allows for one to see the multiple questions she

posed after race was discussed or referenced in her classroom. Again, although Paley focuses exclusively upon her own experiences and the work is not placed in a historical time period, the text affects the reader by engaging with reflective comments on race from the teacher's own experiences. I think that texts such as Paley's are important because they highlight that even when teachers and students are the same race, they need to be taught about different cultures that are not experienced in their homes or school communities. This honesty with personal experiences is especially important to my own educational experiences because I was educated in school systems characterized by a nearly 100% white population. I did not have opportunities to be taught about different cultures or races during my own K-12 career, yet I teach in a school system that is racially, economically, and politically diverse. Secondly, her reflection shows her vulnerability and unease when addressing questions of race in the classroom. Theorists call teachers to lead discussions with students of different races in the classroom, but this cannot be done until the teacher is comfortable with his or her own race and racial heritage to lead such discussions. This text, though, has its downfall as it is a narrative, and Paley does not use theoretical understandings to dig deeply within her reflections or to institute change in her practice. She relies on intuition and growth from experience rather than exploring the ways in which she exercised her privilege over Others within her educational settings.

The individuals discussed above speak about race from personal experiences or from within historical and political context but do so from membership in an oppressed group. They develop discussions of identity of many groups, not only African Americans, throughout their texts. The more recent publication dates of these texts and their

continued relevance to today's society make the texts relevant and important to discussions of race today as individuals continue to negotiate interactions, oppression, and identities through exchanges with members of different races. Although Collins grounds her discussion in the impact of racial identity within our nation's culture, she also discusses the ways in which members of different races are represented in media. Discussions of race through representations are another way in which the topic is discussed in scholarly literature. Although hooks, Collins, and Paley use academic texts to develop their positions and discussions, other authors similarly use different forms of writing to address the topic of racism in society, both past and present. In particular, many well-known authors of the late 20th century are recognized for their fiction and poetry as well as the adaptations of their work for television and movie screens. It is important to note that power informs ways in which text and media are created, edited, published, and advertised throughout the nation as many publishing and recording companies are led by white, male authority figures. The images displayed in popular culture are predominately constructed within social and political expectations for cultural groups either as matching mainstreamed norms of whiteness or those viewed as non-white and Other.

Although some authors are well known for their fiction to represent members of their race in historical times, others have developed collections of poetry. Maya Angelou is one such author who has penned stories such as the 1969 publication titled *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*. Her poetry collections include as *And Still I Rise* (1978) and *Even the Stars Look Lonesome* (1997). Toni Morrison is another well published author whose selections include her 1970 publication of *The Bluest Eye* and her 2008 piece titled A

Mercy. In each of these novels, she discusses race by transporting the reader to another time and place allowing for the individual to investigate racism as it is imbedded in the political and social constructions of our world. Like Angelou and Morrison, Alice Walker is another popular author that brings discussions of racism to the forefront of public attention in her work. Walker's (1982) *The Color Purple* has maintained interest over time and was also adapted as a film. Another publication, Sapphire's 1996 story titled *Push*, has recently made headlines with the production of the film, Precious, which was based on the book.

These examples of fictional texts written from the perspective of African American women bring topics of racism, social conditions, and oppressive circumstances to the reader through emotionally stirring tales of individuals, both past and present. Furthermore, by addressing societal expectations and perceptions of women, each writer addresses the intersection of race and feminism through their work. The representation of the characters in historical context brings to the reader ideas of racism in our society, both past and present. While the works of Angelou, Morrison, and Walker are sometimes set in the historical past, the fictional account written by Sapphire brings the same ills of society to the movie screen in as she addresses problems that plague society today. These stories bring accounts of violence against women both in the historical past and the present; they demonstrate the power of the male over the female through rape and pregnancy. It brings attention to choices for young women unable to attain literacy or a job due to the forces acting against them in family and society. The creation of these fictional accounts, though, must be looked at just as the historical archives are explored in this dissertation. Each woman writes from her own time and place and attempts to

represent a different time in history. Each story and each movie is a recreation of actual events as they would have happened and are therefore a representation of the past from the perspective of the author. This brings attention to the multiple perspectives that fiction cannot create in the mind of the reader in contrast to those existing in society. Furthermore, I question if individuals need to read fiction more critically to acknowledge both the historical time and place of the story's events as well as the experiences of the author in his or her own environment.

Raised and educated as a white, middle-class female, I never personally encountered hardships that are described in such fictional works. My life was sheltered from the forces of racism and an inability to control one's life and experiences. I was blind to the invisibility of whiteness and the power of institutions and systems around me. It was not until I began my first teaching position that I saw the power of a label on a child's permanent record or the negative associations given to students residing in particular neighborhoods. Although individuals do not speak openly of characteristics based on race, some professionals allude to the prevalence of circumstances based solely upon the race of the student. Although I have never experienced hardships such as those described in the texts, the words transport me as the reader to a different time or place to experience conditions and experiences in the lives of fictional Others. Furthermore, the ways in which these talented authors weave stories of individuals allows the reader to recognize a different perspective of the power structures within society, schools, and both economic and political institutions that confine the hopes and dreams of individuals based on racial expectations. Although I cannot even understand the feeling created by power relations based on race nor walk a mile in another's shoes, the ability to transport the

reader into the mind and heart of the characters to experience a different perspective is necessary to present information and experience to the reader and demands continued attention in society. In addition, these texts contradict mainstream norms and histories and complicate personal views of race or racism in society. Although this is not enough to oppose the power of whiteness or disrupt societal structures, it is one movement toward awareness of different views, perspectives, and experiences.

Pieces of fiction like those mentioned above allow the reader to experience a representation of a character that has been ignored or removed from historical memory in our nation. These figures have been labeled as Other and described as savage or strange in mainstream media and text. Strong African American women have been challenged by patriarchal structures in society, yet their collective voice is heard through the powerful representations in the fictional texts. This has happened both historically as the woman's power within a family was dismissed by the 19th century teachers and today as successful, African American women are criticized for their success by media. Just as the fictional stories of talented African American authors illustrate connections between race and power within institutions, I believe that inclusion of publications of slave stories attract the reader through nonfiction in similar ways. Stories documented in publications such as *When I was a Slave: Memoirs from the Slave Narrative Collection* edited by Norman R. Yetman (2002), *Women's Slave Narratives: Annie L. Burton and Others* (Burton, 2006), and Harriet Anne Jacob's (2006) published diary titled *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* bring the reader to a different place and time through the emotional and personal stories of the slaves. The representation of slaves as uneducated and destitute creatures popular in historical memory is contrasted by the journeys of women

to preserve family, community, and their own life; slave stories offer texts that directly counter the master narrative written in historical texts. For those who have experienced negative representations of the African American community during and after times of slavery may engage a different representation through the words of the women themselves. Thus, by bringing different memories and representations to the historical record of our nation, growth can be made to educate individuals as well as contributing to our nation's cultural legacy.

Slave stories provide an important historical memory that contradicts stories held in historical texts. As a researcher of this time period, it was essential to read and examine the stories of the slaves to counter the descriptions of the northern, female teachers. Unfortunately in today's classrooms, these texts are not used frequently enough in schools to provide lessons in the truths of slavery and the Civil War. This year, I was happy to see the inclusion of Harriet Jacob's (2006) *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* on Savannah-Chatham County's recommended reading list for rising juniors. I was disappointed, though, because this text includes historical fact that opposes historical memory within our own city through Jacob's experiences teaching in Savannah yet it was only "recommended" by the leaders. It is a step forward in suggesting this piece, yet it is not enough to expose all students to different conceptions of historical memory while they are studying this same time period in history classes. Even better would have been using the primary document in history class to counter the dominant perspective included in textbooks. In addition, the reading of historical record brings one perspective of the past to the student reader. As he or she is more than likely not well-informed to details of the historical context, the interpretation done through reading may create false or

artificial memories or experiences for the student reader. Therefore, when including historical memory of members of different races in the American classroom to diverse students, educators must explore the perspective that is given to all students of all races.

Although not a form of fiction, a particular journal article reviews two fictional pieces that address a unique portion of society in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Cassandra Jackson's (2003) article titled "'I Will Gladly Share With Them My Richer Heritage': Schoolteachers in Frances E. W. Harper's *Iola Leroy* and Charles Chesnut's *Mandy Oxendine*" reviews two fiction stories that document teachers characterized as "mulatto" in the time period. Although individuals of mixed races were common on some plantations throughout the South, this portion of the population was not openly discussed during that time period. These individuals occupied a difficult yet important part of culture and society, passing across borders of both white and black races while not being fully part of either cultural group. This article brings part of the conversation on race to those who did not fit the traditional roles in society because of their biological chemistry and corresponding social status. Furthermore, this text brings to the foreground of conversation a topic of division within race solely based upon the color of one's skin. This text is an important addition to scholarly work on the 19th century because it addresses a portion of the population that caused difference and was a topic of conversation during the time. While many texts focus on race as a difference between white and black, there were others who did not fit in those racial categories. This discussion brings to the foreground a conversation of race based on the color of one's skin which is still relevant in today's society because individuals are judged by some only by the color of their skin. Just as mixed race individuals were oppressed in the 19th

century, they remain Othered in today's society. As the U.S. Census reports an increase in the number of multi-racial children in our country, the topic becomes increasingly important in our American classrooms. Children must navigate their own identity including race and religion while teachers must acknowledge and address this changing dynamic. In the past, multi-racial was a concept that labeled individuals with mixed white and African American ancestry. Now, students may have multiple heritages from countries around the world or share in two religions with diverse cultural expectations.

I think that it is necessary to mention these works because they add another element to discussions of race in our society. Fiction is a mode that allows the reader to be transported to a time and place which is removed from one's present circumstances; the genre produces a representation that is often missing or forgotten from historical memory. Through the characters' words and actions, the reader can address to the ills of society in a non-threatening way. The popularity of fiction writing in our society also reaches a wider audience than scholarly publications, thus making the impact of the work larger in the overall community. In the field of Curriculum Studies, it is important to remember the need for fiction in society and our schools. Several theorists such as Mary Doll (2000), Weaver (2010), Dennis Sumara (2002), and Susan Edgerton (1993) have addressed the role of fiction. Doll writes:

Fiction—more than fact—teaches wisdoms about the human condition precisely because fiction connects readers with what courses within themselves. . . . The work of the curriculum theorist should tap this intense current within, that which courses through the inner person, that which electrifies or gives life to a person's energy source. (xi-xii)

As Doll notes, fiction allows one to enter into a deeper interaction with the self and thus gives greater meaning for the theorist. Furthermore, it allows the reader to experience different topics and situations in society from a safe distance. Fiction allows space from the topic and one's own place. This distance permits people to negotiate the topics with one's own ideas and perspectives to come to a critical awareness of the situation. As a teacher in a middle school classroom, I recognize that this safety created through the distance of fiction is important for people of all ages; using fiction in the classroom allows students to experience and explore ideas including racism or sexism through textual experiences. Since fiction is an area for greater potential and learning, I think it is necessary to note the importance of the work of such authors in discussions within Curriculum Studies.

Fiction plays an important role in discussions of race that counter the patriarchal perspective portrayed in historical texts that support the power structure of whiteness. Personally, I find that these examples are influential demonstrations of the power of determination and existence that has been and continues to be ignored in many of our nation's classrooms. These texts produced within the genre of fiction are not the only texts that discuss race through a lens that explores racial representations. Authors within the field of Curriculum Studies also explore the ways in which race is displayed through various means in their texts. These authors explore the larger topic of race by approaching it from a different viewpoint to include personal identity, social representation or mis-representation, and the impact of institutions. The discussion of race through these different themes allows one to see the many ways in which race can

impact learning experiences and the classroom in today's society. Furthermore, it shows the complexity that is navigated by both teachers and students each day in the classroom.

A portion of one of Pinar's popular texts is devoted to race in the American South. Specifically, two chapters of Pinar's (2004) *What is Curriculum Theory?* are dedicated to discussions of thoroughly differing perspectives. First, in "The Significance of the South," Pinar addresses the necessity for studying the South by noting the historical implications of slavery, segregation, and the violence associated with both of those events. He argues that members of society must first deal with the historical memory of these events before moving forward both culturally and economically (p. 95). He goes on to discuss the historical developments that led to lynching and the social label of "white trash" (p. 103). In a later chapter called "Education of the American Public," Pinar looks at the stagnant atmosphere of the South, namely in the cultural inability to deal with historical accounts and overcome racist positions. I agree with his use of the word "stagnant" in reference to racial relations. In my experiences, there are members of differing races cohabitating cities and neighborhoods while the entire society does little to openly discuss racist thoughts, words, or public policy. Little is done to truly integrate institutions, businesses, churches, or even schools; discussing racism and the causes of it in current society is taboo in the public school classroom. His discussion is also important in that he remarks that conditions in the South affect our nation as a whole. "We engage in the Reconstruction of the South not only for the South's sake, but for the nation's sake" (Pinar, 2004, p. 247). This position is necessary in our nation because it puts the responsibility of cultural renewal, including the overcoming of racism, on the entire country to work together. All parties must be part of the conversation regardless of

personal history or geographic location. This point gives significance to individuals like me who are examining experiences in the South, both in the present and past, while personally occupying a position in southern society for a relatively short period of time. Pinar's text focuses upon the mis-representations and lack of any acknowledgement of a need for diverse portrayals of historical memory in the cultural heritage of the South. Pinar makes the assertion that attention must be paid to the continuing racial conflict in the southern states but few are willing to discuss or change events as they take place. This call for different perspectives of memory is taken up in this research as I recall the intentions of both the freedmen and the teachers, two perspectives that are not included in traditional historical accounts.

Like Pinar, Alan Wieder (1997) looks first at race and education through three essays that explore ways in which different forms of media portray African Americans. In this discussion, he examines the types of textbooks and reading materials that were available in South Carolina schools that perpetuated racist thinking in the 1990s. He moves beyond this discussion of traditional textbooks, though, to also make note of other forms of media that perpetuate racial stereotypes. "Many representations of Black life in America are either false or misleading. They are dangerous because they are taken so frequently as gospel by educators and others in the 'helping professions'" (Wieder, 1997, p. 29). Wieder makes his point by investigating the work of an individual that is traditionally held in high esteem for his work. Wieder describes that in Coles' book titled *Children of Crisis*, a collection of interviews from the 1960s that describe race in our country, the expectation was to see a system that "our society allows to exist amid growth and progress. The irony is that he also found great strength, middle-class aspirations, and

hard work” (Wieder, 1997, p. 30). Wieder stated that Coles anticipated a lack of motivation and negative outlook on progress in the communities which he studied. His position of whiteness caused his negative perspective and perceived privilege over those of a different race than he—the men, women, and children of the African American communities that he visited. Instead of finding these negative qualities, he actually found the opposite in the individuals that he studied—“strength” and “hard work.” Through describing the work of Coles’, Wieder makes a point that in that society looks for examples of deficits and ills in sub-groups of the population in order to prove the problems exist. I argue that this takes place within institutions as leaders search for the next problem to fix, both at the local and state level. Instead, it is positive values that Wieder believes should be the focus of investigations and inquiries into discrepancies of race in our society. Inquiries should examine societal events for the positive conditions that help to attain hopes and dreams that individuals hold for a better life. Wieder’s criticism of Coles’ work can be extended to the purpose of media because film and documentaries, the daily news, and various forms of popular culture continue to portray minorities in negative ways by perpetuating racial stereotypes.

Wieder’s text brings attention to two different aspects of racial discussions. First, he examines the ways in which images are portrayed in media and text. I am often shocked by how quickly clips of news articles become part of popular culture in the form of songs or videos spread throughout the internet for comedic value. Such videos characterize individuals as uneducated through language or behavior that perpetuate stereotypical thoughts. This use of technology is equivalent to the use of written propaganda in the 19th century; negative images are created to maintain power relations

in society and are perpetuated through extensions of that power. Second, Wieder notes that individuals such as Coles seek out and expect to see negative qualities in communities. This discussion, though, should be taken a step further as the same procedures are followed in educational systems. Schools and students are explored for their deficits—areas in which they do not meet expectations or requirements. I believe that too much time is spent proving that something is wrong instead of exploring what progress is made by groups or schools. When schools make strong gains and achieve within the community, no one is there to recognize the good work and progress.

Similar to other theorists, McCarthy (1998) looks at race and representation within the political constructions of society. He takes his own unique perspective on the topic by looking at how race intersects the postcolonial. In order to take this different position on race, McCarthy notes that the theorist must take upon the role of those traditionally silenced in our society. He is able to occupy this position in part from his own personal heritage as a member of a colonized group as he was born in Barbados and now lives and teaches throughout the world. These experiences have created his personal position in opposition to the power and privilege of whiteness; “everything that follows herein is in fact informed by the postcolonial predicament: the reality of perhaps permanent exile or banishment from any singular or fixed community and the attendant loss of full understanding of one’s racial self” (McCarthy, 1998, pp. 4-5). His position allows his theory to cross borders in an important way. Although some may only consider the permanence of colonialist powers in other countries, the increasing disparagement between social classes in our country paired with the increasing cultural imperialism of our school institutions makes this conversation necessary in our current times. Thus,

McCarthy utilizes his position to discuss inequalities for those of marginalized races and cultures. In another of McCarthy's texts, he uses art to investigate resistance to problems while also offering suggestions. "Postcolonial arts, we will show, offer educators a rich new set of resources for thinking about issues and concerns that seem ever more beyond our grasp and control" (Dimitriadis & McCarthy, 2001, p. 16). By exploring postcolonial art forms such as writing and music, he adds to the conversation as to how marginalized groups are represented in society through various media forms. These texts explore the relationship of race with power, specifically the ways in which multiple influences of "personal autobiography, dominant and subaltern popular culture, and postcolonial literary aesthetics, as well as the so-called canonical traditions of the West" (McCarthy, 1998, p. 15) are navigated. McCarthy discusses the multiple ways in which power controls experiences in classrooms through chosen texts and experiences in media through productions supporting racial control while also noting that the individual engages in situations that are created by their own placement away from the dominant power. Each individual negotiates culture through experiences of the dominant culture and their own position contrary to that center.

In each of these examples, the authors explore the ways in which race is embedded in their cultural identity or the ways in which members of races are (mis)represented in media and society. These issues are important not only in today's society but also discussions of race within the late 1800s caused by tensions and conflict that arise across racial lines. I find this to be true in interactions with parents and students in my own classroom. Despite more than 150 years, enough progress has not been made within our nation to dispel racial prejudice from families, societies, and institutions.

Institutional Practices

Authors and theorists have also explored race through the ways in which racial discourse is addressed in institutions in our nation. These discussions include segregation, desegregation, school reform, teacher preparation and professional development programs, and curricular development and change. Curriculum Studies is concerned with the larger scope of learning through social, political, and cultural interactions in which knowledge is attained. Each day, individuals engage in learning experiences in which ideas and norms related to race are conveyed through both overt and underlying messages. These interactions often perpetuate existing ideas and norms relating to race. In each of the following examples, the authors explore how policy is impacted by inequity and racist discourse within our nation's schools.

In the first example, an author within the field of Curriculum Studies looks back to an intersection of history and race to investigate the role of the female in education. In Marybeth Gasman's (2007) journal publication titled "Swept Under the Rug? A Historiography of Gender and Black Colleges," she begins by mentioning the lack of contributions of women in literature as used within colleges across the nation. To construct this historiography, she explores back to the 19th century to examine the initial efforts to establish colleges for African Americans which interestingly began in the North. As relationships developed with philanthropists, more colleges spread across the South. Through this investigation, Gasman provides an inquiry into race in our nation's history through the establishment of early institutions of higher learning but also makes unique contributions by noting that African American women have been ignored from traditional historical memory just as white women have been omitted. By taking this

discussion further to look at traditionally black colleges, Gasman records the number of female students in reference to their experiences and positions in higher education and rewrites history to include contributions of African American women. This article raised questions to the representation of women in the teachers' own words. How did the teachers represent African American women in both school and society? Furthermore, in what ways did the teachers respond to African American women that taught alongside themselves in schools? This article poses interesting questions relative to this research because it brings attention to the intentions of teachers when exploring race differences within the teaching staff.

Watkins looks at historical circumstances to explore how race impacts institutions in two of his important texts. I think that one of his texts is very crucial to contradicting the curriculum and traditional historical account that is taught in many of today's classrooms while simultaneously giving a different contextual background into the time period in which my work is centered. Watkins (2001), in *The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865-1954*, discusses historical accounts of individuals who were important historical leaders at different points in our American history. Watkins points his critical analysis at such leaders as General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a recognized leader in post-Civil War education for freedmen, and the Rockefeller family to analyze how the intentions of some recognized leaders departed, from his perspective, from moral integrity. For example, Watkins notes Armstrong's position on the African American race as he describes his interests in forming the Hampton Institute. Watkins (2001) writes, "It would provide training in character building, morality, and religion to 'civilize' the 'childlike' and 'impetuous' Negro.

Eventually, Armstrong favored educating poor southern Whites” (p. 48). As he continues this discussion, Watkins illustrates how a man that was initially hired as a Freedmen’s Bureau agent actually worked from a racist agenda to “educate” freedmen. Although the reader may look back at this man’s personal perspective and recognize the racist implications, positions and hiring choices such as his would have been accepted and were widespread in the late 19th century throughout the South. This one example from the text demonstrates how Watkins contradicted historical memory to address racism in our nation’s history while exploring the significance that men such as those mentioned above would have had on institutions of education such as those sponsored by the Freedmen’s Bureau. As the text clearly describes the intentions of male leaders in the 19th century, it brings questions to the impact that these individuals would have directly had on daily classroom instruction. Were messages and directive conveyed to teachers and were they followed?

In another of Watkins’ important publications, the authors examine the role of race and education in society. Sandra Richards and Sidney J. Lemelle (2005), in the first chapter of Watkins’ edited volume *Black Protest Thought and Education*, begin by stating, “The aims and purposes of education are not always constructed within the limits of highly bureaucratized institutions, or by individuals who are defined as ‘teachers’ in the traditional sense” (p. 27). This sentence begins a discussion of ways in which those of the minority race have worked to act against majority powers within society and more particularly the institution of education. This position directly challenges the power of the white majority to maintain norms and power through the manipulation of institutions. Other authors in this edited text go on to support this position by giving examples from

history of leaders or groups that acted against whiteness and privilege based on race. For example, Watkins (2005) credits DuBois (p. 125) while Haroon Kharem and Eileen M. Hayes (2005) note the combined efforts of African Americans after the Civil War (p. 71). In each of these chapters, the discussion focuses on the contributions of those who are traditionally removed from historical accounts of the time period and the positive ways in which institutions were impacted. Going back to the previous discussion of Wieder's text, most often whites are given recognition for improvement within institutions while it is the successes of others that should be included in the texts. History needs to be rewritten to include the multiple contributors and the successes that took place that are not measured as traditional progress and gains.

Watkins' texts discussed above take two different forms. By writing both about the leaders who are traditionally glorified for their efforts and those who are seen as disorderly for working against dominant powers, he is able to discuss race from contrasting positions. Another theorist adds to this discussion by investigating race from the position of cultural studies. Giroux (1996), in *Fugitive Cultures: Race, Violence, and Youth*, positions a discussion of race within the institution of the school. By looking at the interplay of youth and the hidden curriculum of dominant powers, Giroux finds resistance as a productive means for challenging traditional assumptions of race and class. More specifically, he alludes to the ways in which teachers and students can work to combat racism. "What educators need to do is make the pedagogical more political by addressing both the conditions through which they teach and the question of what it means to learn from this generation" (Giroux, 1996, p. 47). In this statement, he positions the responsibility for educators to act against racism as they learn from students while the

students simultaneously act against injustice. This discussion of racism thus moves the conversation away from historical events and toward the actions that can be taken in current society to combat negative institutional practices in schools. As a classroom teacher, one must see that education in the public school must include discussions and explorations of historical memory and social problems. The power of state and federal government, though, is increasingly interfering with the possibilities for challenging assumptions as leaders make more stringent restrictions on texts used in classrooms despite research that states otherwise.

The discussion above focused upon race and institutions by exploring the ways in which individuals or groups impacted educational setting in both positive and negative ways. In each of these examples, an important trend is to highlight a portion of history and memory that is typically removed from traditional historical texts. Secondly, all the examples discuss race in terms of the social construction of race for African Americans. Although this is important, I believe that there also needs to be a discussion that explores and critiques the ways in which race is constructed and maintained in terms of whiteness. Such a discussion is necessary because the power of race and whiteness permeates culture invisibly to white individuals. Those considered non-white are cognizant of the power and authority of whiteness. While power of whiteness is exercised against a group or community, society does not acknowledge or explore the perspective of the white oppressors nor act against inequity. Therefore, just as race is discussed as the social construction of difference based upon power, there must be a discussion of whiteness and its affect on society and institutions.

One such collection is edited by Michelle Fine, Lois Weis, Linda C. Powell, and L. Mun Wong (1997) titled *Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society*. The western canon traditionally includes white, male authors and classics with topics removed from the worlds of our students. These texts contrast publications of literature selected and supported by white, male leaders in publishing and education. Texts that offer multi-cultural selections allow teachers the choice to explore with students and a way to expand the canon to include members of all races, ethnicities, religions, and other cultural groups. In this text, the editors compile discussions of whiteness and arrange the comments around common themes including theory, academic life, politics, and popular culture. My personal interests in this text brought my focus to chapters that explored identity as a construct of institutional practices. In one particular chapter titled “Witnessing Whiteness” by Michelle Fine, the author explores how identification of one’s Self as “white” is embedded with signifiers of power and authority in our institutions. Fine calls individuals to action by asserting that research has documented unequal opportunities and outcomes in institutions, particularly by noting the deficits held by non-whites, but little is done to change deficit thinking. In this chapter, she attributes these characteristics along racial lines to be a development of institutional power. “Schools and work, for example, do not merely manage race; they create and enforce racial meanings” (Fine, 1997, p. 58). This power of the school or other institution is silently conveyed through curriculum or practices with meaning incidentally hidden from the workers and students. This selection and the examples of institutional practices described within the text validate a need to teach students and individuals to explore and negotiate their rolls within these institutions as well as ways to work against the dominant

ideology and whiteness. I think these important skills are seldom learned through formal settings as multiple perspectives and questioning of authority is not permitted.

Johnson (2001) discusses the political and social consequences of whiteness in his text titled *Privilege, Power, and Difference*. As suggested by the title, much of the text focuses upon the power structure maintained by race and the privileges received by members of the dominant group. Early in the text, he writes:

The trouble around difference is really about privilege and power—the existence of privilege and the lopsided distribution of power that keeps it going. The trouble is rooted in a legacy we all inherited, and while we’re here, it belongs to us. (p. 15)

In this quote, Johnson speaks to the silent and invisible power that is given to members of the dominant race. While Johnson’s text primarily speaks to race and whiteness, this unseen power can also be understood when looking at gender and the power of males in society. As Johnson continues his text, he focuses upon the idea that privilege is embedded in society and institutions to maintain inequity of power. In addition, he also discusses the oppressive circumstances that are created by such unequal power. “Because economic systems are the source of wealth, they are also the basis for every social institution, since the state and church and universities and the like cannot survive without an economic base” (Johnson, 2001, p. 43). Johnson’s statement links the influence of society and the intent of the universities based upon invisible power structures. When looking at educational institutions, one then sees the purpose inextricably bound to the dominant power structure and whiteness in society. Our nation’s schools continue to be led by white males that continue the power structure in various ways that oppress not only those labeled as Other but also females seeking to attain power within the system.

Like Johnson, Giroux (1997) explores privilege, power, and race in his text titled *Channel Surfing: Race Talk and the Destruction of Today's Youth*. Giroux begins this text by focusing upon the privilege of race and how impacts systems of exclusion within society and institutions. Like Johnson, Giroux discusses privilege while exploring the effects of media and community with lower class, white and black youth in our nation. The focus of Giroux's text moves beyond describing the social conditions as in Johnson's work to exploring the ways in which such oppressive conditions impact the identity of youth in our nation. Giroux's work is a call to action for teachers to allow and support exploration and reflection in today's society and institutions. "'Whiteness' must be addressed within power relations that exploit its subversive potential while not erasing the historical and political role it plays in shaping other racialized identities and social differences" (Giroux, 1997, p. 133). Addressing the problems does not mean erasing the past but understanding race and the power of whiteness both historically and in the present. It means recognizing positions of power and the effects in society and acting for change. In this text Giroux requests that teachers aid students in recognizing and exploring power structures within institutions and societies. I think this is important that Giroux does not expect or direct educators to have the answers for the students but instead act "as social theorists raising questions, confronting orthodoxy, and engaging in public discourse" (p. 155).

Together, Johnson and Giroux's texts form a foundation for looking at whiteness and the power over institutions such as our schools and universities. These texts discuss race in by exploring the significance of power and the privilege and oppression that result from power structures. Giroux's text, though, goes a step further to move the teacher and

student to action to explore and critique these systems for change. These are important additions to a discussion of race because they disrupt the norm in society and challenge expectations for teachers in the classroom. Although this seems ideal in classrooms, I am reminded by the nation and state's continued dominance over teachers by the narrowing of standards and intensified observation by school and district based personnel. How do teachers make space for important dialogue within required pacing guides? Will teachers risk test scores or lower evaluations including material, text, and discussion beyond the prescribed norm? Although I do not have answers to these questions, the results of intensified observation and limiting of daily control concern my freedoms as a teacher on a day-to-day basis.

Continuing with an emphasis on race, power, and privilege within an institutional setting, the edited collection titled *White Reign: Deploying Whiteness in America* is a comprehensive collection by several curriculum theorists who explore different components of this topic. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1998) begin this edited collection by discussing the ambiguity of whiteness while asserting the connection between race and power. They move the discussion to an interdisciplinary level by suggesting that whiteness is influenced by various "social forces, including language, knowledge, and ideology" (p. 4). This focus on different signifying systems elaborates the ways in which whiteness is silently or invisibly conveyed. In their text, Kincheloe and Steinberg attempt to add a historical element to the creation and maintenance of whiteness in our nation's memory by suggesting that individuals should explore their personal history in terms of ethnicity and race. Like Giroux (1997), they suggest a critical reflection of meaning and

privilege but they address the complications of this understanding with a family's cultural heritage. Kincheloe and Steinberg write:

Whites have referenced their immigrant grandparents' stories of struggle, assumed the status of European ethnic minorities, and revived ethnic practices long abandoned by second generation descendants of immigrants. Such efforts cannot solve the identity crisis, for the immigrant experience of marginalization with its linguistic and custom—related alienation is too far removed from the lived world of most contemporary Whites. (p. 13)

This description was personal to me because I was raised to accept and share a cultural history with my family members, yet I have not personally shared the hardships and struggles of my immigrant ancestors. This troubled my own cultural understanding and the lessons of my childhood when looking reflectively at my past. When Kincheloe and Steinberg question one's ability to define his or her culture in terms of race or ethnicity, they complicate an understanding of race and the ways in which we learn such lessons in our own lives. I think that this discussion supports the position that whiteness is socially a malleable term and that each person must negotiate whiteness and their own understanding of its meaning based on his or her own life. This process of exploring and challenging whiteness in society remains the focus of the Kincheloe and Steinberg's text as they suggest that individuals should "denormalize whiteness" (p. 18) within society.

Other selections from this edited text explore Kincheloe and Steinberg's notion of denormalizing whiteness by exploring specific actions that educators can make in their classrooms and lives. In Maher and Tetreault's (1998) chapter, the pair explores the shifting meaning behind whiteness and maleness upon the norm in society while also

exploring the shifting role of the student and teacher in the classroom. Similarly, in Connie Titone's (1998) chapter, she asserts that in order for the teacher to occupy a position of leadership in the classroom, he or she must first complete a thorough exploration and investigation of one's own identity and position in terms of race and power in society. As part of an educational institution, the teacher must recognize his or her role to defend or critique the norms of society. "We need to challenge ourselves—to change ourselves—to understand ourselves differently from how we may have been taught" (Titone, 1998, p. 168). Both of the chapters by Titone and Maher and Tetreault guide educators to action in their institutions but do not give precise requirements for this action. This level of guidance and suggestion is satisfactory because of the multiple ways in which individuals and students understand and internalize race in their own cultural environments. Each teacher must act within the social and political world in which he or she lives and works while still allowing the students to take ownership of their personal explorations.

Not all the chapters in the edited text merely support a movement toward reflection and action like Titone or Maher and Tetreault. In Nelson M. Rodriguez's (1998) chapter titled "Emptying the Content of Whiteness: Toward an Understanding of the Relation between Whiteness and Pedagogy," Rodriguez attempts to explore whiteness and the power structure that maintains difference in several ways. Whiteness is at times described as a normalization of dominant qualities and an exclusion of the qualities of those deemed as Other in social, political, and economic realms (McLaren, 1998; Roediger, 2005, p. 33). Rodriguez describes this dismissal of qualities of non-whites as a deterrent to progress in society. "Whiteness in the negative sense is that which separates;

it is that which prevents linking particular interests and struggles to the project of a radical democracy” (p. 59). This statement calls the reflective element of Kincheloe and Steinberg’s chapter to a new level as Rodriguez hopes for the acceptance and unification of qualities among both whites and non-whites as support for action and democratic qualities in society.

Within this discussion of institutional practice, it must be remembered that as teachers and professors within the classroom, we are all part of the institutional powers at work. It is our duty to the students we teach to act with equity and care each day. Yet the obligations of our jobs, in order to maintain employment and economic security, sometimes cause questions and problems within these institutions. During my initial years as a teacher, I was often bothered by the problems that I faced within my classroom and mixed messages relayed by county employees. Programs offered to new faculty during that time, though, did not allow me to explore such problems and issues such as race and institutional power. It was during my doctoral coursework that I became acquainted with the work of authors such as Marilyn Cochran-Smith (1995), Gary R. Howard (2006), Jawanza Kunjufu (2002), Crystal Kuykendall (2004), Pedro A. Noguera (2008), and Shelly Tochluk (2008). Each of these authors explores interactions within classroom settings along racial lines and ways to combat racism in these settings. Texts such as these were new and eye opening to me as a new teacher because they explicitly discussed racial differences and the impact of these differences on the classroom that directly related to my own teaching experiences.

One author was insightful to me as she explored the social construction of race in the classroom through the use of classroom materials to convey social norms and values.

This was very valuable to me as a teacher who has until this point been given liberty to choose materials as well as the teachers explored in this research as they were given the power in many cases to purchase texts of religious or political value. Cochran-Smith (1995) focuses her article titled “Color Blindness and Basket Making are not the Answers: Confronting the Dilemmas of Race, Culture, and Language Diversity in Teacher Education” on the ways in which teachers should investigate personal values and assumptions, explore the culture of their students, and integrate these differences into the curriculum of the classroom. In her article, Cochran-Smith explores excerpts from essays written by pre-service teachers in a teacher training program. As teachers explore the environment of the school, including daily lessons, resources such as text books, and student responses to literature, the teachers’ individual thoughts could be interpreted as challenging the traditional rules and use of basal readers while instead looking for literary pieces that allow for exploration within a democratic society. In this article, the writing and exploration of essays for patterns by classroom practitioners provides a guide as to one way in which Cochran-Smith encourages pre-service students to explore identity formation in their own classrooms and society. This example, while giving practical examples to support multi-cultural education in the classroom, provided a value to the reflective practices of the teacher in the classroom as well as a validation to my own inclinations and choices.

A review of texts regarding race is necessary in the context of this research due to the depth of analysis completed by the authors, continued prevalence of hostile race relations in our society, and educational leaders’ continued emphasis on valuing classroom performance along racial lines on standardized testing. These circumstances

make discussions of race necessary in present time in our nation. Each of the authors, though, makes a contribution by looking at race from a specific perspective. Some scholars are specifically interested in the role race places in institutions such as schools. This is noted in the prevalence of texts that discuss varying aspects of school operations in some southern schools while focusing on race as a primary aspect of the educational institutions (e.g., Gasman, 2007; Kharem & Hayes, 2005; Watkins, 2001; Giroux, 1996; Wieder, 1997; Walker, 1996; Walker, 2001). Other authors explore the ways in which race is constructed and negotiated through identity in opposition to Others. Although there is a great deal of sources that attend to discussions of race, none of these authors specifically investigate the historical time period that is the focus of this research. Curriculum Studies has not taken up the challenging conversations of race and power in the founding of the southern public school system.

The field of Curriculum Studies is adapting to our nation's more complex notion of race, class, and gender and the relationships between the three. At one point in our nation's history, actions and interactions were described solely along the lines of race. Specifically, movements for equal rights for all members of the African American race or for women's rights unified communities in collective causes and identification through group membership. This is not to say that other cultural factors such as religious, ethnic, or familial relationships did not play a role in creating identity in those particular situations. For example, a southern African American man did not have the same experiences as a northern man during the Civil Rights Movement. A Jew did not have the same experiences during World War II as a Catholic or Protestant. Today, individual culture is not analyzed only for racial influences or group identification but instead each

individual is determined by the many points at which multiple backgrounds and experiences intersect to form one's cultural Self. Specifically, it is widely accepted that one individual can simultaneously be part of multiple cultural groups and thus gain experiences and insight from a variety of influences. It is for this reason that I believe discussions interactions in society, in the 1860s or present day, must discuss race as a component of culture while also looking at the broader range of cultural influences to analyze events in society.

Race Relations during the Civil War and Reconstruction

A qualitative inquiry exploring the documents left by female teachers of the Freedmen's Bureau schools would be incomplete without placing events of that time period in historical context. Although I have alluded to the continued prevalence of problems between members of different races both in the 19th century and today, it is not adequate to assume that circumstances in the past were just as they are now. Additionally, the circumstances surrounding interactions between members of different races were also dissimilar when looking between North and South. For this reason, I will provide a description of race relations in the 19th century, both in northern and southern states.

Race Relations in Southern States

As the economy of the South grew dependent on the slave labor of African Americans brought to our county, institutions developed the means to separate white and black men. Specifically, white slave owners placed African American slaves in a subhuman position to maintain slaves' place on their land and in society. White men's

beliefs and practices were controlled by an economic system that depended upon production and the power of the slave system. Beliefs in the inferior status of the black race soon moved from positions of lore and myth to societal truths accepted by the greater public. “By law and custom the master exerted enormous power over his slaves, who were required to show proper obedience and respect him” (Bardaglio, 1995, p. 28). In this way, the social construct of race controlled public opinion regarding slaves and an oppressed race of people. Throughout this period, sentiments of southern (white) society were extended to the literate public of the entire nation through publications and news articles. One such example is the publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s (1852) *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. Jabari Asim (2007) describes the popularity and propaganda of this book as:

By 1862 there was one copy of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* for every four or five readers in America. The unprecedented popularity of such a book – in which blacks are repeatedly described as “niggers” and “creatures” and shown to be incapable of any independent action besides praying – inevitably strengthened the myth of Negro inferiority. (p. 71)

Although *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* was only one of the many forms of racist literature, it had lasting effects by characterizing the African American population as “poor,” “simple,” or “dependent” to a larger population than those owning slaves. Thus, these articles and books, along with other forms of propaganda such as photographs or plays, helped to refine a racist attitude in the minds of many Americans, both northerners and southerners.

As the Civil War swept across southern states, the mentality of white men and women did not change over night; feelings of hatred and racial superiority had taken

many years to develop and would not crumble under the crash of the Confederacy. In fact, the ill feelings of racism held true throughout Reconstruction and, in many cases, still remain across parts of the South. The aftermath of the Civil War hit the slave owning population with an iron fist; the economy of the South was in turmoil. Field laborers were roaming the land in search of loved ones and better opportunities. Families were shattered from injuries and deaths suffered in the war. From all angles, the traditional patriarchy that had maintained the southern way of life was challenged—socially, economically, politically, and racially. Through this turmoil and conflict rose a population of men and women looking for opportunity, freedom, and a new way of life.

Just as relationships between owners and slaves had varied from plantation to plantation before the war, the interactions during Reconstruction were similarly mixed. Savannah and Charleston were unique cities in terms of race relations because many African Americans functioned within the day-to-day society of these cities as professionals, often associated with the jobs at the port. Thus, within these cities, precedence for racial cooperation was already in place. “Race relations in Savannah were not cast in a monolithic mold. Although there was often racial violence in the political arena and discrimination against blacks in the courts and in some jobs, there were also areas of racial cooperation” (Perdue, 1971, p. 5). Although not stated by Perdue, I think that the movement of free people of both races in and out of the port of Savannah facilitated different racial tolerance within the city than in other areas. In other areas explored in this research, though, the isolation of people and ideas did not permit similar sympathies and perspectives as those of some Savannah residents. Over time, Savannah

would become like so many other southern locations as relations would later vary based on the greater political movements and outside influences of particular time periods.

First, the relations between former white slave owners and the freedmen were often negotiated over the success of contracts to maintain agricultural production on plantations. One perspective on this relationship popular in history texts is that some former owners felt that the former slaves could not exist without their support and control. Coincidentally, two individuals writing in the 1950s take up this position in reference to the white southern men. First, Marjorie H. Parker (1954) writes, “Many of the native whites carried over from the pre-war days, a feeling of protective superiority toward the Negro” (p. 17). Although this protective nature may have been a motivation or intention of the southern white male, I strongly assume that this “protective” influence may have been fostered by feelings of racial superiority and a need to keep freedmen in an inferior state. A more prominent feeling, though, is described in the work of another author. Guion Griffis Johnson (1957) also discusses the perspective of the southern white as:

The whole white race as a whole must protect the black race as a whole from the machinations of bad white men such as a federal agents or Northern missionaries who preached social equality, or even from bad Southern white men who took advantage of the Negro’s weakness. (p. 489)

Johnson attributes the actions of the former owners as a defense for the “poor” freedmen who were unable to care for themselves against the negative outside influences. In fact, white philanthropists symbolized a different perspective of slavery and a chance for freedmen to learn and fight for equal rights within economic negotiations and society.

The northern men and women were a threat to the patriarchal power that maintained slavery through oppressive power.

Conflicts surrounding relationships between the former owners and freedmen were high as communities of free African Americans were formed and institutions of education for the African American population were established throughout the southern states. In most cases, “Tangible signs of the new emerging black communities infuriated most southern whites” (Jones, Wood, Borstelmann, May, & Ruiz, 2008, p. 365).

Although the white population may have accepted some freedom of the former slaves due to the end of the war, they were not supportive or comfortable with the idea of equal opportunities in society. In particular, the white population were concerned with educational institutions for fear of educating the freedmen as to their rights as citizens of the country. “Southern whites were generally hostile to the idea of giving blacks an education commensurate with republican citizenship” (Tyack & Lowe, 1986, p. 242). Whites could more easily maintain their power and place in society through oppression of non-whites. This resistance for giving equal and fair opportunities to the freedmen was brought into society in various forms.

Resistance to the progress of freedmen was obvious in southern society as southern white individuals acted against the freedoms of the former slaves. First, they directly acted against educational opportunities and the corresponding involvement of northern teachers. John Hope Franklin (1994) believes that “The hostility to the education of freedmen was a part of the scheme to keep the whites superior. . . The opposition to the Freedmen’s Bureau was based, in part, on resentment against its education program” (p. 51). This resistance manifested in society as the southern whites refused to contribute

land or funds and enacted laws to prohibit the freedmen from attending the same schools as white children. Furthermore, this resistance was disguised from the freedmen themselves through actions against the white teachers and philanthropic organizations who sought to provide the educational opportunities.

The second type of resistance was not of as immediate concern to the freedmen after the Civil War due to the involvement of Union soldiers in many cities to provide security and rations. Over time, though, physical violence against the freedmen would become more prevalent and eventually manifest in the prominence of the KKK and lynching within southern society. “To maintain a brutal form of white supremacy, planters, bankers, cotton factors, merchants, and clergymen were forced to act creatively and violently, in the process enlisting the support of whites of modest means” (Jones, 2008, p. 24). One of the most unsettling accounts of support for physical violence was seen in I. W. Avery’s (1881) publication. In his text, Avery first provides comments upon the removal of Union troops as forms of protection. By January of 1866, “Large numbers of Federal soldiers had been withdrawn from the State, leaving the people without the protection of their authority and arms. . . the courts were not in sufficient punitive operation” (Avery, 1881, p. 354). He then goes on to situate himself as part of the southern white society as he acknowledges that he shared in the work of the KKK in Georgia. Avery (1881) describes this involvement and resistance against freedmen as:

The Klan was a veritable body, founded in a holy object and often prostituted to violence under great provocation. The writer knew all about it, and shared in its legitimate work. It combined the best men of the State, old, virtuous, settled,

cautious citizens. Its object was the preservation of order and the protection of society. (p. 382)

In these words, Avery condones acts of violence and intimidation, which characterized many interactions between white males and African Americans in southern societies during Reconstruction. That these men would act as their own police shows the lack of control in communities or the state and the deep motivation to maintain white superiority while attempting to regain the patriarchal society that had come to pass. The actions of white members of the southern society and KKK would be documented to include unprovoked attacks on freedmen, the return of slave owners to former plantations to kidnap families and workers, murder of freedmen through lynching and hanging, and destruction of property, including schools constructed by freedmen.

The statements in Avery's text startled me when reading the frankness and self-conviction when describing his involvement in KKK activities. When acknowledging the time period of publication within the 19th century, the author is merely documenting his perspective as well as that of much of the southern society during that time period. His words mirror the sentiment of southern white society and provide a primary resource into the contextual history of the time period. Current research on race notes the invisibility of whiteness and privilege in society, but these words are a stark reminder of overt racism and harm done through words. It is from this resource that I would cautiously turn to my archives to analyze the words of the women, recognizing the tension and conflict that was not always hidden or disguised in society during that time period.

These descriptions of resistance between the southern, white community and the freedmen are not presented to state that all interactions were hostile. There are multiple

instances of agreement and support for educational efforts in the 19th century. Some members of the public were willing to compromise on educational efforts because they felt that “the acquisition of literacy skills was less reprehensible than Yankee education” (Jones, 1980/1992, p. 79). Land owners even went as far as donating land for schools in order to attract freedmen as workers to their land. In other examples, women, including widows, were willing to teach in southern schools in order financially support family even while facing harsh criticism from the local community members. In each of these examples, political and economic needs determined the viewpoint on educating freedmen for some southern men and women. In these cases, the attempts to provide schooling were also not documented to be for democratic means. It must be remembered, though, that even though efforts were made to provide educational opportunities, they were not equal to conditions for white southern children in schools.

The relationships between members of the white and black races in the South immediately after the Civil War are mixed due to the many circumstances that were particular to the location. Many of the details cited above exist and are recorded in current literature because there is such a large amount of primary sources from the time period. Although there is a larger amount of information on the feelings of the former slave owners, less information is known about the white working class citizens. These individuals, unable to own land or slaves and often of the same socio-economic position as the freedmen, occupied another part of society—both politically and socially. Therefore, the particularities of the circumstances often determined how white and black individuals of lower economic status interacted along race lines.

Although examples of text such as that of Avery illustrates the viewpoints of the southern male who had previously owned slaves, little archival evidence exists to represent the opinions of the working class white population. In the new socio-economic plans of Reconstruction, working class whites vied for the same jobs as the former slaves. This was a drastic change in comparison to the conditions before the Civil War when the white individuals had more opportunities for employment while being able to move freely for work. Additionally, working-class individuals had previously been separated from the middle and upper class by receiving limited services from “free schools” and other public institutions, thus casting members of the white working class as separate in the greater society. “Like the Negroes, these people were poor and uneducated” (Parker, 1954, p. 17). Now that freedmen were given similar opportunities in free education, the white working class was placed within a similar class as freedmen. Parker (1954) and Thompson (1964) are two authors who mention this dynamic in their work and similarly express a negative perspective. First, Thompson (1964) writes in reference to the working class as, “This class of the white population feared the negro and hated him, whereas the negro felt and showed profound contempt for ‘poor white trash’” (p. 130). Parker (1954), too, describes ill feelings between working class whites and African Americans as, “the dislike of having anything like social equality with the Negro thrust upon them was always present—a feeling which later developed or may have been promoted, into racial antagonism” (p. 17). Both quotes provide clear documentation that race relations in Reconstruction between white working class and freedmen were less than hospitable. As both groups occupied the same strata of society, conflict arose.

Members of the working, white, southern class did not fit into the middle or upper white class while also finding conflict with the freedmen. Interestingly, this group was spoken of in traveler's stories for their inability to fit the expectations of northern society. Members of the lower class did not fit norms of whiteness and were Othered in southern society, like Irish, Poles, and Jews in northern states. From myths of grandeur and elegance that permeated propaganda, northerners sometimes held the idea that all southern white women were expected to exemplify grace and beauty. In contrast to that expectation, interactions between northern travelers or missionaries and the white working class population formed rifts in these beliefs. For example, Jamie Winders (2003) describes:

Northern travelers, particularly Northern men, went to great lengths to discuss poor white Southern women. At the same time, however, they went to great lengths to separate themselves from these poor white women, who were typically contrasted with middle-class white Northern women represented as the bearers of "civilization" and "decorum." (p. 49)

For missionaries or travelers, the expectation was to travel to the South to assist in the lives of the "poor" and "childlike" African Americans. The needs of the white population went against beliefs in white superiority and the American way of life where equal opportunities abounded for all to live happily in a material world. Thus, because of the feelings of northern and southern, white, middle- and upper-class individuals, this portion of the population was ignored and forgotten, receiving little to no educational opportunities or financial assistance after the Civil War despite equally poor living conditions.

Northern Missionaries and Teachers' Positions

The typical view that many have toward the men and women who went to the South to assist with the Freedmen's Bureau and various missionary societies is that these agents of the government worked in the best interest of the freedmen to provide assistance. This perspective was particularly evident in the work of historians such as Jones (1980/1992) and Butchart (1980) who published early in their careers. It is true that the teachers risked personal comforts and safety to provide educational experiences while also assisting with relief services and the signing of work contracts. Nevertheless, a more detailed look into the circumstances of the assistance and curriculum provides a picture that contrasts the benevolent assistance that has often been interpreted.

This shift in thinking has not been taken up until recently by authors such as Sarah Dalmas Jonsberg (2002) and Butchart (2010) as they questioned the intentions of the female teachers. As described previously, Butchart's (2010) text marks a transition from his previous work as he notes the need to revisit historical memory. In Jonsberg's text, she challenges the perception of the northern teachers as "Models or Monsters?" Specifically, she writes:

They were by no means all "missionaries" dedicated to bringing "true religion" to a barbarous people, as is often assumed; yet even the best were at least passive racists, for they brought and imposed upon their students values grounded in dominant European ideology and triumphant Yankee capitalism. (p. 75)

In this passage, she takes a stabbing accusation by going as far as to labeling all teachers as racists for their curricular decisions. This allegation is difficult for me to address because of my desire to represent the intentions of the women upon which this research is

focused. On the other hand, I feel that it is absolutely necessary to discuss the words and actions of the teachers against the context of the historical time period later in this chapter. Although I seek to be fair in my assessments of the teachers' lives, the explicit descriptions of intentions and metaphors used in language reveal intentions that could not be separated from the women's identities and their lives within the classroom.

I want to believe in the good will of the teachers despite the different time period and social conditions. On the other hand, the archival evidence points to actions, words, and thoughts that were not based upon our current notions of equality and freedom. Instead, the women were products of their cultural milieu and acted from these convictions. I caution to agree whole-heartedly with Jonsberg in saying that all white, female, middle-class teachers were racist against African Americans. In fact, some teachers adamantly fought for the equal rights and freedoms for African Americans while dedicating their life's work to the cause. Furthermore, there were several well-known and respected African American teachers, including the Sea Island's Charlotte Forten, who worked side by side with northern, white teachers to create schools. Nevertheless, I question if such examples are adequate to demonstrate a woman's open-mindedness in terms of race or if these situations are enough to show a positive change in an individual.

To examine the perspective of the teachers, one must look at the social conditions of the time period in northern society. "Racial categories, for all their historical pervasiveness, have not been fixed through time. Those identified as 'people of color' have changed according to political circumstance" (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 2004, p. 316). The authors go on to describe that members of different ethnicities or faiths, such as southern Europeans, Irish, Catholic or Jews were considered

“Other” by white, Protestant men and women prior to the Civil War. In fact, some of the teachers compared the freedmen to those of Irish descent in letters and reports. Just as members of the African American race were considered “Other” based on the color of their skin, members of other minority groups were labeled according to grouping strategies in society. Whiteness normalized society and Othered many groups on social constructions of culture based on race. Although the social labeling of other groups changed in history, members of the African American race were always relegated to the lowest level. The construction of African Americans as Other subjected them to the lowest societal position possible for a human while this belief was supported historically by science and religion as well as social stereotypes and fictional constructions.

Northern society in the mid to late 19th century was based upon a system of differences. “While exploring the competing ideologies, it is important to recall that nineteenth-century white America almost universally subscribed to some racial theory to explain perceived differences in traits and conditions of ethnic and racial groups” (Butchart, 1980, pp. 14-15). Such cultural knowledge and experience would have defined expectations for the northern women to remain separate from these cultural Others. These expectations were learned by example in northern society-including school, religious institutions, and communities. In this way, power structures created separate social realms in which the women were educated and socialized, away from members of different groups. These circumstances conveyed notions of inequality and difference to the women and may have even prevented the women from meeting African Americans before traveling to southern states.

Perspectives held by the women were learned explicitly from the institutions in which they were associated. First, many of the women were acquainted with abolitionists who spoke openly within northern communities to interest supporters to join the cause. The work of such individuals has been questioned for their interpretations of freedom and equity for all in society. Butchart (1980) remarks, “Even the strongest abolitionists held racist views” (p. 15). Second, missionary associations such as the AMA conveyed racist messages in their interactions with groups when looking for financial support. “An AMA spokesman raising funds in Scotland noted the national peril posed by the four million Catholics who had the franchise in American” (Butchart, 1980, p. 37). Although the missionary association targeted white immigrants based upon religion in contrast to African Americans, the distinction was again made between the normalized majority and the inferior minorities. Lastly, after the women made the decision to move South, the overt messages of northern Bureau officials often conveyed racist messages. In one example, Jones (2008) documents that Risley, a Bureau official serving in coastal Georgia, dictated that, “they [the teachers] should not interact with blacks outside the classroom, even on missions of mercy to individual households” (p. 300). This explicit statement symbolized separation not only of teachers and students physically but also the inferior status of freedmen as less than equal socially.

These circumstances imbedded racist notions of inequality regarding both the ability of the freedmen to learn as well as their social capacity as members of the community. Although not explicitly stated in many circumstances, the women’s actions spoke clearly as they chose to not eat at the same table as an African American nor room in the same Bureau sponsored home. It is essential to remember that such cultural

separations based upon race were apparent in northern states, too, as members of the minority race were not permitted to enter hotels to schools occupied by whites. Social constructions of whiteness permeated 19th century society—both North and South—and continue today despite progress in other aspects of society. These distinctions make it apparent that the separation of members of the African American race, immigrants, or religious minorities from the white members of northern society was built upon socially constructed lines that defined those as different as “Other.” These lines were not drawn upon difference of skin color but included other distinctions. This blurs the line of the meaning of race during the 19th century and complicates such a discussion surrounding this topic. Instead, one must consider both the cultural construction of the difference in the society and the social implications or power held by members of the white race during that time.

From the Ashes Rises Hope

When I began to read historical reports of the Freedmen’s Bureau schools, the texts documented a band of missionaries who traveled south to begin, build, and fight for the educational rights of the freedmen. After reading more accounts, it became evident that these versions of history were not accurately representing all perspective of events that took place during this time period. In fact, members of the African American race were insistent upon educational opportunities and fought for the schools separate from the efforts of northern aid associations. Communities requested school buildings, supplies, teachers, and books. In Savannah, a school was even begun in the Bryan Slave

Mart—a building formerly used by the slave owning population to buy and sell slaves. What isn't told in many of the history books is that this school was started immediately after slaves were declared free in the city by leaders of the African American churches; white “saviors” were not involved in this momentous effort.

Recording the achievements of members of the African American population in regard to initial efforts for education is often ignored from history books. Some authors such as Foner (1988) and Pinar (2004) argue that education in southern states was an African American idea fought for throughout the late 19th century. Although I do believe that it is necessary to compile a record of the efforts and successes of the African American community during the Civil War and Reconstruction, the task is beyond the scope of my research. Therefore it is not my intention to provide a comprehensive historical record of the various achievements of the freedmen but instead to provide details of various perspectives of the educational rationale of the freedmen to contrast the purpose of the teachers. This description will serve as a contextual background into the efforts of the freedmen themselves.

Purposes for Education

When the Emancipation Proclamation declared the slaves free, the words symbolized a departure from the constraints and power of the slave holding population. Although many clandestine schools had operated before and during the Civil War, the initial social and political confusion allowed for opportunities to be held by leaders to establish schools exclusively for freedmen. White men were concerned with reorganizing necessary aspects of southern life while paying little attention to peaceful actions of the freedmen. I find that the movements to create schools demonstrated the strongly

embedded desire for education in the communities as education became a priority even with dire conditions for food, clothing, and shelter. Despite separated families and desolate conditions, schools were started and maintained by the former slaves.

One reason often given for the immediate organization of the schools was that the freedmen sought to gather knowledge previously forbidden, especially reading, by the slave owning population. This served as an act of resistance against the white slave owners as the written word was thought to hold truths withheld during slavery.

“Education was a means of breaking out of the confines of ignorance that had served the masters’ interests so well, a means of thinking and acting on one’s own” (Jones, 1980/1992, p. 59). This desire for knowledge from the written word that would guide one’s life was more symbolic in the eyes of the patriarchal southern society; slave owners saw education as a means to knowledge and a chance at freedoms that needed to be controlled in society to ensure economic and political power was still in the hands of the white population. Reading meant knowledge, and knowledge creates power. The white population could not permit the freedmen to acquire the knowledge to gain the freedoms that were forbidden in slavery.

The freedmen desired education for many reasons. For one, freedmen sought educational opportunities that would allow the men and women to work in jobs that didn’t require the toil and labor of the field. “The chief ambition among a large proportion of them was to get an education so that they would not have to work any longer with their hands” (Washington, 1995, p. 62). This movement away from the conditions of slavery was also a shift toward a life that would provide for the family economically in ways that had been previously impossible. “Black parents made a direct

link between schooling and upward mobility” (Williams, 2002, p. 375). Slavery created a system whereby all material possessions or supplies were given meagerly by the slave owner. With political freedom came the opportunity to take part in ownership of land and the subsequent growth of one’s material possessions. This progress could only take place, though, through the buying of goods and the management of one’s money. In this way, knowledge was sought that would assist with the economic components of a society in which the freedmen had no experience. They were joining a different cultural world in which they required a new skill set and while simultaneously developing a sense of their new position in that society.

Education also provided opportunities to take part in religious and political institutions. “Ex-slaves wanted to read the Good Book, all of it and not just the safe portions that their mistresses or masters had recited to them. And blacks, as they made clear in the Reconstruction conventions” (Tyack, James, & Benavot, 1987, p. 137). In many recollections of learning to read, authors site older men and women, desirous of learning to read the Bible. During times of slavery, most priests were provided by the white slave owners while some religious leaders even owned slaves themselves (Jacobs, 2006). This political position created institutions in which the religious leaders preached from the perspective of a slave owning population. Reading now provided an opportunity to read the whole Bible for the message of God, not the interpretation of the slave owners. For example, "A woman came with a prayer-book, asking to be taught to read it. We told her we would teach her willingly, but it would be some time before she could read that. She was satisfied" (Ames, 1906, p. 31). In this account of a Freedmen’s Bureau teacher, she reports the patience of a woman in her desire to read the Bible and her

eagerness to become a student at a later age. Just as the freedmen understood that the Bible held religious knowledge, freedmen became aware that in order to participate in political events, another set of knowledge needed to be acquired. Later in the late 1860s and 1870s, as freedmen recognized the opportunities for upward mobility through economic means, they too sought to take part in the political decisions of their government. For this reason, the school occupied a position of authority that would allow members of the race to acquire the skills and knowledge to partake in those institutions. "They were still eager to keep their children in school, saying, 'We are too old to run that race; the children must learn for us'" (Botume, 1892, p. 274). In this account, Botume reports the words of a parent and symbolizes the faith placed in educational institutions to prepare children for various roles in society. Again, recognition is made that the African American community desired specific knowledge beyond the technical skills taught in sewing schools that would lead to successful participation in social and political institutions within the US society. Furthermore, the selection highlights that the desire to have children educated was fueled by a yearning for future leaders that would move the nation forward from times of slavery.

I caution, though, that although freedmen had ambitions for participation in religious and political realms, they were still seeking participation in institutions controlled by northern, white power. Gaining literacy for active participation in these institutions would also take time during which the former slaves were still oppressed within institutions throughout society. The means through which this education took place varied as different types of opportunities were provided. Elizabeth Jacoway (1980)

describes that some schooling was instruction in the traditional subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic. She writes:

For many of the freedmen, education and freedom were synonymous; no matter how inappropriate a classical education may have been to their circumstances, they demanded the same schooling that white southerners had received before the war as both a badge and a guarantee of their freedom. (p. 27)

Although education was previously mentioned as a form of resistance against the white population, parents simultaneously desired opportunities that were equal to those provided to the white children regardless of the practicality of the lessons in the daily lives of the freedmen. While some parents sought traditional learning opportunities, other parents and students sought education that could be used immediately in their lives. From this desire, industrial and sewing schools were created that enforced skills and labors that were applicable to daily life and jobs. One of the most recognized supporters of this movement was Washington. He states, “Each year had been getting closer to the real needs and conditions of our people; that the industrial teaching, as well as that of the academic department, had greatly improved” (Washington, 1995, p. 45). Whether the freedmen desired traditional learning or industrial training depended upon their own circumstances and the influences within that particular community. In the coming years, the associations that would come to provide support would also have their own agendas regarding the curricula of the schools. These different opinions on the focus of education are still relevant to today’s classrooms. Although I am not particularly versed in the arguments for both types of education, I do know that my father was the product of a technical high school. This type of education did not provide the literacy skills necessary

for participation in certain jobs in society. It did, however, provide the instruction in the skills needed to fix and repair the machines and systems needed for his business. When something breaks around the house, he can fix it. From my personal experiences, I acknowledge the value of technical training for some students as a means for economic opportunity in today's society.

Although the freedmen's purpose for education and means of providing such opportunities varied, one thing that remained constant was the respect and reverence given for leaders of the African American community. "In the Black World, the Preacher and Teacher embodied once the ideals of this people, -the strife for another and a juster world, the vague dream of righteousness, the mystery of knowing" (DuBois, 1903/1994, p. 50). It is this preacher and teacher that were depended upon to provide guidance and knowledge within the schools immediately after the Civil War. This desire to have African Americans as teachers in schools is presented in some texts as a refusal to accept the help of white missionaries and teachers (Jones, 1980/1992). Although the assistance was resisted, it was done so in faith of their race and a suspicion in the goals of white men and women—the same race that had maintained slavery for so many years. Teachers, whether white or black, were selected by parents for the teacher's morals and values which most closely represented those of the family or community. For example, "a colored teacher, who has quite a flourishing school, near us in addition to ours. The people are denominational and this teacher belonging to one of the sects. He gets all children belonging to families of his faith" (Gerrish, 1869, March 13, ¶ 5). In this case, the teacher gained interest from families and pupils because of religious affiliation, a cultural symbol within the local community. I feel as though a reaction that looks at

refusal of white assistance communicates a learned perspective of the need for white power and institutions while questioning capabilities and knowledge of other groups. Acceptance of a black teacher over a white woman was interpreted by white community members, or even later by historians, as selecting lessons from an uncivilized or unmoral instructor rather than acceptance of the righteousness and glory of the white teacher to communicate morals and values that were accepted by the white population.

Religious institutions provided educational opportunities for their communities in two other ways as documented in the reports of the teachers. First, religious institutions openly sought teachers to occupy positions within schools while offering to monetarily compensate the teachers. For example, Colburn reports her acceptance of a position with a school in rural Georgia. She reported to the Freedmen's Bureau, "I have just received a proposal from the Union Church Sabbath School in Dorchester which I hasten to communicate. They write to assume the support of a teacher to the freed men, and have invited me to accept" (Colburn, ca. 1865, May, ¶ 1). Just as the African American communities provided supported formal institutions for children, they also organized schools for community leaders. This interest in religious instruction for leaders is supported by an example of a teacher who aided the freedmen in their goals. Burt (1867, April 6) writes:

I attend the Theological School three nights per week. But the friends come for us in a carriage. This school I enjoy very much. The young men are so anxious to learn so respectful & kind to us, we feel it a great privilege to assist them. (¶ 4)

This example describes the interest of the community leaders in education and the position of the teacher, like Burt, in helping the freedmen attain their goals. From the

quote, I interpret that the teachers were utilized to aid with instruction at the school while the organization of the opportunity was prepared by the freedmen to serve their religious intentions. In both examples, the reports show that the teachers aided communities in achieving education through the opportunities organized by the freedmen themselves.

When looking at the reports of the teachers, there were several statements that illustrated the deep desire for learning of children. Since schools were not present on all plantations, expectations of parents were not clear as related to the process and time required to learn to read as a child. Instead, the parents desired the highest attainment of success and the best opportunities and for all individuals to have the same chance at learning. Russell (1867, Nov. 19) describes the goals of education as, "yet they managed an eagerness to learn—they don't know why, they want to learn or what, the desire seems to be a sort of blind instinct" (§ 4). I caution the reader that in this selection I do not believe the mockery of the tone carries through to the reader as in other parts of this same letter. When Russell describes a lack of awareness of the details and content of educational opportunities, I believe this may have been true for some freedmen immediately after the war. I believe that it is difficult if not impossible to know what to expect from a new situation or experience without having some background knowledge. In the case of the freedmen immediately after emancipation, a blind faith would have been placed in the desire to progress and the knowledge gained from the classroom was to be a guide for that growth. The second example comes from a mother's faith in a school without clear knowledge of the structure of the institution. Botume (1892) describes this experience as:

The children of this woman were amongst the first to enter a freedmen's school during the war. The youngest, a boy, was really entered when a baby in his sister's arms, and was only allowed to remain because his nurse could not come without him. As soon as he could walk his mother complained he did not know anything. When he was three years old she was bitterly disappointed that he could not read. (p. 7)

I chose this account because it clearly shows a misunderstanding in the possibilities for schooling in the 1860s. The mother assumed that attendance meant knowledge of the written word while the teachers were incapable of teaching such a young child to read in a room most likely full of more than 100 students of varying ability with limited instructional time. This example illustrates expectations of a family that did not meet the capabilities and organizational framework of the school institution.

The goals of the freedmen to provide and seek out educational opportunities for men, women, and children shows a desire for growth and a faith in the opportunities provided by learning opportunities in a classroom. The specific goals and purposes for educational opportunities varied due to the cultural influences in the lives of the men and women from place to place. In a community such as Savannah, many free African Americans worked in various industries before the Civil War which required various types of skilled labor and training. These opportunities and the corresponding educational needs were different, though, for the freedmen occupying rural areas of Georgia or the Sea Islands of South Carolina since the economy depended primarily upon the cultivation of crops. Therefore, purposes of education varied for the freedmen based upon the economic and political freedoms that were granted even before the Civil War. Assistance

of the Freedmen's Bureau, missionary associations, and teachers that was available during the Civil War primarily provided the resources and communication to first assist the leaders who had already begun schools in communities across southern states. For the reasons listed above and the unwavering faith in the opportunities provided, the freedmen are often credited within beginning the foundation for the southern school system.

DuBois (1903/1994) describes:

The greatest success of the Freedmen's Bureau lay in the planting of the free school among Negroes, and the idea of free elementary education among all classes in the South. . . And the South was not wholly wrong; for education among all kinds of men always has had, and always will have, an element of danger and revolution, of dissatisfaction and discontent. (p. 20)

It is not to say that the journey to the public schooling was a smooth road; as described by DuBois, the voyage was often detoured by conflict and turmoil.

Educating a Different Race

The breadth of archives that were examined for this research produced a variety of texts created by many different teachers in many different locations across several years. In some cases, as time elapsed, the teachers' perspectives and viewpoints shifted. This shift, though, worked both for and against the educational opportunities for the freedmen. Jones accurately summarizes these changes in perspective as, "It would be inaccurate to suggest that the teachers went south as racists and then underwent a change of heart when they saw how well their pupils learned. In fact, the cause might have been

nearly the reverse” (Jones, 1980/1992, pp. 117-118). In many cases, the short duration of a teaching career did not allow for shifts in one’s perspective to be documented. In other instances, the duration of teacher’s careers demonstrate how the experiences in southern society and school influenced the teachers.

My discussion of the teachers’ influences along lines of race begins with this notion of change because between 1860 and 1880 there were different types of education conducted within Freedmen’s Bureau schools. In addition, one teacher may have changed perspectives to teach from different orientations during that time period. Although all teachers were united in the common movement of providing schooling, it was done under different methods to include an emulation of a Common School, a Sabbath School, a sewing school, and finally an industrial school. Watkins (1993, Fall) addresses these varying orientations to curriculum for African Americans throughout history in his journal article titled “Black Curriculum Orientations: A Preliminary Inquiry.”

To begin the discussion, Watkins (1993, Fall) comments, “Curriculum theorizing in the mainstream community is the product of an interaction between natural intellectual inquiry and sociopolitical forces” (p. 322). There is no doubt that the freedmen provided the natural interest and ambition to learn from the educational experiences offered. The sociopolitical forces at work, though, provided different opportunities depending upon social, political, and religious circumstances of both time and place. In this article, Watkins goes on to frame African American education one of several different “Black Curriculum Orientations” for the students. Each curricular purpose was characterized with particular qualities and a shared purpose between proponents of the effort. I use this framework to provide a way of organizing the intentions and actions of Freedmen’s

Bureau teachers in regard to the ways in which they educated based upon race. Specifically, I give examples of teachers' curricular decisions and explore the ways in which the women's actions are labeled through Watkins' orientations. Although the women were influenced by differing components of religious, social, or political institutions, there were common themes in the efforts of the teachers and associated Bureau officials.

One orientation is functionalism. During slavery, opportunities took place that included religious instruction, apprenticeships in occupations such as selected labors or commercial activities, operations of clandestine schools, and efforts of selected white slave owners. As these occasions arose, they provided the fundamentals of education that were needed for survival in one's particular place in society. "Consistent with colonial education, functionalism is typically basic, largely oral, and frequently includes folklore as part of the curriculum. Learning occurred through imitation, recitation, memorization, and demonstration" (Watkins, 1993, p. 324). Watkins points out that as schools became established and education more formal, there were still instances of functionalism that arose in Sabbath Schools and normal schools as teachers sought to impart basic knowledge of religion or social expectations to the freedmen. Although not explicitly stated by Watkins, I think that much of the early instruction in most schools probably surrounded basic knowledge as many of the students did not have any knowledge of the written word or basic math skills. In addition, many Freedmen's Bureau schools often included basic religious instruction and prayers that would traditionally be offered in the Sabbath Schools. Although these curricular decisions were heavily influenced by social and political institutions, including Freedmen's Bureau leaders or sponsoring aid

agencies, there must have been some formal instruction in the beginning months that helped to prepare the students for their immediate participation in their new social world.

Another orientation discussed by Watkins is accommodationism. Most often described for mirroring the “Hampton-Tuskegee” model of education, accommodationism “emphasized vocational training, physical/manual labor, character building, and a social science package” (Watkins, 1993, p. 324) that directs freedmen to a position of subservience in the southern society. Watkins notes that this mode of instruction is traditionally associated with the time period following Reconstruction, I believe that the hidden curriculum of many schools focused on character building to reinforce notions of class and racial oppression. For example, the teachers openly professed their own religious norms and values while openly denying the folklore and beliefs of the freedmen including the hag and other aspects of worship. One example that illustrates this disregard for folklore is described by Towne (1912) as:

One of my old women was nearly killed the other night by a man who went to her house at dead of night and beat her because she “hagged” him. . . . But I could not convince him that “Mom Charlotte” did not go every night to his house and “hag” him. (p. 186)

Towne’s refusal to accept the folklore of the African Americans resulted in her attempts to deny their existence. In other archive documents, her dialogue toward freedmen openly denies the folklore and cultural history of the freedmen through her words and actions. She operated from her position of power to deny the cultural history and traditions of the community in which she served. In this manner, accommodationism occurred in the schools through both explicit instruction in the industrial schools and hidden aspects of

classroom education as teachers attempted to eradicate cultural history while normalizing beliefs and behaviors.

The third curriculum orientation relative to this research is a liberal education orientation. This position was different from fundamentalism and accommodationism as it focused upon a liberal democratic culture instead of the oppressive and subservient conditions associated with slavery and racial prejudice (Watkins, 1993, p. 328). “Black liberal education placed much significance on leadership. It strove to educate teachers, preachers, civil servants and others who would be committed to the ideals of the liberal democratic state” (Watkins, 1993, p. 328). Characteristics of this approach included free expression and the development of the individual as an intellectual. Unlike the previous orientations, educators did not attempt to replace cultural knowledge or social behaviors with norms of northern white society. Differences between the races were minimized as it was assumed that freedmen learned like white counterparts, and instruction focused on traditional academic subjects as in northern schools for white students. This type of schooling was established to include advanced subjects such as geography and a foreign language such as French or Latin. Implicit in this orientation were positions of empowerment that were attractive to abolitionists who focused upon ideas of equity and freedom within the African American communities.

The orientations described help to examine the different ways in which educational opportunities were constructed during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Like educational institutions today, curricular decisions were made by leadership of social and political institutions as well as the teachers’ daily choices within the classroom. I find these orientations to be particularly helpful because they connect the

actions of the teachers and Bureau officials to the institutional power held by both factors. Nevertheless, educational purposes were not always agreed upon by all participants. Education through a particular curriculum orientation paired with the purpose and goals of the freedmen themselves created a complicated milieu that was played out in the instructional setting, much like in today's public schools.

Competing Methods

When teachers moved from northern homes, they carried ideologies and cultural expectations regarding education. Each woman's set of goals for her classroom was influenced by her own educational experience, religious upbringing, social exchanges with community members and abolitionists, and even her family's expectation for her career. Since women moved to the Sea Islands and coastal Georgia from a variety of towns in New England or the mid-Atlantic states, they brought a variety of perspectives to the area. Although women had knowledge of their own personal educational experiences, most had little to no exposure to teaching or speaking with African Americans because of segregation within northern society in the 19th century. This lack of understanding was compounded further because of the diverse needs of the student population, including both adults and children, who had only recently been freed from the bonds of slavery. Therefore, the path to establishing organized schools was marked by confusion.

The women dealt with the confusion of their position in different ways. Although some women utilized experiences from teaching in northern schools, others sought guidance from the relief organizations and Freedmen's Bureau. Early in Botume's (1892) text, she comments on the lack of success of a companion teacher despite her advanced

level of training in preparation for her assignment. She describes, “Miss Fannie had come fresh from school, full of zeal, and with many theories for the advancement of the contrabands [freedmen]. But this was an unexplored field, requiring a line of action not mapped out in any book” (Botume, 1892, p. 91). Despite Miss Fannie’s education at Mount Holyoke, a popular northern institution for teacher preparation in the 19th century, her knowledge as to how to teach the freedmen was unfortunately inadequate for the conditions she encountered upon moving to South Carolina. This example demonstrates that although the women may have had good intentions, they were ill prepared for the circumstances in the southern location. Botume (1892) again makes remarks about the lack of understanding of how to aid the freedmen despite steady attendance and the dedication of the teachers. She writes:

School continued with a degree of regularity. The children came early, and the men and women hurried from their field-work at noon, all more and more eager “for larn.” To know how to educate and elevate this peculiar race was a serious problem for us to solve. (p. 195)

Due to the structure of her publication, it is impossible to know how long she had been living in the South when this statement was made. Nevertheless, this comment is important because she questions the methods necessary to include both men and women, young and old within the educational experiences of the time, even after working within the field for a time period and gaining the opinions of educated women such as Miss Fannie. Furthermore, she notes that the purpose was to both provide education and to “elevate” the freedmen in society. The distinction made between education and “elevating” the people to northern, white norms for behavior displays a recognition of the

difference between educational and societal expectations as this woman grows in understanding the social and political circumstances of her position.

Although some women acknowledged or questioned the effectiveness of various methods and styles of teaching, other women dedicated efforts to creating northern styles of teaching in the southern locations. These women mimicked the model of graded schools in the north despite the large numbers of more than 150 students in one school and the students' lack of any prior, formal educational experiences. Hancock (1937/1956) comments upon this situation as:

It looks formidable in the morning, to see in the yard one hundred and fifty children, who must be assembled and brought into order by three teachers. We assemble in one of the rooms below the stairs, and read a portion of the Bible to them, and ask them questions upon it. After the opening exercises we separate to our respective rooms, and commence the lessons for the day. The attendance and interest of the scholars continue so good, that we are able to make promotions, and keep up a thoroughly graded school. (p. 277)

This example gives insight into the basic agenda of the school day in addition to the emulation of a traditional educational model. Although the school was "graded" it must be remembered that the capacity of this school would have served little more than to fulfill a basic elementary level instruction. Furthermore, the order of the school and classroom structure conveyed the women's expectations for conduct and obedience that was taught through the hidden curriculum as the children we expected to sit neatly in rows and participated in the day by reciting lessons for the teacher. In this manner, many

female teachers imparted their northern expectations for the schools by creating a culture of order and obedience to create a graded model.

In reports and letters to Freedmen's Bureau officials and relief aid associations, women reported the accomplishments of their southern students in comparison to northern students. In some cases, women dedicated passages to the progress and performance of the students in overall conduct or a specific subject. For example, one woman writes, "Those who remain are very orderly and studious. More so than any children I ever taught at the north. One class of eight who were spelling words of two letters six weeks ago are not reading well" (Littlefield, 1866, Feb., ¶ 2). In another case, a teacher writes, "I teach the three best classes in school and I have steamed up with them just exactly as the children I taught at the Bridge, the only difference is they are more interested and decidedly smarter" (Hancock, 1937/1956, p. 221). Both of these women dedicate portions of communication to highlight the achievements and the ability of the freedmen in educational matters. Although we cannot accurately compare the actual achievements of students when comparing northern and southern schools in the 19th century, it is important to remember the political reasons for highlighting the capabilities of the students. Each woman's salary and other financial obligations of the school year were paid for by an association or the federal government. Therefore, the continued success of their employment was dependent upon their ability to interest the northern agencies in the advancements of the African American race. This complicates an interpretation of the women's opinion or experiences as the purpose of the letter may have been for personal economic gain.

In a similar manner, teachers also highlighted progress of the students in terms of qualities that exemplified a civilized society including neatness and obedience. "The girls do look beautifully; every little girl has a long apron made of that gingham, done and on already. They look almost as if they were in uniform" (Hancock, 1937/1956, p. 260). This quote speaks to the generosity of northern benefactors in donating the gingham to create the uniforms as well as creating an image of a unified student body, far removed from the desolation of slavery. From a different perspective, this quote alludes to the ways in which the students were expected to be orderly and mannerly in the classroom—matching the expectation for order by the power structures. This focus upon the appearance of the freedmen shows a lack of emphasis on the academic portion of the school day while instead supporting the appearance of the African American race. In these examples, the women did more than merely report the advancements made by students; the women served their student body by reporting positive qualities to northern leaders to secure financial support for the coming years. Furthermore, they solidified their place within the power structure to convey northern white norms in a war torn land.

Black Curriculum Orientations

While some women struggled to find adequate means to educate the freedmen of all ages, other women fought for opportunities for men and women of all ages. With these diverse interests in mind, schools were created to educate children during the day, adults at night, and all freedmen in Sabbath Schools. In some cases, women taught in more than one school under the support of different agencies or institutions. For example a woman could teach for a relief agency by day and attend to a Sabbath School for a specific church each Sunday. Each school, and furthermore each teacher, expressed its

own curricular orientation that determined the content of instruction and the intentions of the hidden curriculum. For these reasons, there were multiple black curriculum orientations that were conveyed in classrooms during the 1860s.

While much attention is paid within historical texts that devote content to schools that taught school-aged freedmen throughout southern states, I would like to add to that perspective by noting that a sizeable number of women attempted to create and maintain night schools for adults. Since the economy of the Sea Islands and coastal Georgia confined those of working age to the fields during the day, opportunities were made to educate that portion of the population at night (Putnam, 1867, Dec. 15, ¶ 1). These attempts are important because the teachers were not contracted to provide these additional lessons by northern or government agencies. In addition, the lessons sometimes took place at the homes of the teachers themselves or even in the homes of the freedmen. For example, Carter (1863, Jan. 22) writes, "Our present plan is to teach as many children as we can gather in a morning school, going into the cabins in the afternoon to instruct adults" (¶ 5). In another case, a teacher sponsored by a Baptist organization appealed to her agency to provide for better opportunities than those offered. Mather (1867, Dec. 9) writes:

My special object in writing you now is to propose to you that a school for adults be established in Beaufort. Mr. Newcomb a Methodist clergyman here sent out by the Methodist Missionary Association has commenced a pay school for adults but the poor people are not able to pay, they want to learn but have no means of supporting a school. (¶ 3)

Mather's document is significant because it shows an attempt to provide opportunities for a different portion of the population that desired education. More importantly, Mather recognized the financial plight of the freedmen and the missed opportunity to educate a portion of the adult population. Whether it was providing night schools for men and women or appealing to a relief agency for support, teachers worked to extend opportunities to adults as well as children. This is significant in the historical context because the adults would have the most immediate impact upon the political and economic institutions in which they were a part. Adults were part of the transformation of the present circumstances and were a solution to the problems that persisted after slavery was abolished.

Just as the freedmen sought educational opportunities to provide different sets of knowledge, teachers acted in deliberate ways to impart different information. Regardless of the age of scholars, the teachers acted with deliberation in reference to their class's curriculum. In reference to Watkins' (1993) orientations, the efforts of the teachers throughout the Sea Islands and coastal Georgia demonstrated mixed intentions to include functionalism, accommodationism, and a liberal education orientation. In the following section, I will describe how teachers acted to implement their curriculum, sometimes matching the needs and desires of the freedmen while also implementing their own cultural expectations within the classroom setting.

Historical texts sometimes provide a representation of the success of the Freedmen's Bureau schools to include little more than basic knowledge. As the freedmen seldom had education in the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic, these fundamental, elementary level skills would have been foundational for the freedmen. In fact, some saw

that their purpose in the classroom was to provide these skills however limited the knowledge was. As illustrated by Mary A. Burnett (1868, Jan. 7), "I feel that a great responsibility rests on me in laying the foundation of all their future knowledge" (§ 5). In many schools, several factors contributed to the students' inability to move beyond this fundamental level of education. Schools often were not held for more than seven months out of a year. Many teachers moved between communities creating inconsistencies in the educational efforts of a school. Men, women, and children were all needed in the fields, especially during planting time when school was neglected for the economic demands of contracts and a family's food source. Finally, the education of the classroom was marred by the cultural misunderstandings and conflicts of the teachers and students.

As noted by Watkins (1993), a functionalist orientation to curriculum for African Americans also includes basic instruction in religion. This purpose of schools in the 1860s is documented and illustrated by portrayals of the female teachers as "soldiers" and "saviors" in the work of historians such as Jones (1980/1992) and Butchart (1980). This sentiment was also shared by some teachers as they openly professed their purpose as the moral and religious uplift of the freedmen. For example, Caroline H. Merrick (1868, Nov. 24) describes her feelings as, "There is one thing needed in our family. . . that is—the presence and power of the Holy Spirit. We ought to be something more than mere teachers of secular learning. We ought to be missionaries" (§ 8). Merrick, like several other teachers, took up the task of working to provide religious instruction in addition to the academic skills within the classroom. In other cases, religious instruction was a shared effort between the women and relief agencies as they worked simultaneously to spread Christianity through the African American population. Abbie W. Johnson (1869,

Dec. 25) describes her acceptance of an order from her support agency. She writes, "A talk with Mr. Strieby settled the matter and I pursue my former course only that I make the growth and interests of this Church a specialty" (§ 1). An example such as this complicates an interpretation of the teachers' curriculum orientations because the teachers had to simultaneously navigate their personal convictions while meeting the requirements of relief agencies. In this case, the teacher accepted the dictates of the agency and made religious education a priority.

As the women provided religious instruction to the freedmen, they acted through the cultural expectations of their own religious faith or that of the sponsoring agency. Such attempts to provide fundamental instruction in matters of spirituality and faith were enacted in two ways. First, instruction in the classroom would have included daily prayer and moral lessons. For example, Schofield communicates an example of how she encouraged her children to think of their actions through a moral light as she writes, "Do you ever pray for each other, when you think one of your playmates has done wrong?" (Schofield, n.d.a, § 1) This example demonstrates a commitment to provide values through the classroom and interactions between teacher and student. In this manner, the teacher explicitly conveyed messages related to the moral instruction of the children. Other examples demonstrate that the teachers provided religious instruction by participating in Sabbath Schools. Carter explains that the Sabbath School in which she taught regularly included instruction by three teachers. "We have two classes who read in the Testament and the remainder are instructed orally. I have never seen children so earnest and patient in learning to read the Word of God" (Carter, 1863, Dec. 12, § 4). This instruction demonstrates the functionalist orientation as it conveyed religious ideas

through oral instruction. Another example also describes religious instruction as, "I read the Bible, and other good books to them and assist them to read for themselves that are able to do so. They seem to enjoy it so much" (Johnson, 1868, Feb. 3, ¶ 2). It is important to remember that this type of instruction is a product of the social context of the time period because most freedmen were illiterate at the end of the Civil War while some students would have been able to read texts independently toward the later years of the 1860s. Nevertheless, the attention paid to the instruction regarding moral and religious values demonstrates the prominent role that this played in the functionalist orientation during the 1860s.

The idea of moral instruction and character education is a very difficult topic for some teachers both in the past and present. The women in the 19th century schools were attempting to teach the freedmen courtesy and kindness for one another despite memories of the horrible conditions of slavery. These aspects of instruction are a necessity in all classrooms, regardless of time and place, as we must teach students kindness, consideration, and forgiveness. This topic becomes more explicit as the accommodationist stance looks toward the character education of the child. It is at this point that the discussion can take upon two paths. First, teachers provide basics of character education that includes shared aspects of humanity such as Schofield's example from above. This is part of the role of any teacher to encourage respect for all of humanity. On the other hand the 19th century women conveyed notions of character to include punctuality, organization, cleanliness, and discipline that were directly influenced by the northern women's cultural expectations. Northern society valued religious instruction because of the intention to civilize the "wild" freedmen. The character of the

female teachers and students was assessed by authority figures and community members to meet these societal and cultural expectations. Although this can be described as a black curriculum orientation, this latter description of character education is also an aspect of culture as controlled by expectations of northern society. Systems in the 19th century sought to extend their normalized view of students onto the freedmen and used schools as tools to deliver this message.

The religious instruction sometimes moved beyond basic oral teaching in southern schools during the 19th century. Some teachers record efforts to educate the freedmen for occupations within the African American community. Helen B. Sharp writes from Savannah, Georgia that the religious influence within her area moved beyond basic oral instruction traditionally found in Sabbath Schools. Sharp (1869, May 4) writes:

A number of our scholars have been converted; we have held prayer meetings with them nearly every afternoon for three weeks. Some of the converts are young men of my own school, the most promising of them, are going to Atlanta in the fall to fit themselves for teachers or preachers. (§ 3)

Like other teachers such as Wilkins (1868, Jan. 7, § 1), Sharp mentions the occurrence of conversions within her community and the future influence of these freedmen as religious leaders. This curriculum demonstrates a movement in the orientation of the teachers beyond functionalist approaches to that of accommodation. In such cases, teachers sought overall character development of the freedmen and especially so for those who would become leaders within their own community. This curricular orientation is limiting to the best and brightest because it constrained the opportunities for educated African Americans to acceptable roles as teachers or preachers. Furthermore, it limited the

African Americans to those positions and denominations supported by the white teachers and corresponding institutions. Much like women in the 19th century, these roles were acceptable to the white men in power and while still limiting the individual from participation in greater social or political institutions. Mather (1867, Nov. 15) further speaks to this effort as she notes that upon arrival in Beaufort, South Carolina, she noticed that "strong in the faith that these poor down trodden half starved freedmen can be enlightened, educated, elevated and become good loyal productive citizens and earnest Christians" (¶ 1). As the widow of a Baptist minister, Mather moved to the Sea Islands with a clear orientation to the moral uplift of the freedmen beyond basic instruction. Her devotion to this orientation was clearly evident in this quote and the accompanying document as it is one of the first that exists after her move to the area.

Just as Mather attempted to build the character of the freedmen to match those of northern ideals, the purpose of instruction followed an accommodationist orientation in several other cases. In each of the examples, the curriculum orientation of the teacher is demonstrated to convey expectations for the freedmen to meet northern requirements for participation in society. This orientation includes instruction for one's role within the economic system, one's influence on the changing political system, and the emergence of industrial education in the southern schools.

While religious instruction was a daily component of many classrooms, teachers may not have directly conveyed lessons of economics in the same way. Instead, lessons in economics were often part of interactions between teachers and community members, invisible supporters of the systems created and maintained by white power. One key way in which the teachers did so was through distribution of goods that were sent by relief

organizations to the teachers. Although some teachers gave articles of clothing, food, or other small material goods to the freedmen, many required a system of payment including bartering for eggs, fruit, vegetables, and livestock. Mary F. Putnam (1868, March 2) describes this type of trade as:

The "Stepping Stones" [a children's book] took the eyes of the children very much and it was a very novel and pleasing sight to see them come one after another with a chicken under the arm to pay for the delightful treasure with square cover and nice pictures opposite each lesson. (¶ 2)

In this description, the value of one book was equivalent to one chicken, a piece of livestock of value to the child's family for daily food. In other cases, teachers would accept items of increasing worth for compensation. These interactions problematize the notion of relief aid on the part of the teachers as the freedmen were required to give something of great value from the family's possessions in spite of destitute conditions on the Sea Islands. This system tied the work of the freedmen to an economic system in which they received payment for work in the fields in exchange for basic necessities such as food and clothing. Towne (1912) describes this role as, "The fact is that every man has thought it his duty to inculcate the necessity of continuing to work" (p. 20). In this passage, Towne describes how she perceived the duty of the teachers and leaders to communicate economic expectations to the freedmen. She further acted to continue the economic position of the freedmen by hiring servants in her home for low wages throughout all her years in South Carolina and buying a cotton producing plantation for her own gain. These examples demonstrate an accommodationist orientation to the curriculum of the teachers, whether directly conveyed through spoken language or

enacted through interactions with the freedmen. By placing the already burdened freedmen in a position where they had to monetarily pay for basic goods, the women promoted northern capitalist structures while maintaining a power structure where the freedmen were dependent upon whites for necessities.

The cultural position of the teachers regarding the economic curriculum of education was directly tied to the political momentum of the northern society and federal government. If growth of the nation was to take place after the destruction of the Civil War and loss of millions of dollars in capital for southern slaveholders, the economic system of the South needed to be reestablished successfully by using the manpower of the freedmen to harvest crops throughout the South. This movement would only be successful, though, if the freedmen assumed their former roles as laborers with the question of how to monetarily compensate the freedmen for their work. As teachers included lessons regarding the political circumstances in their classrooms, they did so from an accommodationist orientation. Several examples were recorded by the teachers as they explained such interactions in their classrooms. In one example, Ware (1969) lectures the freedmen as to their role in society as:

Compared them to the Israelites coming out of Egypt, as in a transition state in which everything depended upon themselves—they must not behave so ill that God would make them wander forty years in the wilderness instead of reaching Canaan in eighteen months. It was pleasant to see their interest. (p. 50)

In this example, the teacher describes that the freedmen must work for themselves without depending on others for assistance. This example supports the actions of other teachers as they required the freedmen to financially provide for basic necessities while

living in horrible conditions lefts from times of slavery. Furthermore, it places significance upon the power of a higher being to condemn them to such a place of destitution. This metaphor is interesting to me as the teacher gives God the power for changing the social and economic situation instead of the federal or state governments, including the Freedmen's Bureau, to provide essential items for the men and women. The freedmen are taught that they are in a low place in society due to God, not the real cause of oppression by whites.

In other examples, teachers give illustrations of instruction that highlighted the accommodationist orientation related to politics in the southern society. These examples focus on more specific examples related to membership in southern communities and the whole nation. Sarah H. Champney describes how she worked with a Superintendent of Schools from Bainbridge, Georgia to teach the freedmen expectations for political participation in meetings. She writes that Mr. Clark "came here & formed an Educational Ass; the object of it was to teach them how to carry on business meetings & to raise money to defray the expenses of the school, & help support the teachers" (Champney, 1869, March 29, ¶ 2). I classify this orientation as accommodationist because at the beginning, the purpose seemed to signify political participation in meetings within the community. The following communication, though, placed more emphasis upon the needs of the freedmen to financially support the mission of the schools and perspective of the teachers. Mr. Clark was overtly expressing the freedmen's need to comply with and support the efforts of the white "saviors." This time period is significant, as the early 1870s would prove to be a time period of transition as state governments began to assume the governing power of the schools instead of relief agencies. Another example speaks

more toward the inclusion of freedmen in the political society of the time. Hancock (1937/1956) describes her curriculum orientation as:

To educate these people so they will have the intelligence to stand up for their own rights seems to be a plain duty before us. So that they will not be compelled to lean upon the protecting arm of Gen. Saxton or any other white man. (p. 196)

She also goes on to explain that she taught the students the names of presidents of the nation and characterized Johnson [the current president] as he “does not amount to much” (p. 235). This orientation is different from Champney’s example because it speaks to the freedmen’s participation in society at a level more equal to those of white citizens. I do not claim true equity in this case because the freedmen were still oppressed in society. Therefore, this example would likely illustrate a liberal orientation as Hancock advocated for active participation and improvement of a person’s political position in society.

Each of these examples demonstrates a teacher’s different viewpoint on the position of the freedmen in present and future participation in the social and political world. These aspects of education are necessary to discuss when addressing educational inequalities because of the lasting impact of the teacher’s messages in the lives of the freedmen. The orientation of the teacher was directly conveyed through instruction and daily interactions and corresponded to her own cultural, social, and political expectations for the freedmen. I have provided contrasting views from different teachers to show that the educational movement of the 19th century was influenced by each teacher’s unique orientation and personal purpose. This remains the same today as each teacher negotiates his or her own cultural perspective within educational institutions. Education is a field

that is heavily influenced by the cultural lives of both the students and teachers as well as the power of institutions.

The focus of educational efforts shifted throughout the 1860s on both the Sea Islands and in Coastal Georgia. In the beginning, the focus was upon opening schools and providing necessary instruction in rudimentary reading skills. As established schools were full to capacity and an interest was still exhibited, teachers sought more opportunities for new schools and, in some cases, less control by the relief agency. Lane (1865, April 4) expresses interest in beginning a new school under her guidance and structure which was described as, "The Portland Church will be read for me to occupy, that is, it will be enclosed and Brother Tarber has given me permission to occupy it. It is then my intention to open a free school in the afternoon" (¶ 1). This example serves a departure from earlier reports as Lane suggests the structure of the school while being sure to note that she expected to offer a free school instead of requiring tuition as was becoming regular during the mid 1860s. Furthermore, she independently arranged the use of a building with the community members to ensure the successful opening of this opportunity. This is one example to show that by the mid-1860s, a movement was occurring in some communities in which the freedmen had increasing influence on the curriculum of the schools while eliminating the direct influence of northern agencies.

Another shift was documented in 1866 as multiple women report beginning industrial or sewing schools throughout the region (Douglass, 1866, Feb. 1, ¶ 1; Gaylord, 1866, Feb. 12, ¶ 2; Botume, 1892, p. 236). Although credit is sometimes given to the creation of institutions such as Hampton and Tuskegee, the organization of such schools was already beginning in the southern states in the 1860s. Teaching within schools in

both Savannah and the Sea Islands of South Carolina, the female teachers were likely influenced by changing social or political influences of both the freedmen and white leaders that sought to prepare freedmen for industries beyond the field. Some teachers, such as Gaylord (1866, Feb. 12), document the success of their programs as, "My Industrial School at Savannah is in a very flourishing condition. It meets twice a week and the garments made are given first to its members who are needy" (¶ 2). This example shows both an interest in the program and the teacher's desire to assist freedmen in attaining clothing for families. In this way, freedmen had the opportunity to learn sewing skills while also gaining the material products needed in the changing society. In another example, the teacher speaks much more directly to the purpose of these methods. Botume (1892) describes her purpose for teaching within the Industrial Schools as, "We were convinced that plenty to eat would harmonize and Christianize them faster than hymns and sermons; and that needles and thread and soap and decent clothing were the best educators, and would civilize sooner than book knowledge" (p. 236). This example is one of the most direct reports of the orientation of a teacher as Botume clearly establishes her perspective in the Freedmen's Bureau school. This description accompanied reports of struggles to satisfy the desire of freedmen through sewing schools in her community, further demonstrating differences in cultural expectations between mothers and teachers. Although looking initially at this document for the curriculum orientation of the teacher, one cannot help but to notice the political significance of this individual as she seeks to "civilize" the freedmen in her community. The comment is the second example in this research by Botume that is both politically charged and shows a direct racial perspective of the teacher.

Other movements occurred within small communities as teachers were able to act with their personal conviction. One example is the work of Towne and Murray in St. Helena, South Carolina to establish a temperance society in the community. Towne (1912) describes the establishment and success of this movement as:

We were afraid when we first started it that our big boys would not join, for the whiskey-shop influence was great; but now all have come in, -every one, I think. We have regular meetings every fortnight. . . we have taught the children lots of temperance songs, and now we are beginning to have regular amusement—that is, original compositions on Temperance read, and pieces spoken; some one, too, makes a speech. (pp. 216-217)

This example of the work of Towne and Murray demonstrate their curricular decisions to communicate their own moral values to the freedmen which would have been justified as character building under an accommodationist orientation. From a societal and political standpoint, the temperance society served to convey moral values of the white teachers that contrasted those of the students and their communities. This example demonstrates how the teachers enacted their own culture through instruction and activities while supporting their work for the greater good of the community.

The final example of growth over time is one of the few documented instances which I found to be of a liberal curriculum orientation. As interest of northern women lessened while the demand for teachers increased, some saw a solution in the power of members of the African American community to teach in the schools. To be best prepared, men and women often helped in established schools as a type of training for such occupations. Shearman and Mather both describe their efforts to intellectually

develop teachers. Shearman (1867, Feb. 7) writes, "My idea is that it is more important to teach the people how to teach than to teach them simply how to read & this can only be done by making them teach before us" (§ 1). This example explains that instruction was adapted to ensure that the teachers were proficient in their delivery of lessons to guarantee success. On the other hand, Mather took a different approach. "In the spring, I hope to select a class from the highest departments of schools here, and put them through a course of training to make teachers of them" (Mather, 1867, Nov. 15, § 2). In this example, Mather describes her goal to make certain of educational attainment by teaching select students at a higher level that would be necessary for their future roles. This was a unique stance because it focused upon the individual needs of the group and ensured personal growth. As the training opportunities became consistent, the effect would have been a highly educated group capable of instruction beyond a functionalist orientation.

In each of the examples, the orientation and corresponding actions or words of the teacher is clear to demonstrate their position. In some cases, the orientation may have met the needs and desires of the freedmen in that particular community. On the other hand, in the case of Towne and Murray's temperance society and Botume's goal of a "civilized" society, expectations for the freedmen were generated by the cultural experiences of the teachers themselves as northern, middle-class, white women. These examples are important to teachers both in the past and present because they demonstrate how a teacher's own orientation can be enacted through their interactions with students and the curriculum of the classroom. Although today's classrooms have standards that are to be followed at each grade level, the teacher still has the autonomy to choose resources and interact daily with the student population. These freedoms, although lessened each year

by regulations and monitoring, give the teacher the power to enact one's orientation in the classroom each day. This must be acknowledged in today's classrooms to understand both the successes and failures of our school systems, particularly in cases where the cultural expectations of students, parents, teachers, and school systems clash.

A Critical Look at Teachers' Actions

When I began reading the teachers' stories, I was struck by the language and metaphors used by women. After critically thinking about the ways in which the teachers interacted with the freedmen on a daily basis, I was drawn to question the intentions of the teachers each day. The passages given above serve to provide competing examples of curriculum in the classrooms and demonstrate how the curricular orientation may have reflected the teacher's own cultural way of life. On the other hand, a greater concern still exists in my mind related to the interactions between the white teachers and African American community. Were teachers racist or cultural products of their own environments? This question can only be explored by looking critically at specific words and actions in contrast to the social milieu of the time period.

One way to examine the racist positions of Freedmen's Bureau officials and teachers is to look at the documented interactions between white teachers and members of the African American population. In texts written by historians on the teaching of freedmen, many authors are cautious in discussing racial conflicts or acts of racism; rarely do the authors cite specific and problematic archives that demonstrate the actions or words of the women themselves. This creates a misrepresentation of historical memory

as a portion of the events from the time period are ignored or forgotten by the greater public. Jones and Butchart mention overt acts of racism in portions of their texts. Jones (1980/1992) writes, “Some teachers went south with preconceived notions about black people and their ability to learn, though of course they never revealed ‘their own strong prejudice on account of color’ during the application process” (Jones, 1980/1992, p. 117). This example and the subsequent text does not directly implicate teachers in racist acts, but instead delicately uses the word “prejudice” to explain that the teachers were ill prepared to face differences in culture between teacher and student. Butchart similarly brings up problems involving racial intolerance, but like Jones he fails to critically address the root of the problem. In one example, Butchart addresses the language used in published periodicals to illustrate racism in the 19th century. Butchart (1980) describes as:

Racism, however, is even more clearly spelled out in the text of the periodical itself. Blacks were referred to as Aunt Deborah or Uncle Toby, or “Beckie, Sam’s wife,” but whites were accorded the honor of a title: Mr. Stanly, Miss Allen. White children were babies or children; black children were pickaninnies. Blacks were only to be workers, to be plantation hands, to continue to live in the old slave quarters in many cases. They were depicted as still dependent upon the benevolent, paternalistic assistance of the white southerner. (p. 144)

This example is an important piece of contextual evidence that demonstrates the type of language and cultural expectations that were prevalent and may have influenced teachers. On the other hand, Butchart brings attention to the use of such language, but does not

include or even mention examples from the archives that report the similar occurrences as they related to the teachers or Freedmen's Bureau agents themselves.

More direct acts of racism by teachers or institutions were also recorded yet are rarely entered into published history. One obvious example is the dismissal of African American teachers as the schools of Savannah were taken over by the American Missionary Association in 1866. Although the African American teachers and leaders had started and maintained the schools, even during the Civil War, they were immediately dismissed based on their race by the white leaders. Marshall (1866, May 1) writes about this series of events in a letter as:

I commenced teaching in the Bryan School April 16th. Since the opening of the schools after the recent vacation Mr. Cooley changed the location of most of the teachers and at his request I took charge of the school formerly help by Mr. Porter and Assistants, under the Savannah Educational Association. Miss Case acting as my Assistant has charge of the Primary Dept. but the whole school join in the opening and closing exercises. I hardly know what to say about the school. I am laboring under so many disadvantages. (¶ 2)

As Marshall describes the dismissal of the founding teachers, including leaders of the African American community, she goes on to criticize the grammar and usage of the English language by the teachers and students. In this act of power, she removes the significance of the establishment of this school by African Americans instead of celebrating the unity and determination of the leaders to create such an institution. Second, she exerts her privilege over the teachers by criticizing their speech by stating the disadvantages to her teaching position are to help students understand the meaning of

punctuation and intonation in reading. Her cultural frame of reference has taught her to value the standard curriculum of a northern classroom while devaluing the accomplishments and knowledge of the people themselves.

In a similar use of white privilege, although there was a shortage of qualified teachers, the AMA hesitated to place African American men or women in many schools. “With so many freedmen seeking an education, Northern school officials in many cases were willing to assign native blacks to teach in beginning classes even though these men and women might not measure up to the usual standards” (Morris, 1976, p. 97). This example also supports the standpoint that the organization would allow the African American teachers in rural schools, often where they were afraid to send white teachers. This separation of races is also evident as African American teachers were required to board in separate homes from white teachers (Wisensfeld, 1991, p. 499). Although these actions are symbolic of the leaders of the Freedmen’s Bureau and missionary associations, they are closely related to the racist actions and beliefs of the teachers themselves as they would have been carried out by the teachers in absence of Freedmen’s Bureau leaders. Each example demonstrates a racist stance of leaders and teachers which devalues African American teachers. Whites are privileged and employed while blacks are devalued and oppressed, both in society and in the southern economy.

Lastly, another example that is recorded in history texts of several teachers is the preference for light skinned children, again a symbol of support for white superiority. Williams (2002) directly records these feelings as, “Some teachers empathized with light-skinned, mixed-race children who had been enslaved” (p. 382). He also supports these actions by the explaining the beliefs of the teachers as, “It was perfectly conceivable to

these abolitionists that mulattos, by virtue of being partially white, could have a higher capacity to learn” (Williams, 2002, p. 380). Although only one description, the details show the racist position of some teachers and the value placed on the white race in Reconstruction. Each of these examples serves to show that although the southern population is traditionally regarded for racist tendencies, northern teachers and missionaries shared similar views.

Racism versus Racist Perspectives

When the northern women were transported to South Carolina and Georgia, usually by boat, they entered a world in which they had little experience. In most northern cities and rural towns, white middle-class women would have little to no interaction with African Americans. Although there were free blacks throughout northern states, society did not grant these individuals the same freedoms as whites. Embedded in the interactions of the women and freedmen were instances of cultural collisions as the women negotiated their new relationships with members of a different race. Furthermore, each word and action was influenced by the cultural frame of reference the woman carried with her from her cultural past.

The differences found in experiencing members of the African American race was so important to the teachers that several commented on this first experiences in writing. First, some comment on the most immediate differences of language and appearance. For example, Ware (1969) writes, "We are not used to these people—it is even very difficult to understand what they say. . . They are black as the blackest, and perfect children—docile” (p. 21). Although Ware’s comment has a negative undertone as she calls the freedmen submissive children, the content also notes the difference in physical

appearance of skin tone among the students. Another teacher similarly acknowledges difficulties in seeing physical differences among members of the non-white race. "I am becoming very much interested in my pupils; it was some time before I could learn their names, their faces looking so alike, -which caused me considerable trouble" (Gerrish, 1869, March 13, ¶ 2). Gerrish's comment was meaningful to me because I admittedly had difficulty identifying differences in my African American students. I still find myself nervous when other teachers are describing children by the tone of skin or the type of hair the student has for fear of both embarrassing me and offending the student. Although this lack of cultural understanding is part of my upbringing, it is something that I am hesitant to address with coworkers or students. Although I already know that I am criticized for the rigorous expectations of my curriculum and classroom practices, I shy from added comments from colleagues who may view me as less than prepared to address cultural differences. I have worked feverishly in the last six years to attain degrees and certificate upgrades to educate myself yet these traditional learning experiences are second rate to the experiences of life.

Teachers similarly noted the appearance of mulatto students in the classrooms and society. During the time period, these individuals held a unique place in society since they were part white but not accepted in white society. Mulatto children were only eligible to attend Freedmen's Bureau schools or similar educational offerings because they were considered non-white. Botume (1892) describes meeting a man as, "He was very light, with straight red hair and a sandy complexion, and I mistook him for an Irishman" (p. 82). This description is noteworthy because the teacher compared the mulatto to an Irishman—an immigrant who was regarded as a lower class in northern

society at the time, another group considered non-white in 19th century northern society. This mistake can be inferred as Botume placing a negative label on the man based solely on appearance. Furthermore, by comparing the man to an Irishman, she is attempting to label the individual according to social criteria of the time period. Similarly, Hancock (1937/1956) describes the ability of the students based on race as, "I am sure you could but laugh to see what a tight grip they take of their primers. I like the extremely black children much better than the mulattoes" (p. 213). In fact, the response to this question may have been a response to a monthly report that required all teachers to respond if they felt as though mulatto children learned better than other freedmen of different skin tone. This questioning by Bureau officials and responses by teachers demonstrates the lack of awareness and understanding toward members of the African American race by northern leaders and teachers. In this manner, the northern white leaders sought answers to biological questions of race related to the capabilities of non-whites.

The purpose of this section is not to label all teachers as racist or to criticize the actions or thoughts of these individuals. In fact, some women devoted their whole lives toward the improvement of conditions for the freedmen. In other cases, letters record positive qualities of the freedmen observed through social and religious interactions. For example, Putnam (1868, March 2) writes, "The Negroes are a very religious people and there is a great deal that is emotions in their piety" (¶ 8). Schofield (n.d.b) comments similarly when she writes, "They are the most wonderful readers of human nature. . . their faith in God makes them the most peaceable and unrevengeful race on this earth" (p. 7). The comments by these women demonstrate the positive human qualities of the

freedmen that are otherwise ignored or criticized by the teachers. Religion and peaceful existence were important qualities to guide the freedmen forward from times of slavery.

Just as teachers commented upon the positive social character traits of their children and the greater community, they also described an interest in education and progress made in these settings. This interest is described by Martha Johnson (1868, Feb. 3) as she records the physical labors of the children to attend school. She writes, "they love school, come with smiling faces, eager for their lessons, although they have had a two miles walk with bare feet, sometimes stop to warm on the sunny side of the school house before entering" (¶ 1). Other comments relate specifically to progress as measured by the teachers. There are two cautions, though, that I find when reading these examples. For one, there is no doubt that some teachers recorded the changes in the school and school-aged population to demonstrate their own value, both physically and economically. Second, many reports regarded progress based upon the students' successes in attaining northern values of timeliness and obedience, not educational attainment. One instance is described by Ames (1906) as, "We already see a change in the appearance of our scholars. They are cleaner, and though wearing the same garments the rents are sewed up and patches are put on" (p. 223). In another example, Hancock (1937/1956) similarly describes the change in her pupils as, "The school has been changed from a mob to an orderly school; the children from ragged, filthy children to clothed and tolerably clean ones" (p. 258). The interest of the teachers on values of obedience, discipline, and cleanliness makes me reflect on my own experiences of teaching in a southern school where I am mandated to have my students walk in straight lines on the right of the hall and to comply strictly with a uniform that forbids un-tucked

shirts and individuality. While yes, I acknowledge the need for common respect among all stakeholders—including parents, teachers, students, and administration, I have seen instances in which the authority figure causes arguments and educational disruptions in the classroom setting over prescribed norms. I do not see a young lady's pink belt and hair bow or a young man's Guy Harvey belt as a distraction in my classroom worthy of spending time and energy fighting, yet these are the standards to which I am held by the institution in charge of my employment.

I give these previous examples to demonstrate a conflict that arises when educators are expected to uphold the ideals or values of an institution over their own cultural expectations. While I do not wish to delve further into the power that is held by such institutions, I instead look specifically at the teachers' own actions or reactions as a display of their own cultural perspectives related to race. Some women go into great detail to characterize the freedmen according to their perceived weaknesses and inabilities. Botume (1937/1856) describes that, "The slaves of the town were mostly a merry, rollicking set, active and alert. The country people and field-hands were more apathetic. They were, apparently, indifferent, unobservant, and uncommunicative" (p. 5). Towne (1912) describes a similar population on the Sea Islands as, "The poor, downhearted, 'confused' negroes are already in better spirits from having a little decent clothing to put on, with a prospect of more coming" (p. 38). These negative characteristics portray the freedmen as a childlike and unintelligent class of people incapable of hard work and learning. Other teachers go as far as to openly label individuals as exhibiting childlike qualities (Ware, 1969, p. 212), as the "most ignorant & degraded of all this ignorant & degraded race" (Russell, 1867, Nov. 19, ¶ 4), and as

"simple minded people" (Littlefield, 1866, Feb. 1, ¶ 10). The words stated by the teachers are given as examples to show the racist attitudes of the teachers during their time spent in the southern states. These descriptors support northern perspectives of the freedmen as uncivilized. Some have come to question if the viewpoints of the teachers changed through knowledge gained in their experiences with the freedmen. Butchart (1980) even suggests that providing positive opportunities would alter the viewpoints of the public, including teachers as he writes, "Prejudice sprang from a lack of contact between the races and from the degraded social condition of the freed blacks, it was assumed. Provide positive contacts, alter the social conditions, and blacks would earn respect in the free market" (p. 22). Although understanding and growth of the nation was the purpose related to racist interactions, quite the contrary is documented in the letters of the teachers. Botume and Towne, in later correspondence years into their roles, continue to use negative terms to describe the freedmen. Russell and Littlefield left the coastal region after only one year of teaching. Although idealistic, the words of Butchart have been proven to not happen as these examples demonstrate that growth did not take place through classroom experiences with members of a different race, a shared exchange of cultural knowledge, or an understanding of new people. Instead, the women remained rooted in their convictions grown through experiences and lack of diversity within their white upbringing.

When the women did not openly express racist comments toward the freedmen, they used other language to describe their religious practices and habits that alluded to their African heritage. Jones (1980) questions whether the actions and comments of the teachers were driven by cultural misunderstandings instead of racist tendencies, but I

have stated previously that the continual use of terminology over a lengthy period of time suggests the continued racist viewpoints of the teachers. Furthermore, the terms used to describe the African American culture alluded to the belief that the freedmen were taken from the wild of Africa to be contained by the power of slavery while it was believed that the job of the teachers and Bureau agents to civilize and tame the former slaves (Douglass, 1866, Feb. 1, ¶ 4). Both Towne and Ware, teachers described as dedicated to the cause of the freedmen due to their consistent dedication over many years, use the terms “savage” and “strange” to characterize the cultural practices of the freedmen. Towne (1912) describes the arrival at church as, “the most picturesque sight to see the mules tied in the woods and the oddly dressed negroes crowing in. Inside it was stranger still, the turbans or bare heads, the jetty faces, and uncouth forms were all wild” (Towne, 1912, p. 22). Although the freedmen gathered to church to partake in religious celebrations, Towne comments on the traditions maintained by the freedmen that included traditional dress and turbans. Ware (1969) similarly describes an instance of interacting with an elder of the community in which she worked. She wrote:

I had sent for the “Widow Bedotte,” to whom I presented some tobacco and who was very funny indeed. She is in her right mind and delights in making herself agreeable. I wish I could describe to you this extraordinary specimen of humanity—all her wool carefully concealed by an enormous turban, from beneath each side of which hung four black strings, looking like an imitation frissette of false curls, her odd figure enveloped in shawl and cape, rubbing her hands nervously and sinking into the floor, as it seemed, as she curtsyed to us lower

than I ever saw anybody go and get up again straight. And then her conversation and manner were as comical as her appearance. (pp. 192-193)

After describing the physical appearance of the woman for the characteristics that were different from her own, Ware comments upon her manner of speaking. More specifically, the elder—this “specimen”—was observed by the teacher and described like a foreign species being detected for the first time. This description places the cultural differences of another human being as something to be critiqued and analyzed. The woman was described for her differences from the norm—those characteristics of the northern white teacher. In additional archives, the word “specimen” is used repeatedly in letters and reports (Ware, 1969, p. 123; Towne, 1912, p. 35) to show an interpreted privilege over the degraded freedmen. As an additional example, Lane (1864, July 28) writes, "I am getting very much interested in there people. Not but what some of them are very low specimens but others seem quite intelligent" (§ 4). This use of vocabulary gives a scientific connotation as widespread beliefs of the time used science to maintain that different races were products of different ancestry. Historical thought of the time period examined African Americans as a race with qualities different from that of the white race. Therefore, when the women used such language, they were examining the actions of individuals to represent the whole race; characteristics of one represented the whole group. Although these words comment upon the social world of the teachers, they cannot be ignored in discussions of race in the 19th century. The women’s cultural identity was influenced by all aspects of their life, including religious, social, and political interactions with the community. Furthermore, teachers are not capable of turning their racist

perspective on and off at the classroom door. An individual's cultural frame of reference is part of personal teaching practices each day.

The words of the women in describing the freedmen are not the only evidence of racial discrimination in the southern communities. Several women comment upon an inability to associate with freedmen in their physical environment. This included an unwillingness to travel in the same mode of transportation and a refusal to board or take meals in the company of an African American (Owen, 1869, Oct. 28, ¶ 3). A more extreme situation was described by a teacher vacationing on a coastal island for the summer months. Living in a hut surrounded by water at high tide, the teacher's resources were limited to those naturally occurring in her area. Ames (1906) describes an event during this summer as:

Our great need is drinking water. There is an open cistern back of the house; this we used till a party of our colored visitors in a frolic threw their hats into it. A burly old darky waded in and fished them out, and since then we have used water-melons to quench our thirst. (p. 102)

The refusal of this woman to use the water touched by an African American cites the racist attitude that classified all members of the race as a lower class with vile qualities. The exposure of the water was like a poison to the woman. This example, although chosen for highlighting extreme beliefs, reveals the pervasive beliefs of the time period. How could this woman act with compassion and consideration for students in a classroom while reacting so dramatically to this event? Although I have never personally experienced a coworker acting negatively against a member of a different race, I question what I would do or say to prevent an event such as that from happening again. Texts

describing multicultural classroom practices support an environment where both the oppressed and oppressors should discuss their circumstances and beliefs, but this is a difficult undertaking in an environment where one needs to continue a professional relationship with that individual. In my experience, many teachers stray from these “complicated conversations” (Pinar, 2004, p. 188) of race in any context thus perpetuating negative viewpoints.

The last set of examples that I would like to present is not only words or actions of the teachers, but patterns of language found in the archives. During the 19th century, words carried different meaning than the present time. Therefore, words need to be explored in the contextual time and place when they were spoken or written. One example frequently used by Towne is the term “pet.” During the 19th century, this term was used to describe those to be cared for and represented the paternalistic stance of the missionaries and teachers. Towne (1912) describes her students as:

I send the enclosed picture of me with three of my pets. The big boy is Dick Washington, my right-hand man, who is full of importance, but has travelled and feels as if he had seen the world. He is incorrigibly slow and stupid about learning, but reads bunglingly in the Testament, does multiplication sums on the slate, and can write a letter after a fashion. (p. 172)

This example gives two messages to the reader. Towne calls the children “pets” which is interpreted in the context of the 19th century as an affectionate term whereby Towne expresses increased interest in the welfare of the students. On the other hand, she also calls one student “slow and stupid” which characterizes his intelligence as inferior to her own. As she goes on to characterize the other students negatively, her racial prejudices

emerge despite her desire to protect and care for the freedmen. This one passage demonstrates the teacher's beliefs in cultural superiority based upon the race of the student.

Another trend that emerged in my exploration of the archives was the continued use of terms that also symbolized each African American as a lower class citizen. Botume (1892) describes the freedmen as they "hovered about like bees in a swarm" (p. 31) and visited the teacher while "chattering like a flock of jays and blackbirds" (p. 41). Another teacher describes the physical appearance of the students as they attended Sabbath School one Sunday. "They seem to have been 'shaven' and 'shorn' and it is very evident that the parents are making efforts to send their children 'clean and neat' to school" (Forsaith, 1864, July 5, ¶ 1). The freedmen described here in terms traditionally granted to animals cannot be described in any other way than to illustrate the racist feelings of the teachers. This is yet another example that demonstrates the inability of the teachers to see the freedmen as an equal race. Instead, as inferred from the use of metaphors, the freedmen were described again as wildlife, animals in need of saving and civilization.

In each of the examples described above, the text written by the teachers themselves demonstrates her cultural beliefs regarding members of the African American race. These feelings are products of the social, political, and religious environments of their northern homes, yet the women did not change from their experiences with the freedmen in the southern schools. Many of the examples extend beyond the classroom, yet they are equally important. Education is an activity that can occur at any place, at any time. The efforts of the teachers to "civilize" the race included social and religious activities in addition to the traditional classroom instruction. In this regard, the northern

middle-class women acted upon their cultural norms and values at all times. They also acted through racist perspectives through most if not all of these interactions to support beliefs of an inferior class in need of salvation and saving.

CHAPTER 4
WOMEN IN EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

Every school in my county holds a back-to-school night before the beginning of the students' school year. Parents, step-parents, grandparents, guardians, siblings, and students wander the hall in search of new teachers. Traditionally, this night is a whirlwind of shaking hands, smiling faces, and teetering on my toes as this is one of the few days I wear heels to school. In the midst of all the people, there are nervous questions. What will my child learn this year? How can I help my child because he/she isn't good at math? How much homework will they have? Do they need any extra supplies? Most parents want and need as much reassurance as their teenaged students pull away, in search of friends and the latest gossip.

I walked down the hall on a Thursday night this school year, dressed professionally with a black dress, pearls, and wedge heels. I waited with newsletters in hand and prepared answers for the list of questions that I would repeatedly hear. I hoped this year would be different, though, as I had taught at the school for five successful years.

More than half way through the night, it happened.

“What qualifies you to teach my child?”

“How long have you taught here? You look young? How do you know how to teach my child?”

It happened within a span of a few minutes. Those questions knocking me back a few steps and once again causing me to swallow my pride and accomplishments to defend my educational history and professional accomplishments to parents.

“I hold a Bachelor’s degree in Mathematics and a Master of Arts in Teaching, both from the University of Pittsburgh. I have taught here at Coastal for five years.”

That was usually enough to pacify the parent and move along to the next waiting customer. My tone was decidedly changed by the repeated need to defend my capabilities to parents who attacked with their words. I could have continued by highlighting that I am serving as Teacher of the Year for my school, that all but one of my 128 students passed last year’s state exam in math, that each year I have had at least one student score a perfect score and the highest percentage in the school and probably the county for exceeding standards, that I travel the country consulting as an educational expert for International Baccalaureate Organization, and more importantly that my students respect me and come back from eighth grade seeking answers to problems and sheets of notes from the previous year.

At first sight, all I am is a young, white woman.

I was fortunate to attend an event in the past two years hosted by the Savannah Music Festival. My husband saw the listing as part of the festival’s cultural attractions and purchased tickets. When he told me about it, and explained that it “would be good for your dissertation,” I was excited to be able to witness a modern exhibition by the

McIntosh County Shouters. This group, comprised of African Americans who trace their ancestry to slaves, travels the country demonstrating the music and song of a shout. At this event, I was drawn into the movement and beat of the rhythm, lost in the repetition of song. The combined song was so powerful that the emotion of the tune was drawn from me as an audience member. After the event, my husband commented that most all of the attendees of the event were white. This made me question by own interest in the cultural practices of others. Would we have gone to such an event if it were not for my dissertation? Did I have a right to view the traditions and practices of this group, bound by my own cultural knowledge to misinterpret?

This experience directly corresponded to my dissertation research because several 19th century teachers repeatedly commented upon shouts as an “uncivilized” and “heathenish” activity. The women questioned the ability of the former slaves to find the salvation of God and participate as northern expectations dictated. To the women, the religious conversion was of paramount importance as northern society dictated that their female role in society was to lead their family and community to the salvation and grace of God. The women criticized the cultural practice of another because it did not meet northern values regardless of the intention and purpose of the practice.

When I returned to school not long after this event, I brought up the shout as an example of a cultural practice of the African American community. Not one of my students recognized the idea of what I was speaking; both black and white were unaware of the heritage of African Americans in our own city. This event further supported my beliefs in choosing a curriculum relative to the local beliefs and practices of a people while making room for sharing among cultures. As a write upon this subject, I recognize

that many teachers would not address different cultural competencies in their classroom based on their own beliefs in the superiority of their race. Similarly, I am saddened by the dictates of our state Board of Education as the new Common Core Standards seek to regulate the books, stories, and texts used in our local classrooms. How many histories will be ignored? Who will be left to carry on the cultural heritage that is being lost each generation? What is the role of teachers to include the diverse experiences of my students' heritages in the classroom?

As I was beginning to read documents within the selected archives related to northern teachers in the Freedmen's Bureau schools, I looked both inward and backward. I questioned my own upbringing and education when I reflected on how the subjects of my reading invented and controlled learning experiences in southern schools based on their experience. I sought what it meant to be a young, white female living in a southern city. To answer these questions, I looked back in time for stories of other women in teaching positions throughout our nation's history and the traditional role of a female in the classroom. I searched for answers to my problems in the lives of those who had come before me. It was over many readings that I realized most published accounts of teachers skipped over the time period of the Civil War and Reconstruction. In addition, none looked at the circumstances surrounding northern women teaching in southern schools.

The purpose of the examples above demonstrates the complicated role of the female teacher in two capacities. First, although there have been advances in society

related to women's rights, females still do not have the same opportunities, pay, or respect given to men. In the 19th century, a woman's role was to remain in the home and provide moral guidance to her family. If she worked within the community, teaching and nursing were sometimes acceptable within a family structure. In today's society, although the prevalence of women in the classroom is accepted as the norm, the capabilities and integrity of the woman is still challenged. This is exemplified as I am questioned year after year by parents who find fault with my qualifications and experience in the classroom.

The examples also question a woman's authority in the classroom. The decisions made daily by the teacher verify or challenge the cultural heritage of students while other societal lessons are also conveyed, often through the hidden curriculum of the classroom. This dual role of the teacher must be navigated when considering her authority to assert cultural norms and racial superiority through daily interactions. On the other hand, the teacher is bound by social, economic, and political forces that dictate curriculum matters to teachers through directives and objectives for each unit of study. From this perspective, not only will this chapter explore the traditional role for the female in society, but it will discuss how the teacher navigates expectations from her contextual influences to make decisions each day. Therefore, this chapter will serve to review work related to the women's role in education from two perspectives. First, contributions to the field of Curriculum Studies will outline the female's traditional role in the classroom while a discussion of the publications from the perspective of historians will detail the role of female teachers during the Civil War and Reconstruction. The chapter then will turn to the texts of the archives to demonstrate how the 19th century woman fulfilled

expectations as a religious and moral guide, a virtuous example of northern values, and a silent and submissive figure in society. Text of the diaries and letters will be used to illustrate ways in which the women navigated expectations.

Curriculum Studies and the Female Teacher

The function of reading and writing about life stories is not only about the sharing of narratives. It is also a connection made between two individuals with common experiences or circumstances. Increasingly, education is an occupation where teachers work with students behind closed doors, away from the human interactions with other adults in like situations. The majority of a teacher's non-teaching work time is spent in meetings and conferences, discussions dictated by the administration and those in supervisory positions that control staff development. This poses a problem to teachers, especially new teachers, as time is not given to share stories and advice, to form the bonds necessary for growth and guidance. "As long as women are isolated one from the other, not allowed to offer other women the most personal accounts of their lives, they will not be part of any narrative of their own" (Heilbrun, 1988, p. 46). Carolyn Gold Heilbrun extends this separation by noting that if women (and thus teachers) are not permitted to share stories, they are unable to make their own stories. I agree with her point and argue that when stories are attempted to be told, there is no way to make sense of the story itself. Reflection can take place but without a way to grow by gaining new insight and perspective, the challenge is much harder for the individual. Furthermore, I caution that the individual engaging in reflection must be open to change and new

perspective. There is no need to spend time reflecting if one is not open to change. Whether it is examining one's own beliefs regarding the child's capacity for learning, exploring the ways in which society impacts classroom performance, or acceptance of new methods with the hope of changing classroom practices, growth cannot take place without the willing participation of each individual. Thus, regardless of the type of written text, a sharing of a story through the process of writing and reading is an important part of learning for both young and old teachers and those who contribute to the field of Curriculum Studies.

Reflecting on my own first difficult year as a teacher takes me back to mixed feelings regarding the amount and type of support that I was given. Although assigned a teacher mentor, schedules did not allow for the teacher to spend much time aiding me in my struggles. I do not remember any person suggesting that I sit and write to reflect on the situation, and no one approached me to discuss my personal narrative. When support was offered, it was in the form of professional learning communities where the meetings were controlled by a pre-determined agenda directed toward the curriculum. Furthermore, no one confronted me with difficult questions to make me examine my own personal feelings or beliefs of educational practice. No one urged me to tackle the problems that I was having in the classroom as cultural or political problems of my work within the educational institution. As Heilbrun acknowledges, I was isolated in my own classroom with my own students and unable to look critically at myself. I was unable to construct my own story as a way of analyzing my own struggles. Looking back as a classroom teacher that has since mentored new teachers, I can see that being a mentor teacher does not permit for time to be spent meeting monthly or weekly with the new teacher. A

teacher's schedule is already occupied from the beginning to the end of the day and beyond. Thus, when taking upon the added responsibility of becoming a mentor, one must take the accountability to schedule and permit time for the mentee as an extra part of one's duties and responsibilities.

Since the 1980s, literature within the field of Curriculum Studies has slowly built to include contributions of women in educational settings. I believe that one reason for this increase is due to the mounting interest in autobiographical inquiry after the publications of Grumet (1988a). This shift is due to the acceptance of teachers' stories of day-to-day occurrences in the classroom and feelings and personal positions of the teachers as valuable information that can be gathered and analyzed through qualitative methods. Interest in research focusing on the practices and everyday routines of the classroom grew during the 1980s. On the other hand, this shift also represents a change in the ways society acknowledges contributions of women as feminist movements sought to account for the roles of women in society. This was directly reflected in an increased interest to publish narratives relating to the lives of women. Heilbrun (1988) notes the emergence of writing in regard to women's lives during the 1980s as:

There are four ways to write a women's life: the woman herself may tell it, in what she chooses to call her autobiography; she may tell it in what she chooses to call fiction; a biographer, woman or man, may write the woman's life in what is called a biography; or the woman may write her own life in advance of living it, unconsciously, and without recognizing or naming the process. (p. 11)

Her description not only specifies types of writing that were prominent both in the 1980s, but this description further implies variety in types of writing that can attempt to convey

the same facts through different genres. Writing stories of women's lives has also been achieved with an important focus upon lives and narratives of teachers including Schubert and William C. Ayers' (1991) book titled *Teacher Lore, Learning from our Own Experience* and Ming Fang He and JoAnn Phillion's (2008) edited volume titled *Personal~Passionate~Participatory Inquiry Into Social Justice in Education*. Writing about the contributions of women now takes on more forms to include autobiography/biography, fiction/nonfiction, authorized/non-authorized, primary source/secondary source, and male author/female author. Regardless of the form of writing, the story of the female teacher carries great importance to impact fellow educators. "Teacher life writing—biography and autobiography and case studies—are repositories of teacher lore and can help beginning teachers understand who they are and what they might become" (Bullough, 1998, pp. 30-31). With the increased attention to this topic, there exists a wider variety of women's stories across races, places, and time periods. This adds to the possible opportunities for the sharing of experience through the written form. Each individual who reads the stories and struggles of another female teacher can be enlightened through shared circumstances.

The ability of a female to discuss or reflect upon her experiences with another female is an important part of interaction for growth. In society, women are often critically viewed by men as reacting emotionally or allowing their feelings to cloud perspective of a matter. Every human being has his or her own personal connection and relationship to work and the people with whom one interacts. With that in mind, I agree that I react with an emotional response to my students' actions during the course of my day. However, this is not a negative aspect of my character or my daily work. I argue that

the emotional attachment to my children and the need for thoughtful consideration for each student is what makes me a passionate, caring, and thoughtful teacher. Each student knows that I care when I am disappointed for a bad grade or cheering on the side lines of Thursday's football game. Speaking about one's experiences with another woman allows for a perspective of shared feeling and emotion that cannot and should not be removed from teaching. Furthermore, women have a shared history and experiences of sexism in society. I personally have been criticized by both men and women for becoming emotional when related to conflict in the work place. Women can relate to one another through a shared past and cultural framework that has been provided through their lives. I am not asserting that every woman has the same set of cultural knowledge because of gender. Nor am I attempting to assert that all teachers, men and women, do not have emotional reactions to events. Instead, women are linked by their position in society as oppressed in a male dominated world and can possibly related through shared experiences or perspectives in an important way.

I think that this movement to consider the voices and perspective of a teacher has begun in the academic realm where the stories are important enough to be recorded and respected. Women are able to tell of their experiences both on a personal journey and to describe interactions and relationships with students in the classroom. This is important because it conveys the daily occurrences of the classroom. It is unfortunate, though, that these same voices are not considered within some K-12 institutions. Directives are given and observations are conducted to measure quantitatively whether teachers are following particular requirements. District and county officials do not explore what is working and why it is working; the power structure ignores the opinions and voices of the individuals

who work daily with the student populations. Although there is a push for telling of one's experiences from the academic side of higher education, this same emphasis and importance is not met by the eyes and ears of K-12 leaders. Instead, this lack of support and community provided by a local institution can be found in different areas because technology has changed the distance between teachers. I can be part of a network of colleagues that share the same practices, values, or experiences through associations beyond the classroom. Teachers can unite through blogs and groups; professionals can attend workshops and conferences with others from across the country to discuss common problems and possible solutions. Personally, my involvement with the International Baccalaureate Educator Network has allowed me to gather from experiences that reaffirm my personal position as a classroom teacher with teachers from across the country as I lead workshops for other middle school math teachers.

My dissertation topic has evolved from the beginning stages of planning now over two years ago. The initial focus of my research was broad and sought to examine the diaries and letters of women written almost 150 years prior for answers to my personal struggles in the classroom. These problems included a lack of respect for me from parents and students due to my age, misunderstandings labeled as unfair or racist actions by myself, and an inability to support my personal beliefs for education with administrators or colleagues. I hoped that the words on the page would speak to me, reach me as the reader. It was my job to link the lives of the women who came before me to my own career, to make meaning from their experiences. The more submersed I was with the initial phases of text collection, the more I later realized that examining the lives of the teachers in the Civil War and Reconstruction era was not only about the stories told by

the women through their diaries and letters. The women worked and lived within particular social and political contexts which impacted their actions and inactions each day. Therefore the events described are part of the women's lives and allow me to see into role the women played in society beyond mere words on a page. Furthermore, I found an ability compare the ways in which the women were impacted by the social and political contexts to similar experiences in my own life. As I navigated the women's lives within this context of time and place, I questioned my ability to learn from the actions and words of the women—racist and privileged in the 19th century southern society yet oppressed as women within this same system.

Not only did the women act and react in many ways while recording single events in their own words, the varying accounts of their stories through diaries, letters, and reports build a tale of their daily lives beyond the words on the page. The women become more than just their words; the women become sites of knowledge and power. Pinar and Pautz described the use of autobiographical voice as possessing more meaning than simply words on a page. “Understanding the autobiographical voice as the site for society, culture and politics—a ‘site’ that one can reflexively reconfigure by interpreting of multiple subject positions—hints at both political programs and pedagogical processes” (Pinar & Pautz, 1998, p. 67). When I first read this passage, the term “site” hung in my mind. The women chosen in this study were symbols of the society and schools in which they worked; they were whole beings to be investigated with actions, interactions, thoughts, and words. Yet, their work means more. The Webster's dictionary definition of the word “site” is, “the place, scene, or point of something” (site, 2001). This definition is important when looking at the role of the women in 19th century society. Their presence

and actions signified more than just letters and words being taught to the freedmen. The teachers' existence and everyday work became a physical site of learning and a struggle for power in lives of the freedmen. When beginning my research, I felt that the women symbolized the educational institution and the power of the knowledge contained in written word; they were a point of possibility and opportunity for change in the lives of the children and families throughout the American South. When analyzing the women's lives in relationship to their position of racial privilege, I recognized that the teachers also symbolized the power of the northern systems in controlling economic and religious opportunities. Instead of acting as opportunities for change and freedom, the teachers themselves labeled the African Americans in their communities based on differences of appearance, dress, faith, family, language, and knowledge as compared to their normalized view of themselves.

Although the use of this particular word brings more meaning and attention to the influence and power of the women, I am cautioned at the same time. I hesitate to objectify the women through my investigative gaze. Too many times our society places women as objects to be studied and watched from afar. With that caution in mind, the use of the same term by a group of female theorists placed the term "site" in a different light, one with a less ominous tone. "Framing women as sites suggests that their lives embody cultural negotiations about gendered social arrangements that have deep and systematic ramifications for politics, economics, and all human institutions" (Crocco, Munro & Weiler, 1999, p. 7). The use of this term as an investigation focusing upon women permits for connections to the social, political, and cultural worlds. They provide a bridge between the known and unknown, between theory and lived lives. There is opportunity

for an exchange of knowledge that can impact societal institutions instead of the maintenance of fixed and unmovable concepts. Utilizing this important relationship allows the researcher to see the women as active participants in that world.

Examining the female teachers as sites of knowledge requires the researcher to gain understanding of not only the woman, but the cultural and political worlds in which she lived and worked. This emphasizes a need for historical context of both time and place. Furthermore, when seeing the teacher as a worker within the cultural, political, and social realms of society, these selections help to open the discussion of teaching to influences of race, class, gender, and power both within the classroom and the larger society. Regardless of the time period, historical inquiries into the lives of teachers will continue to be an important part of Curriculum Studies to document past struggles as a way to educate present and future generations. In fact, several curriculum theorists have devoted texts to the role of women as teachers (Paley, 1979; Hoffman, 1981; Grumet, 1988a; Walker, 1996, 2001; Munro, 1998; Weiler, 1998; Jackson & Jordán, 1999; Cobb, 2000; Miller, 2005; He & Phillion, 2008; Pinar, 2009). In a society that openly regards teaching as a women's profession, the women described in these texts have made room for the stories of female teachers throughout history. Each author makes an important contribution to the diversity of teachers and the variety of contexts in which they teach; each theorist mentioned below documents and supports the role of the teacher in American society.

As mentioned previously, one of the key books that began an interest in female teachers during the beginning years of the Reconceptualization within the field of Curriculum Studies in the 1980s is Grumet's (1988a) *Bitter Milk: Women and Teaching*.

This book describes the purpose of schools to be a way of conveying knowledge between generations. Specifically, she draws on the effect of the hidden curriculum of the classroom, the work of the teacher that is ignored and forgotten in records of educational practices. Drawing from feminist thought as well as psychoanalysis and phenomenological studies, she remarks that just like the subject/object relationship between females and males, this same relationship exists between the role of teacher and child in society. In this text, she includes a description the growth of women's opportunities in the profession within a chapter that focuses on the specific historical time period in which this transition began. She remarks that as Horace Mann supported a movement for universal schooling instead of the family to provide character and moral training to children, this role transitioned to the teacher in the classroom as provider of the maternal qualities of "self—sacrifice, purity, and domesticity" (Grumet, 1988a, p. 40) that were necessary for moral instruction. By removing the influence of the mother at home, the school system was replacing her with a maternal influence in the school—the teacher. On the other hand, successful transmission of dominant values could only be possible through control of the 19th century teacher by the paternal influences of key leaders. In this discussion, Grumet notes the role of Catharine Beecher in spreading a universal image of the teacher during that time, and then she explained how teachers navigated personal identity through relationships with superiors and students. As Grumet goes on to explain identity, she brings important ideas to the research conducted in this dissertation. Mainly, she focuses upon the power of the teacher to transmit cultural values and the power of society and the educational system to control the teacher's purpose and goals. This concept is especially important in this research because it reminds us that

there is power negotiated by leadership, teachers, and students each day in the classroom. On the other hand, Grumet misses a point as she does not focus specifically on the ways in which tensions are created through cultural conflict which is evident in the work of the 19th century teacher.

Grumet's work focuses upon the universal image of the teacher and the ways in which teachers navigate personal identity in the face of social expectations. Her work is especially important to this dissertation research as teachers simultaneously navigated social conditions and expectations across both the northern and southern societies. As the different locations had different norms and values for the role of the teacher, women had to navigate those terrains while also staying true to their sense of Self. Janet Miller's work, too, speaks closely to this group of women through her focus on silence. As mentioned by Marshall, Sears, Allen, Roberts, and Schubert (2007), the voice of women has been removed from the history of education and especially in the South during the 1860s and 1870s. Miller (2005) speaks to the traditional model of silencing women in the male-dominated field of education both past and present in one example titled *Sounds of Silence Breaking*. As Miller weaves a feminist theme through autobiographical inquiry, she notes the fragmentation that occurs as women attempt to find their identity and place within a male dominated world. She describes the autobiographical necessity of reflecting from many perspectives, including teaching as a form of political work, to allow for an exploration of race, class, gender, and ethnicity within society. Miller notes that not only must the individual explore his or her own Self, but one must also explore influences of society to silence this story. More specifically, she makes important arguments for the use of autobiographical inquiry for personal growth. Miller (2005) writes:

I do want to consider what might happen to the forms and purposes of autobiography in education if they assumed the potential of imaginative literature to disrupt rather than reinforce static and essentialized versions of our “selves” and our work as educators. (p. 54)

In this statement, she argues for the use of autobiographical inquiry as a means of sparking a “complicated conversation” (Pinar, 2004, p. 188) around class, race, gender, and ethnicity in schools. The practice of reflection is not meant to affirm one’s growth or positive experience, but to bring to light concepts and problems that permeate classrooms. This text is valuable in this research because it gives suggestions and implications for autobiographically based research that allows for critical examinations of social, political, and economic conditions both presently and in the past through the words of the teachers themselves. In light of technological inventions and connections between different schools, I would like to further Miller’s idea by suggesting that autobiography can connect women’s stories and engage teachers in such conversations across great distances. Teachers do not always have the support systems necessary at their schools to engage and disrupt thinking white teachers connected through the internet or other networks can create similar opportunities as those within their schools.

The authors and texts discussed thus far mention collective efforts of teachers or their reflective practices to address qualities of teachers and the navigation of that position in a classroom. Two other texts, which are edited collections of stories by females, also allow authors to describe individual experiences as teachers. First, Sandra Jackson and José Solís Jordán (1999) include stories of several teachers in their book titled *I’ve Got a Story to Tell: Identity and Place in the Academy*. In this text, the editors

compile stories from several professors who explore the conditions of race, class, gender, and multiple cultures within institutions of higher learning. Similarly, He and Phillion's (2008) edited collection titled *Personal~Passionate~Participatory Inquiry Into Social Justice in Education* also combines the personal stories of teachers and their interactions with aspects of their communities. Like Jackson and Jordán's work, He and Phillion's text serves to record experiences of individuals as they navigate race, class and gender issues in society. Although these texts were not created in the distant past like the archives of the 19th century, they serve as records that will be historical accounts for future generations. Furthermore, both texts present ways of writing from the personal to address issues in the social and political societies in which we live. The narrative structure of the texts models one way in which stories can be told from the autobiographical standpoint. Although I recognize that the contributions are edited collections and therefore relatively brief, I do not feel as though the authors dig critically and deeply into the cultural problems or their navigation of the issues important to their lives. They are narratives that can be expanded with deeper theoretical explorations of the experiences within the context of time and place. This has helped me to recognize that in order to offer a meaningful contribution to the field of Curriculum Studies one must openly delve deeply into the topic to engage the concept of race or gender with the power structures that maintain that situation in society.

The texts discussed above all share a reflective element as the authors focus upon personal experiences to inspire their analysis. The majority of these texts look at aspects of the teacher's life that are of close proximity in time to the writing of the text. In contrast to these personal texts, some authors look reflectively upon the experiences of

past teachers to explore cultural, political, and social circumstances. I find these texts to be important because they allow the reader safety in distancing one's self from the characters of the text to explore the events critically without intentionally offending or hurting someone involved, both teachers and students. Furthermore, society is changing as many types of criticism or critique are sometimes interpreted as a hurtful and harmful act instead of recognizing the potential for growth through a learning experience. One example is Georgia's new teacher evaluation system that includes classroom observations, student evaluations, and student test scores when being evaluated for performance based pay. Although I have mixed feelings about the effectiveness and value of this system, some are criticizing the change for the responsibility of students to fairly evaluate professionals based on their own feelings as a teenager. Little discussion is focused upon possible growth from such reflections. Thus, when a teacher looks to the stories of others for insight and guidance, there is more room within historical texts to examine without risking harm to any person involved.

Nancy Hoffman's (1981) *Woman's "True" Profession: Voices from the History of Teaching* is a unique text as it explores the historical contributions of teachers within one room schoolhouses, Freedmen's Bureau schools, and conditions within urban systems at the end of the 19th century. Early in this text, Hoffman makes very clear that she believes that female teachers had quite different views of their roles as teachers than male administrators or theorists who described the role in the classroom as an extension of motherhood. Instead, she highlights ways in which the female recognized the power structure of the school and acted against the patriarchal expectations for the teacher. To demonstrate the perspectives of teachers in different historical periods, Hoffman includes

three parts of the book, each exemplifying a theme. Writing from a feminist perspective, each section points the attention of the reader to a topic in the historical period and then provides excerpts of texts collected from the archives of the time period. One part of particular relevance to this work is titled “A Noble Work Done Earnestly: Yankee Schoolmarms in the Civil War South.” For example, Hoffman integrates the autobiographical stories of women who taught in the Sea Islands and surrounding areas with commentary that discusses the themes of the text and their importance in teaching. In this discussion, she makes an important point in the work of the teachers. Instead of teaching in northern schools with existing political structures of states or professional organizations, the work of the teachers in the southern school was free of these influences. This is described as a positive aspect of the time period because female teachers were able to exercise their own power and choices to educate for change. “Here, the women could teach toward equality, understandably less difficult than acting it out” (Hoffman, 1981, p. 100). I find that Hoffman’s viewpoint takes the theme of the teachers’ work in a more positive tone than many who have described the work of the Freedmen’s Bureau teachers published in the same time period such as Jones (1980/1992) and Butchart (1980), possibly due to the small number of letters and diaries included in her text. Her perspective contradicts my assertions of the racist curriculum orientations of the teachers as described in chapter 3. Instead of focusing upon the conditions or hardships faced by the women or the ways in which the curriculum contrasted the needs of the freedmen, Hoffman and Jones describe that the woman embodied the situations to teach for equality and social justice.

Thus far, I have aimed to show how an interest in women's studies or the story of the female teacher has been created that begins with autobiography and narrative inquiry. These texts serve the field of Curriculum Studies by showing the significance of stories and personal experiences in the education field. For many years, members of institutes of higher learning dismissed personal experiences of teachers. Since the 1980s, significance is being placed on daily events as a way to look at interactions and relationships within classrooms. Several other theorists also bring forth the stories of teachers but to convey the complete message and impact of the individual, the story is placed within corresponding historical time and place. In each of the selections below, the authors perform historical inquiries to examine contributions of women in a specific historical period.

Changes occurred in the 19th century that secured the place of the female as a teacher in the classroom. While these economic and political reasons are explored through historical analyses of the time period's movements, theorists also give voice to the particular ways in which the teachers negotiated their role within the context of time and place. Petra Munro (1998) dedicates her text *Subject to Fiction: Women Teachers' Life History Narratives and the Cultural Politics of Resistance* to the lives of three social studies teachers. As she weaves their stories, she comments on contrasting roles that women must serve in school and society. "The focus on the personal not only allows women to describe, in their own words, their experiences, but also illuminates the contextual, subjective, and relational processes from which our understanding of our world emerges" (Munro, 1998, p. 6). As Munro documents the struggles and acts of resistance performed by these women, she opens the dialogue to examine how and why

the role of teacher is created and maintained in society in contrast to that of women. “To be a woman is to lack authority, knowledge and power. To be a teacher is to have authority, knowledge and power” (Munro, 1998, p. 1). Resistance exists when a female negotiates her position of authority in the classroom. Resistance happens when women, especially young women, are appointed to positions of leadership within educational institutions. Resistance happens when students are disinterested in the lessons of the classroom. This theme is central to the work of the 19th century woman in her classroom due to position of authority she held. On a more critical level, this theme of resistance is especially important to my own research as the women being investigated lived and worked in a society that resisted education for freedmen by white teachers. Furthermore, each woman resisted different cultural influences in unique ways to either support their own purposes or for those relating to the freedmen.

Through the discussions of resistance, Munro describes the ways in which teachers built identities both in careers as teachers and as women conforming to cultural expectations. “Teachers do not speak to their teaching careers in terms of beginning or end but rather fluid and continual” (Munro, 1998, p. 115). In this statement, Munro generalized the career goals of the women in her study and asserts that the job of teaching is a greater charge whereby the women displays qualities throughout their whole lives, not only those years confined to the classroom. I disagree with this assertion for two reasons when looking at all teachers. First, some women in the 19th century were unable to navigate different social, political, religious, and personal perspectives of teaching and left after one or two years. Unfortunately, this trend continues in today’s classrooms as new teachers often endure less than five years before leaving the profession. With this in

mind, I think that Munro's position is valid in the case of teachers who passionately enter the classroom and ensure the success of every child. Their actions in society are an extension of their teaching qualities as they are active members of local communities. On the other hand, there are individuals who choose the profession for a variety of reasons and leave the classroom door with the closing bell. These individuals are not "teachers" in the sense described by Munro as they do not embody the qualities of a teacher and instead see their role as a one limited to lessons in the classroom and little else.

While Munro explores the ways in which teachers dealt with conflict and resisted authority or negotiated identity, other authors discuss the resistance of teachers and the impact on the surrounding communities. In these instances, the struggle for power between the teacher and leadership impacts the educational opportunities and environment for the students. Amanda J. Cobb's (2000) *Listening to our Grandmother's Stories: The Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females, 1852-1949* is a text that describes educational experiences of female members of the Chickasaw Nation. This book is of significance because it documents a period of time when the federal government colonized American Indians by forced relocation to reservations and attempted to "civilize" children through mandatory attendance at boarding schools. This story documents a time parallel to the Civil War and Reconstruction when interests of white individuals moved toward expansion in the West. In this text, Cobb conducts analysis of documents and collects oral histories to construct a historical narrative of the women who attended the boarding school. The story of this school is significant because it was labeled as a boarding school, but it was a school run by the Chickasaw people independent from colonizing powers of the federal government. For the Chickasaw

culture, it is significant because it allowed for the preservation of stories and traditions that would have otherwise been dismissed by white powers. Examining the school from different perspectives allowed the author to make more critical judgments based on power struggles. For example, Cobb describes the high point of the school's history by writing, "The Chickasaws took full advantage of their period of control. . . For the Chickasaws, the purpose of literacy was not to 'Christianize' but to 'equalize'" (p. 56). This is one example of how Cobb maintained the narrative of the school and students and while comparing that to the social and political agenda of the government she was able to make judgments regarding the power held by the Chickasaw people. Cobb's research contrasts historical memory by narrating the perspective of the minority group in contrast to the purpose of the political leadership. This dynamic is important because it illustrates the duality of the educational institution and the ways in which this relationship was developed through the school. After reading the entire text, am still left with questions as to how the Chickasaw people conveyed their own expectations to the students. Were cultural values explicitly taught? Or, were the intentions of the elders and leaders conveyed to the children through tradition and respect for past tradition? How did the students know about this power relationship while being a part of it?

Two other collections look to the work of female teachers and examine their contributions as acts of resistance. First, Kathleen Weiler's (1998) *Country Schoolwomen: Teaching in Rural California, 1850-1950* also focuses on a time period that parallels part of the time marked by the Civil War and Reconstruction. This book provides many details that provide a reference for trends in women's increasing role in education during the 19th century. For example, she asserts that with the Common

School Movement came an increased need for teachers. These teachers were paid less than male counterparts and Weiler reports that the women often “came from farming and artisan families” (p. 10). This contrasts the history of teachers in the Freedmen’s Bureau schools who were chosen from a variety of backgrounds to include northern white women, southern white women and men, and southern African American women and men. Like Grumet (1988a), Weiler notes the acceptable position of women in the work force as teachers because of the belief that the school was an extension of the family unit thus requiring a feminine influence (p. 12). As the job of teaching in the 19th century was being increasingly redesigned as women’s work and westward expansion provided more opportunities in new schools, teachers in rural California initially taught in isolated schools far removed from the state leadership. In this text, besides providing an overview and details of the time period and teachers, she goes on to describe how women operated rural schools and built systems of power through collaborations and relationships with other female teachers. This text provides documentation of a unique period and location on which little literature exists while also highlighting the importance of the unity and camaraderie that developed among the teachers. Like the 19th century southern teacher, the women in rural California were isolated geographically yet they were able to unite through associations to support one another in many ways. The archives show that the 19th century southern teacher found the isolation to be a problem which was seldom addressed by male leadership. Similarly, as today’s teachers enter the classroom with a variety of cultural values and ways of life, there are often divisions between a teaching staff within one school. Although the 19th century teacher was separated by distance, today’s teachers may be divided by race, gender, age, religion, and other cultural aspects

that make humans unique. The climate of today's classroom, while encouraging collaboration and similar experiences for all students, fosters a negative attitude of surveillance and competition whereby teachers are compared and assessed through scores and frequent observations by administration. Therefore, although Weiler advocates the positive qualities of the teachers in her research, I believe that social and political qualities affect the relationships between teachers in ways that are not discussed within her text.

Two of Vanessa Siddle Walker's texts address the role of the teacher in school for African American students during the 20th century. Walker (1996) wrote *Their Highest Potential: An African American School Community in the Segregated South* to celebrate successes of a rural North Carolina school which would eventually face desegregation. Through her description of the school, Walker goes back time and time again to the efforts of teachers as active participants in children's lives, not only regarding subjects taught but regarding both the educational and emotional growth of the child. In many ways, as the text documents the successes of the school, Walker provides evidence of the work of teachers to succeed despite a lack of resources and negative labels positioned by white society on the school. In this way, she contributes to the literature by documenting another side of discussions surrounding desegregation—the positions and views of the African American community of parents, teachers, school leaders, and students in the face of adversity. In another of her pieces, Walker (2001) focuses specifically on the African American teacher during a particular time period. In her journal article "African American Teaching in the South: 1940-1960," she describes characteristics of teachers in reference to their political affiliation in professional organizations, training in institutes of

higher education, and professionalism. Like her book, she focuses upon the positive characteristics of teachers that allowed for success in their school communities while they navigated institutional forces of race and politics. The work of Walker serves to document the positive characteristics and successes of the African American teachers despite social and political pressures of the time period while maintaining the words and stories of the teachers themselves.

In each of the texts described above, the authors document how female teachers worked with the political and social structures that were dominated by white, male leaders. The Chickasaw women used the structure of the boarding schools to teach and maintain their native culture while conceding to religious conversion. Walker documents how the women faced unequal conditions and criticism by white residents to reach farther into the lives and communities of the students. Weiler notes how the women found support systems through relationships with other teachers while being separated by distance in rural areas of California. In each of these stories, there lies a commonality in that the women did not fight against the oppressive conditions that impacted them personally. Instead, the women used the oppressive situations to find room for power and growth within their capacities as teachers. They learned to work within the oppressive systems of power to maintain their own personal goals for the students which in turn helped the students to flourish. I think this theme is unique because teachers are seldom described as self-less, but these stories show that the women are willing to sacrifice personal freedoms for the interest of their students, families, and communities.

Another selection utilizes biographical accounts to demonstrate stories of women's resistance to oppressive circumstances. Margaret Smith Crocco, Petra Munro,

& Weiler (1999) collaborate in their text titled *Pedagogies of Resistance: Women Educator Activists, 1880-1960*. In this text, they provide biographies of important women in different historical times and places. Their discussions include Ida B. Wells, Elizabeth Almira Allen, and Jane Addams. Collectively, this text shows how each woman acted against limiting aspects of the historical period to accomplish a great deal in their respective occupation. Interestingly, two other texts by curriculum theorists although written by male authors also focus on Jane Addams. Christopher Lasch (1965) dedicates the book *The Social Thought of Jane Addams* to the work of this remarkable woman while Pinar (2009) includes a chapter of *The Worldliness of a Cosmopolitan Education: Passionate Lives in Public Service* to her work. In both these texts, the authors examine her qualities and willingness to go against traditional norms of society. In Pinar's text, he also pens a chapter to the work of a unique individual that is seldom noted for her educational contributions. Pinar (2009) dedicates a chapter to Laura Bragg, a Charleston native, who inventively created traveling educational pieces that allowed students of all socio-economic levels and races to have the same educational experiences within diverse schools. Interestingly, to this day, the Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation and The Frick Art and Historical Center maintain similar programs that connect artifacts with schools throughout western Pennsylvania. Judith P. Robertson and Cathryn McConaghy's (2006) edited collection is yet another historical biography which investigates the life of Sylvia Ashton-Warner as a female educator in a more current historical time period. Whether looking at the life of Jane Addams or the lesser known Laura Bragg, the biographical accounts allow explorations of teachers within their respective social and political contexts. Together, these contributions show how historical

inquiries can use biography to explore how women resisted oppressive circumstances in their male dominated worlds to accomplish a great deal in the world of education.

Choosing the Right Teacher for the Job

When the relief associations chose a teacher to move south, there was a significant amount of pressure placed on the correct selection. Each teacher represented the Freedmen's Bureau, the supporting relief agency, and the goals of the northern elite. Women desiring placement in the southern schools applied to agencies through a written application that listed personal reasons for wanting the placement along with details of their own culture including religion, wealth, family and education. Much like today's processes, the application only represents a portion of the identity of the applicant. While, on the other hand, the institution or agency also has its own reasons for selection.

Attaining jobs in the 19th century US South was different from a move today for many reasons. Of prominent importance was that women were entering a war torn area. The group that arrived on the Sea Islands in the early 1860s, were surrounded by battles and were often in fear of a direct attack. Towne (1912) describes such an occurrence as, "There is quite a panic in Beaufort and several gunboats have gone up to it. . . We packed out trunks to-day according to Mr. Hooper's orders, and we can run at any time, but leaving much" (Towne, 1912, p. 63). Although the women were never attacked on the islands, their placement made them vulnerable to events of the Civil War. During the same period, some also worried for the safety and welfare of the women based upon the assumed danger commonly associated with freedmen. At the time, racist thought

permeated northern society to classify members of the African American race as dangerous and capable of harm to the innocent white women. Towne (1912) counters this assumption while noting the safety of her island. She writes, "That shows how safe our island is, that every here and there one or two white women will live entirely alone, and never think even of danger" (p. 176). This contextual information is relevant to the women's desire for employment because such living conditions necessitated a woman that could withstand the physical challenges of the place while also enduring the mental strength necessary on the land.

Adaptability to the physical necessities of the job was no doubt part of the screening process as women described their physical health and stamina to ensure successful travel. The cost of not only monthly salary but also the transportation to the southern locations was paid by the relief agency and leaders did not want to waste money on a woman's quick return home. Some women went so far as to describe their physical health in letters of application. For example, one woman acknowledges her limited education while complementing her other qualities as, "I have health, energy, skill to govern, and the power of endurance but not education" (Still, 1866, March 28, ¶ 1). While clearly understanding the necessity of a woman that could withstand the physical component of teaching in the southern school, this desired aspect of a 19th century woman is contrary to the social expectation of the delicacy of a northern woman. Furthermore, the women's physical health became increasingly important as reports note that some women died during their tenure in the South from illness (Clary, 1867, Dec. 17, ¶ 4; Ames, 1906, p. 107). This aspect of a woman's physical health highlights one aspect of the character of the individual that was examined when choosing women for teaching

positions. Although most other aspects relate the woman's character and cultural position, this aspect highlights the physical dangers that were on the minds of both leaders and teachers when making the choice to move south.

When a woman was interested in a position in a southern school, there were multiple aid agencies that provided financial support to the teachers. Women had the choice of which association to apply to that best corresponded to her cultural frames of reference. As a guide for interested women, some agencies advertised the desired qualities for employment in their agency. For example, Jones (1979) cites a report by the American Missionary Association (AMA) as:

In June, 1864, the AMA published an "ideal letter" from an applicant in its monthly publication, *American Missionary*. Evidently "the right" kind of teachers' included young women who possessed "missionary spirit," "lack of romantic or mercenary motives," health, physical energy, "cultural and common sense," "benevolence, gravity, and earnestness," teaching experience, and an evangelical religious background. (p. 49)

The desired qualities include age, piety, teaching experience or educational attainment, northern cultural values, and religious conviction which importantly correlated to the expectations for northern women during that time period. The expectations for women's character were not unique to choices for southern schools. Changes in northern institutions had been taking place with the Common School Movement to replace male teachers with female counterparts capable of providing moral and maternal influence. "Female teachers would civilize the classrooms and add a maternal and moral dimension to teaching. Others warned that mixed schools would lead to a blurring of the separate

spheres for men and women” (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 2004, p. 360). The desire to hire women with these qualities provided a degree of conflict as the women were sought for traditional qualities of womanhood, yet their future roles in southern society would place them in a new territory that did not match any experiences within the women’s social, political, or cultural past. The women were unique in the ways in which they navigated this complex duality of their identity.

One criterion often cited for employment was woman’s experience in higher education or as a teacher in a northern school. While Jones (1979) notes that most teachers had received higher education (p. 48), references to this personal past are seldom noted in the archives of the women. In fact, only two women are mentioned for their educational attainment through the archives accessed as part of this research. First, Botume (1892) recognizes the arrival of Miss Fannie and her education at Holyoke as, “Young, active, and enthusiastic, fresh from school, with all the new methods of study and teaching, she inspired an admiration and enthusiasm which fell little short of hero worship” (p. 70). Similarly, some teachers advocated for the hiring of friends by celebrating the achievements of these women. Julia Pepper (1868, Aug. 22) advocated for the hiring of a position in Beaufort as, “Would it be of any use for a friend of my own to apply for a school here? Miss Holmes (of Auburn N. Y.) is a graduate of Holyoke and I think her invariably good health and spirits” (¶ 4). The anticipated future success of the teachers was measured in part by the type and level of education received at these northern institutions, although this was only one component of the teacher’s knowledge and one measure of the teacher’s character. Similarly, this quality is also a measure of a 19th century woman as she would be required to possess certain knowledge to

successfully keep a middle-class home in the northern city. The practice of hiring teachers based upon a college degree is not unique, though, to this time period. Upon completing requirements for my master's degree from the University of Pittsburgh, I was offered positions throughout the South based solely upon my graduate degree and the reputation of the college. Just as in the 1860s, a chance to move to a southern, coastal city while finding full-time employment was an attractive offer.

Although selected teachers are often seen as sharing the purpose and viewpoints of the Freedmen's Bureau and corresponding religious agencies, some historians have focused on other influences and motivations for the particular teachers. Not only were the teachers answering a call for employment and an interest in meeting the goals of the organization, but the women also held their own social and political reasons independent from these group affiliations. Some historians describe that the ambitions of the teachers were for personal gain. Rose (1964) writes, "A few had come largely from a sense of adventure" (p. 52). Whether looking for adventure or a vacation from bustling cities in the North, the physical and emotional conditions of war torn South Carolina or Reconstruction Georgia were hardly the place for rest and relaxation. Similarly, some teachers are described as viewing teaching as an opportunity to personally give back to the freedmen for many years of bondage and sorrow. These teachers often had a strong emotional pull for the work that was derived from strong abolitionist sentiments. Abbot (1967) describes the short lived experiences of these teachers as:

Many of those who entered teaching were moved to do so by a deep, and sometimes overwrought, emotionalism about the plight of the former slaves. . . their conviction soon wearied of the venture, once the novelty and excitement

were gone, and returned to the North, dispirited and sometimes disillusioned. (p. 83)

While first noting the purpose of the women, this statement also points to independent struggles that some teachers faced. Despite their strong emotional ties to the troubles of the freedmen, the physical conditions and emotional demands of the job were more than the expectations of the teachers. This is one of the reasons that many of the teachers returned to the North after only one year.

Lastly, another motive for teachers of the Freedmen's Bureau was to create schools and educational systems that emulated traditions of northern schools. Since of the women who initially taught in southern schools had attended college in the North or taught in a Common School, they directly brought perspectives of norms for education and the religious or political expectations of their sponsoring agency to the southern school. Jones (1980/1992) examines expectations for schools in both the North and the South and describes them as, "the goal of public schooling to be the same in both sections of the country: to effect moral character reform and thereby guarantee social stability in the face of increasing fragmentation based on class, political, religious, and racial tensions" (p. 9). In chapter 3, I showed the varying curriculum orientations of the teachers throughout the Freedmen's Bureau schools that highlight the various motives for the women's applications and employment. These preconceived intentions upon arrival in the southern states cannot be ignored. In addition, it is further noted that to extend their influence on the southern system beyond classroom instruction, the teachers also favored instruction for young freedmen who desired to be teachers themselves. Thus, by educating a future generation of teachers in the expectations of the northern system, their

influence would be two-fold (Faulkner, 2004, p. 47). This adds another element to the purpose of the female teachers as they sought transformation of freedmen through education based upon their own social, political, and cultural perspectives while also adding to the inheritance of the community by training new teachers.

Another emotional conviction of the teachers is recorded by at least one historian as she believes that some teachers sought independence for themselves from northern life. Jones (1980/1992) is one author who points to this personal motivation. “Like many reformers, they joined the cause in order to liberate themselves from the comfort and complacency of a middle-class existence” (p. 8). I think that Jones’ position on this matter is interesting for two reasons. First, the women were chosen for their independent spirit to leave the middle-class life of certainty and expectations in the North. The women’s confidence and ability to financially provide for their selves were qualities that suited conditions for life in the South. On the other hand, these same qualities caused teachers to disagree with male leaders who expected subservient females with characteristics that matched 19th century norms. Thus, qualities that helped teachers as independent workers were also rejected by patriarchal leaders. Although Jones speaks briefly of this clash between the male and female roles, this idea is not developed in any other work that I have read on the teachers during the Civil War and Reconstruction, possibly because it contradicts the normalized view of subservient teachers.

In the past, historians have described that women interested in roles as southern teachers possessed financial means to support themselves independently from the relief agency (Jones, 1980/1992). This is true in some cases as women such as Towne were able to travel as volunteers, receiving no payment until years had elapsed in her position.

During my reading, though, this did not prove to be true for all teachers. In fact, women desiring additional funding for school buildings or supplies actively petitioned relief agencies and religious institutions through letters, reports, and even visits during summer months. This advocacy for the education efforts often provided the extra financial support desired by the women. Additionally, the letters of teachers further highlight personal reasons for economic decisions to travel to southern schools. Some women relied solely upon the monthly salary and explained in letters to agencies that their only financial support was based on their teaching position. For example, Burnett (1868, July 13) notes, "I am dependent upon myself alone and shall be glad if you can allow something" (§ 6). Similarly, Allender describes an internal struggle as to whether to stay in the South during summer months despite a lack of payment during that time (Allender, 1867, May 28, § 1). These descriptions of the teachers' experiences note that not all women were financially able to support their living expenses through independent means. Despite the popular view that women were wealthy and self-sustaining, archives were not found that support this position.

Throughout the 1860s, this financial stability was sought by some women as the continued needs of the freedmen provided constant opportunities in the southern states. Furthermore, some women came to rely upon the commitment of particular aid agencies for support. Hancock (1937/1956) writes of her support from a Quaker organization as they "have given me their word that as soon as I am settled down somewhere they will pay me thirty-five dollars per month. So altogether, it is the best financial speculation I have been in for a number of years!" (p. 189). This consistent payment even made it possible for teachers like Hancock to assist her family in the north with a weekly

contribution (Hancock, 1937/1956, p. 211) while Anna D. Ludlow similarly contributed funds to her father through indirect means (Ludlow, 1875, Feb. 3, ¶ 9) when her family's financial situation declined. This economic position of the women is an aspect of their lives that went against the traditional role of the female in the 19th century society since expectations dictated that she was to be primarily cared for by her husband or father's economic success. Interestingly, my own desire to be financially secure independent of a husband was taught to me by my father from a young age. Until recently with the decline of the economy, a woman's intention for financial stability through a teaching job was almost guaranteed after college if the woman was willing to move, especially to southern states in need of hundreds of teachers each year. The recent economic situation of our country in the last years, though, has changed that condition whereby teachers now face lay-offs or contract non-renewal on a year to year basis for budget cuts. Women can no longer secure a job through completion of requirements with a school system as changes to county or state requirements eliminate or reconstitute positions in schools from year to year.

Northern women learned lessons of their religious, social, and political roles through implicit lessons within their families and communities. Yet, the social circumstances of this time and location allowed the women and aspects of northern society to be influenced in ways that accepted this divergence from 19th century norms. One way in which differing views were spread through the northern society was through abolitionist meetings and messages that dominated northern cities in the mid to late 19th century. For example, Towne interacted with Dr. William Furness in Philadelphia, near her family's home. Jacoway (1980) reports of this influence as:

Dr. Furness taught her to loathe both the slave system and the men who used it to their advantage, and with each passing day her abhorrence of the slavocracy intensified until her dedication to the struggle for freedom became the consuming passion of her life. (p. 28)

Towne's dedication to the freedmen is evident in her lifelong commitment to the Penn School on St. Helena Island, South Carolina as she remained actively involved with this institution until her death. Similarly, Schofield was acquainted with William Lloyd Garrison through her interactions with both the Quaker and abolitionist communities near Philadelphia. Her regard for this abolitionist was so great that she named her first established school in the Sea Islands for Garrison.

As described thus far, women applying as teachers had varying purposes for their desired placement. Furthermore, the women themselves were educated in communities with a variety of religious, social, and political forces throughout northern states. Although women were recruited based upon a common set of goals exhibited in an application, each teacher possessed her unique cultural frame of reference in regard to 19th century expectations. More importantly, by leaving their homes and the security of their families, women broke long-standing expectations for the role of the woman in northern society. Still yet, as the women entered southern society, they encountered another set of cultural expectations that desired for the woman to remain in the home and prevented interactions between white women and African Americans, especially men. This movement created multiple tensions in society, both northern and southern. In northern society, women assumed roles formerly forbidden by religious or political institutions. Although the Quaker community supported the active involvement and

leadership of women in philanthropic endeavors, other religions did not permit such leadership. Speaking of the American Missionary Association, one of the primary groups responsible for sponsoring teachers in Georgia and South Carolina, Jones (1979) notes constraints that were placed upon women. “The evangelical emphasis of the Association only served to reinforce prevailing attitudes toward women as highly emotional, sensitive, and religious beings who, by virtue of their maternal instinct, could successfully teach young children” (p. 49). Within this capacity, women were valued for the ability to maternally care for the future generation through religious instruction but incidentally were forbidden from acting further in society. Conditions in the southern realm, though, created circumstances where women acted with personal conviction as leaders of their schools when they negotiated interactions with freedmen each day. Wakako Araki (2008) describes the social implication of the women’s work in African American communities. “The majority of northern white women teachers crossed over multiple boundaries that defined their ‘proper sphere’; they crossed the border between women’s and men’s spheres, between North and South, and between white and black communities” (p. 225). Whenever a new situation arises where individuals are moving beyond social and cultural expectations for behavior, conflict may arise. The actions of the northern, female, middle-class teachers are so diverse within this historical context because they crossed individual, family, and social boundaries that were influenced by their own cultural histories. These experiences were conflict ridden because the women contradicted northern expectations that were controlled by institutional forces and conveyed to the women both explicitly and implicitly.

As the women acted based on personal values, they did so in ways that contradicted the communities in which they worked. Although some teachers may have not been cognizant of the direct ways in which their actions and teachings contradicted the values of the freedmen, their actions and words were still interpreted differently in the lives of the teachers and freedmen alike as cultures clashed. Such actions or teachings of the women affected both cultural and religious aspects of the lives of freedmen by sending messages that contradicted their perceptions and expectations. For most of the northern teachers, the lives of the freedmen and the greater society of the South were seen as primitive or strange in comparison to their own. “The South at large was criticized for its backward lifestyles and social practices across postbellum travel accounts” (Winders, 2005, p. 396). These aspects of society and culture, seen as different from the northern way of life, were ridiculed and contradicted in an attempt to eradicate particular behaviors. More specifically, teachers attacked religious meeting and traditions, marital relationships, and language including children’s names. In examples such as these, individuals acted as cultural imperialists through actions and words of the teachers within southern society.

Social Expectations and Lived Situations

The 19th century woman was judged upon a set of criteria that made her suitable for marriage and a family. These cultural expectations were taught through both traditional education in the classroom and through various aspects of social training. “The attributes of True Womanhood, by which a woman judged herself and was judged by her

husband, her neighbors and society could be divided into four cardinal virtues – piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity” (Welter, 1966, p. 152). These virtues made the female suitable within her family as a daughter, wife, and mother, and society gradually accepted contributions of these women in approved occupations such as teaching or nursing. Although the virtues were the expectation, the ways in which women carried out these aspects of character varied across time and in different locations depending upon various aspects of her social upbringing as well as the conditions in which she currently resided. Southern schools in the 19th century provided one environment in which the women acted virtuous in the eyes of northern white expectations according to other standards while also demonstrating flawed judgment.

The Maternal and Nurturing Woman

The role of many women in 19th century, both northern and southern, was to be a dutiful and compassionate mother. As few jobs afforded opportunities away from the home, a woman’s primary responsibility was for the care and organization of the home. “Home was supposed to be a cheerful place, so that brothers, husbands and sons would not go elsewhere in search of a good time. Woman was expected to dispense comfort and cheer” (Welter, 1966, p. 163). To complete this task, women were cultivated according to class structures and schooling opportunities to prepare the home through a variety of skills that were useful to the wife. “Women were to master every variety of needlework. . . Embroidery improved taste; knitting promoted serenity and economy” (Welter, 1966, p. 165). The woman was prepared in the labors and skills necessary for her economic position. During this period, it must also be remembered that the wife would have had hired individuals to help with house keeping and child rearing, ensuring that her time was

spend on the finer aspects of life. More importantly, though, the woman also maintained the role within the home structure to maintain morality and religious conduct within the family structure.

Movement away from educational opportunities of northern cities did not prevent women from maintaining cultural talents while employed in southern states. In letters, some women request texts in various languages to maintain knowledge of more than one tongue. For example, women requested texts in French and Latin including Russell (1869, Jan. 30) as she remarks, "I write merely to acknowledge the receipt of the 'Latin Testament' which I requested sent from NY" (§ 1). Other women took music lessons to maintain her talent and future role as a wife. "Carrie is very much occupied with her music lessons and has fixed up the garret room for her own room and keeps is scrupulously neat" (Hancock, 1937/1956, p. 271). Since teachers did not have many opportunities to interact with friends or family and were isolated from southern whites, there was little opportunity to share this talent with others. Instead, as some women entered the teaching profession only temporarily before marriage, such aptitudes were still focused upon and maintained by the women in their southern homes to meeting northern norms for behavior and social acceptance. Knowledge of these subjects did impact the curricular decisions of the women, including the use of music as "lessons in singing, number, physical exercise, human body & I find this mode of teaching calculated to lease the young thoughts directly to God" (Carter, 1864, June 13, § 3). The use of song was also described by some women as a way to entertain "unruly" students who were not accustomed to sitting for periods of time in the classroom (Ames, 1906, p. 39). Still yet,

such skills surely influenced the character of the home which could be seen by both southern whites and freedmen each day.

When women moved to southern homes, they sometimes lived in larger homes that represented a family structure having a male leader (father) and a female leader (mother). In each family unit, members participated in group prayer time and shared in the duties of the home. Although they moved away from their rightful father, women entered into a symbolic relationship with the male leader of the relief organization or Freedmen's Bureau who held the position of power within the southern home. The family unit supervised the moral and religious conduct of the females while also ensuring that they provided a model of a proper home through cleanliness and order. This circumstance maintained the power structure of the northern society symbolized by a cohesive, male-dominated family while still granting the women autonomy to work within in their independent schools. In this way, the structure of the southern home modeled northern expectations of family structure to the freedmen.

It was clear in the application process that women were chosen for maternal and nurturing qualities. As women worked to provide rations for the very young and old who were unable to work for their food, they provided for their local communities. As the women nursed men and women back to health in times of sickness and disease, the teachers nurtured their students and community members. After teaching the children until the early afternoon, the teachers would sometimes travel through the community, speaking to adults and reading letters or the Bible as requested. On a day-to-day basis, women introduced northern perspectives of a proper home through spoken lessons within the context of the school and when visiting the quarters of the freedmen. During these

visits, several teachers remarked upon the uncleanliness of the homes and the ways in which they were built that did not provide for sanitary conditions. Johnson (1869, Dec. 25) describes a visit as:

There are many ways by which a Lady who is interested can improve these people in their homes, untidyness (sic) in their person and home, is almost universal. A word kindly spoken seems to take effect. I always seem to awaken in them the needs of an education of an effort to attend day or night school. The need seems to be to put them to thinking. (¶ 5)

During these visits, the women did not only comment on the desired quality and condition of the homes, but they again reinforced the notion of schooling to family members. As this was a time when the teachers interacted closely with the adult population, it was an opportunity to build closer relations and convey their messages to individuals and families. Indirectly, this was one way in which northern white male expectations of obedience and domesticity were conveyed within communities of the South. Through other discussions of the living conditions throughout the archives, I do not think the teachers often accounted for the lack of experience of the freedmen in building different types of structures that provided warmth in the winter and cool in the summer while also keeping moisture from collecting in the home. The “mud huts” were most likely built on knowledge from lives in African that were not suited for the coastal climate.

A striking contradiction between actions and words occurs when comparing qualities of the home encouraged by the teachers and lived experience of the teachers themselves. While the women went into freedmen’s homes and extolled the benefits of

cleanliness, order, and morality, they contradicted this message with their own efforts. Although some teachers lived in large “families” comprised of northern relief workers—other men and women lived independently of this structure. “Most northern women teachers in the South Carolina Sea Islands were not fond of and oftentimes did not practice the same gendered domestic life styles for themselves that they instructed freedpeople to follow” (Araki, 2008, p. 226). While dictating that a woman’s role was to maintain the physical home, some teachers actually hired servants to do such domestic duties within their own homes. This contradiction reinforced conditions of a slave’s service to a white woman in the home as teachers remark that they paid the servants little money. “Servants, who, in days of slavery, were hired out, for eight & ten dollars a month. Many of them can get but get but five or six now” (Curtis, 1867, Jan. 19, ¶ 1). By supporting the economic dependence of the freedmen upon whites and the federal government by paying unfair rates and supporting the oppressive conditions by hiring labor for their own use within the home, the teachers supported economic and political intentions of northern leaders. Through example, the teachers were imparting a hidden curriculum into the minds of the youth by paying low wages for the work of the freedmen—an act of oppression at the hands of the teachers themselves.

Contradicting expectations for home structures are not only exemplified through differences in the teachers’ home conditions and the perceived expectations for the freedmen. As teachers worked within the communities with religious and political leaders, they soon turned their interest to the family structure of the African American communities. In particular, teachers saw family structure and a condition of having multiple wives as an aspect of the African American society that must be eradicated.

These relationships were perceived to be the product of slavery because families were forced to divide based on sales of male slaves by owners. Furthermore, slave owners encouraged the birth of children by female slaves because the children became the property of the mother's owner. Over time, one male may have had several wives and families on different plantations, even across several states. With the option of freedom to move beyond the plantation's gates, members of these extended families reunited by traveling across southern states in search of lost family members. Although the freedmen saw this as a cultural norm to unite family and extend connections among the community, teachers were appalled by the living arrangements whereby one man or woman was noted to have married several different partners over time while creating a large family of children. In northern communities, the expectation for a woman was to remain pure until marriage. "Woman must preserve her virtue until marriage and marriage was necessary for her happiness. Yet marriage was, literally, an end to innocence" (Welter, 1966, p. 158). The conditions of slavery whereby women had multiple husbands and children with multiple men were a despicable contradiction to this expectation.

Female teachers acted to support religious agencies and political leaders to influence expectations for a monogamous marriage. Collectively, white men and women required that each man choose one wife and complete a "formal" marriage ceremony with a license of marriage. For example, missionaries "introduced some severe strictures against the loose practices prevailing, called 'marrying in blankets' by the colored people" (Rose, 1964, p. 89). The state of South Carolina also passed regulations in November of 1865 that determined the family structure to be a man and woman united in a ceremony and symbolized by a contract. This political agenda easily matched the

cultural expectations of the teachers as purity was a universal aim of the women. To support these political and social directives, teachers did several notable things. In one way, teachers spoke to elders to influence their minds. "In vain did we quote this law to the colored elders. Their only reply was, 'Do you ever read your Bible?'" (Botume, 1892, p. 167). Other women supplied the newly married couple with material items such as clothes or a Bible as an economic influence to the dire conditions. For example, Ware (1969) describes that we "gave to each of the girls who have been married since I left a Bible with her name in it" (p. 123). Thus, the women acted to support the northern, white ideals for marriage directly through discussions with the freedmen and in hidden ways through gifts and encouragement.

Another example of cultural conflict between the teachers and freedmen is the confusion caused over names of students. In the northern, white society, many individuals were typically named after religious leaders or persons of the Bible which is further evidenced by the repeated presence of teachers named Annie, Mary, or Sarah. On the other hand, a tradition of the African American community was to name children after signifying events in the child's birth. Cornelia Walker Bailey (2000) describes how African American descendants often chose a name based on the time of birth or a significant aspect of the birth as well as a family name to help identify the lineage (p. 312). This cultural difference was unfamiliar to the teachers and created open criticism of the African American families. For example, Botume (1892) describes her confusion as, "I had already a list of over forty names. Amongst these were most of the months of the year and days of the week, besides a number of Pompeys, Cudjos, Sambos, and Rhinas, and Rosas and Floras" (Botume, 1892, p. 47). Similarly, Ware (1969) gives another

example with the history of the child. "'Rode' puzzled me completely, until old Maria, in talking of her 'crop' the other day, told me that one child was born in the road on the way home from the field the day 'gun fire at Bay Point" (Ware, 1969, p. 209). The confusion caused by the unfamiliar names caused trouble for the women when trying to maintain order and control of the class through daily attendance. Furthermore, they were not accustomed to the cultural significance of naming in the African American community which the white teachers labeled the names as "strange" to them. These names, "which would describe the appearance, personality, or some special ability of the child" (Rose, 1964, p. 97) had no significance in the lives of the white teachers, and the importance was therefore dismissed. Although I have not identified any reports within the archives read of forcing new names on children as other schools of the same time period sometimes did to civilize Native Americans, the confusion shared over this tradition likely caused some circumstances of misunderstanding and was part of increased ridicule of African American cultural traditions. This devaluing of a tradition was an example of this white teacher exerting her perceived privilege and perspective over Others.

Lives of teachers in the 19th century South primarily revolved around demands of teaching and other acts of support for the freedmen. On the other hand, some of these women, of marrying age, were interested in activities beyond the missionary duties of their situation. In fact, women sought out friendships and social experiences with other northern colleagues in their local vicinity. While Sunday church visits provided opportunities for teachers to gather from across various plantations, there were also meetings. "Two or three northern gentlemen have plantations near here who come to see us but we have very little society. I often wonder the girls are satisfied as they seem to

be" (Hancock, 1937/1956, p. 236). Although Hancock acknowledges her satisfaction with the social environment, she questions the contentment of her younger colleagues as the social expectation for their age and status was to secure a husband. While the inhabitants of parts of the Sea Islands made attempts to gather with friendly neighbors, teachers in other locations were even more isolated. For example, those on Hilton Head complained of the distance from other individuals and limited contact through letters and eventually asked for a new position in a more populated area. In Savannah, Douglass, (1866, Dec. 8) describes, "Although not far from Savannah our opportunities for intercourse with the teachers there are rather limited" (§ 1). Obviously, in these situations, the women did not consider the African American community or southerners to be appropriate for socialization. Their home lives were distinctly kept from social aspects of their teaching lives.

To resolve problems of loneliness and isolation, teachers sought comfort in frequent contact with family and friends through letters. In some cases, family members eventually joined teachers in their efforts after moving to or visiting the southern states. One of the most widely recognized friendships is between Towne and Murray, a life-long friend who joined her efforts early in the 1860s and taught in the Penn School for her whole life. Initially Towne spoke of joy in anticipation for Murray's arrival. "Ellen is coming at last. I felt sure no one could stop her. Mr. McKim is also to come as Philadelphia agent, and I am free" (Towne, 1912, p. 57). Although Towne had the company and strength of Murray throughout her time, her brother would also come to the Sea Islands at a later date, finding employment and further supporting Towne's efforts in the Penn School. Similarly, other teachers requested visits of family and friends, noting

the beauty of the environment and pleasurable spring climate. For example, Ludlow writes to her family describing, "I wish that you & our folk at home could run down here now. Savannah has been blooming for several weeks" (Ludlow, 1874, April 6, ¶ 11). This desire for companionship and comforts of home is an emotion to which I can closely relate. My parents have visited once every year, and I have had success in attracting visitors to Savannah to include both family and friends. As I am approximately the same distance from my family as the teachers were separated from their own home, I can relate to the insurmountable feeling of distance when separated from loved ones. What is different for teachers like me, though, is that I am now connected to family and friends through unlimited technology that even allows me to see my mom and dad through my phone. On occasion, my husband and I will Face Time on my travels because wireless Internet provides a more dependable connection than traditional cell service. I can also depend on air travel if I need to be home within a day as compared to the long and difficult journeys by train or boat in the 19th century. Although times have changed, moving away from one's home provides its own emotional challenges that even an independent spirit like me did not completely anticipate.

The maternal and nurturing role of the woman is often regarded as her attainment of a physical home and an emotional family. The cultural bonds of family are impossible to replace when one is living away from home. On the other hand, building a new family with a husband adds a new dimension to the life of some woman. This bond was found by some teachers during their journey as they either married men they met in their southern town or returned home for marriage in their northern community. Earlier, it was noted that Hancock described the lack of social events in their coastal area, and her

anticipated result came to fruition. "They are engaged to be married so it is the last year for the Taylors in the south" (Hancock, 1937/1956, p. 280). The Taylors, regarded by their peers as good teachers, left the occupation to return home as wives. Although this is but one reason why teacher turnover was problematic in the southern schools, it is to be noted because of the strong social expectation that the women carried into their occupations. It should be noted that women in northern schools also left the profession after a short period of time to assume household and maternal duties. This circumstance is familiar to me, also, as I met my husband on month after moving to Savannah; we were married three years later in a southern church surrounded by family and friends. Yet, my commitments to my job and the students I teach are not dismissed by my marital status.

It is clear through letters written by the teachers that they cared deeply for northern family members and communicated frequently through the written word. Within these letters, teachers described their perceived responsibility to keep a home and maintain the moral and religious integrity of that place. The breadth of the letters hold more details into the teacher's perceived position in society including other aspects of their maternal expectations. In some cases, teachers were called to offer their opinion on preferred circumstances for a child's placement in times of death or illness among members of the African American communities. In these cases teachers assumed a position of authority for the welfare of the child. Some teachers contemplated the care for the children within their own home while in other situations they sent children to northern family and friends or an orphan home in a neighboring city.

There is one key distinction, though, in the maternal efforts of the women to determine the placement of the child. Life in a northern family included some opportunity

for an education, but it also guaranteed a childhood of work for the orphan. Towne (1912) describes one situation as:

Doesn't Mr. Thompson want such a little boy? Tell him the boy is about ten, is black as coal, hearty and strong. He is up to everything but work, and yet I am sure a good boy could be made out of him. (p. 194)

Towne alludes to the worker that can be “made out” of the boy through discipline and force, much like the conditions of slavery that condemned men, women, and children to lives of hardship. Although only one example from the archives read, this action exemplifies an unequal assumption as to the limitations and position of the African American community and a misuse of one’s race and power by the teacher. Such actions are important to exploring the cultural power of the teacher and the ways in which women demonstrated their position in the southern society. As every action is a reflection upon the teacher’s character, elements of this power would have also been exhibited in traditional roles of the classroom.

Religious Obligations

One of the most desired qualities of a northern 19th century woman was her religious and moral integrity. This quality guided the woman in her daily actions and provided strength to act as a leader of one’s family. Religious obligations have been cited as a reason for one’s position as a teacher of freedmen in order to impart lessons of God and salvation in daily instruction. “Using the schoolroom to sermonize on proper civilized behavior, the northern teachers infused the Yankee virtues of order, industry, and thrift with a spiritual meaning, insisting always that moral behavior was an outward sign of grace” (Jacoway, 1980, p. 26). Religious obligations of the 19th century female

extended beyond traditional religious instruction for students. Women were expected to impart qualities deemed necessary through daily contact with the freedmen as well as through participation in Sunday services and Sabbath Schools.

When exploring the religious sects prominent in the 19th century, one recognizes Unitarian, Methodist, Baptist, and Quaker faiths in both support of relief agencies and the practices of women themselves. As practicing members of these religions, teachers sought salvation through word and deed. “As Christians, black and white women believed that their duty to God included maintaining and passing on their evangelical Protestant beliefs, spreading their light for the glory of God and the salvation of their people” (Chirhart, 2005, p. 9). The salvation that was possible through Christian deeds was not only attainable for the teachers, but the rewards extended also to their immediate families. Not only was the expectation within the religious institution for the women to share moral guidance, but many women wholeheartedly accepted this role within their community. The responsibility of sharing one’s beliefs with both family and community imparted power upon a female within the religious culture that was otherwise unattainable in society. This obligation to others was described throughout letters and diaries of the teachers as they demonstrated their deep moral conviction and accepted religious obligations within the southern society. M. Child, Scholfield’s mother, writes to her from their home in Darby, Pennsylvania regarding the proper attention of her efforts. Child (1866, May 21) writes:

I have always endeavored to teach my children to obey the light of Christ. . . Thee says thee knows thee is in the right place, then I must say, fulfill they duty to they heavenly Father first – and all things needed will be added unto thee. (¶ 1)

Schofield embodied this religious quality that had been modeled by her mother as Child embarked to provide educational experience for Native Americans before the onset of the Civil War. As a practicing Quaker, Schofield dedicated her life to education of the freedmen and frequently wrote about her spiritual devotion. Other women also described the importance of religious activities in their communities. Littlefield (1866, Feb. 1) describes her work when she states, "I am not here to do my own will, but minister to, and improve these degraded people" (§ 14). Similarly, Mary J. Welch (1866, March 31) uses metaphors to symbolize her anticipated eternal salvation in heaven. "I ask your prayers that God will enable me to teach aright and prove a faithful laborer in this great 'Harvest field' that when at last I go 'Home' with my sheaves" (§ 3). The religious faith of the women was shown through not only word but also deed. Specifically, this duty is exemplified in the frequent actions of the women to teach elders to read the Bible, by visiting homes to share the message of God, and by holding nightly prayers or Bible readings in homes. After the daily routines of the school had come to a close, the teachers acted with religious fervor to inspire and educate the freedmen to the word of God.

There is no doubt that the women acted with religious values in their interactions with the freedmen. Nevertheless, teaching the habits of religion did not end with lessons of salvation in the southern communities. Instead, teachers sometimes used religious doctrine to implement rules of clean and neat homes and bodies. These lessons were most keenly apparent as teachers made rules for entry into schools that required clean bodies and proper dress of all scholars. For example, "Miss Winsor insists that her children shall be decently clad, or she will not teach them" (Towne, 1912, p. 192). Hancock (1937/1956) speaks directly to suitable instruction of hygiene as she describes the

teaching of an African American teacher. She notes, "Mary overheard her talking to them and told them they must wash with soap and clean their nails with a stick, so she has the right idea of the Bible that cleanliness is next to Godliness" (p. 279). Teachers gave soap and combs to students to help their efforts in entering the classroom according to the northern women's expectations. Reports even document that children were even sent away to bathe in a local creek before reentering the classroom (Ames, 1906, p. 25). The expectations extended to the physical condition of all students regardless of work in fields or a lack of sufficient supplies such as clothing, soap, and clean water. The war-ravaged land supplied the freedmen with little necessities thus causing further dependence upon the white teachers and leaders for supplies to meet their expectations. These practices demonstrate the teachers' perceived privilege by holding educational opportunities from the "uncivilized" and "savage" children. On the other hand, not all teachers demonstrated the same perspective regarding cleanliness during school hours. Mather (1868, March 9) critiques these actions as:

It is vain to exhort these poor people to be neat if they have no soap and no money to purchase it. It is useless to exhort them to mend their clothes if they have no needles, thread, thimbles, or patches and no means to procure them. (§ 5)

Donations of relief agencies and northern groups supplied demands for articles of clothing and other basic necessities. These articles were either handed out or sold to the freedmen to help provide at least one suitable article of clothing and soap per person. While Mather's disagreement with the practice was voiced, it was not enough to disrupt the status quo within the society. While women clearly imparted these values in the classroom, they would also be taught to families and parents as the teachers monitored

the condition of the freedmen's homes by visiting families after school. In this way, the cultural expectations of the northern teachers extended to all parts of the community regardless of the available provisions within the community.

Communicating northern cultural values through religious messages was not only to draw freedmen to the salvation of God. The position of the teachers clearly demonstrated a disapproval of African American practices in contrast to northern expectations. Upon entering the southern land, teachers documented the religious habits of the African American community. One thing in particular that attracted negative comments was the practice of meeting in an elder's home to conduct praise meetings. As stated by one teacher, "There seems to be one thing very defective in their prayer meetings & they are generally held in a cabin too small to accommodate more than 'the members'" (Carter, 1864, June 13, ¶ 5). The existence of these private praise meetings was not doubt seen as a challenge to the authority of the church leaders as the messages conveyed were only available to those in attendance. The message of these meetings was also seen as inadequate as elders typically were not literate and therefore could not convey the written word of the Bible. Although the conduct of the praise meetings was tolerated, teachers had a stronger reaction to a "shout." The shout is an African tradition where men would play instruments and clap a beat while women would shuffle in a circle singing a hymn with a repeated pattern. The women would move about with short steps, being certain to not raise their skirts above the ankle in observance of modest traditions. Towne (1912) records her initial reaction to this event as a "savage, heathenish dance" (p. 22). Although some leaders attributed the practice to African tradition, women openly criticized the event as it was quite different from the expectations of quite reverence

within a church building. The African American tradition did not align with the northern cultural expectations of religious devotion and actions toward salvation.

The shout was a physical demonstration of religious belief and a community event that united the African American community, young and old. When shouts occurred, men and women would stay late into the night, moving and singing in time. These practices were criticized in the writing of the teachers to their family members and supervisory leaders of both the Freedmen's Bureau and the relief agencies. The religious traditions of the praise meeting and shout were not the only cultural practices that were ridiculed by the women. Other aspects of African American culture including belief in the "hag" and practices for sitting with the dead to protect against evil spirits were condemned (Towne, 1912, p. 144; Towne, 1862, Dec. 31). From my reading of the archives, I found that spoken ridicule of the cultural practices of the freedmen occurred more frequently in the early 1860s during the initial efforts of the teachers. I believe this circumstance documents an initial effort of teachers to eradicate these behaviors. Absence of the practices from documents written in the late 1860s and early 1870s does not mean that the women accepted the practices or saw them as unworthy of documentation. Instead, I believe that the women continued to document many aspects of life including religious, social, and political events. The absence of documentation of praise meetings and shouts may demonstrate the effect of the teachers to rid the African Americans of their cultural traditions in acceptance of the northern, white values. It may demonstrate a normalized version of religious practices that met northern expectations for worship in Christian institutions that coincided with increased Baptisms and conversions.

The Submissive Female

In the 19th century, women were denied access to opportunities in the community beyond maternal roles such as teachers or nurses in comparison to the freedoms that women have in today's society. Although many freedoms have been gained in today's society, the roles of teachers and nurses are still predominantly filled by women. The 19th century male held the power to make decisions in family, society, and political realms; women obeyed her father or husband and remained in the subordinate role. As women assumed roles in southern schools, they became engaged in part of society independent from dominance of male family members. More specifically, women who were hired as teachers in the 19th century took a step away from this dominance as they moved to rural and isolated communities where they would not have direct contact and influence with male authority figures each day. Although women still communicated with male family members or Freedmen's Bureau leaders through mail communication and sporadic visits, they were often under their own watch in daily activities. This set of dual expectations, the submissive female in 19th century northern society versus the authoritative and decisive teacher in the southern school, would create tension and conflict between individuals as power was negotiated both in society and the school.

Women's actions in the 19th century would have been approved by the male authority of the home in all matters. This patriarchal power limited the freedoms of young females to engage with different parts of society or to travel far from her home. The necessity to seek approval was a conflict for some women as family members opposed travel to southern states. Without the support of one's family, the 19th century woman was in a difficult position. Female teachers that traveled to Georgia and South

Carolina negotiated this aspect of their personal life in two ways. First, some women communicated with family through letters to attain support of the male relative. Towne (1912) speaks to her family and encourages their continued encouragement for her devotion to her southern position. "I see by your letter that you are quite dissatisfied about my decision to stay till next summer, but I am sure that if you were here you would think as I do and advise my waiting" (p. 124). Although Towne had received initial support from her family, she continually sought approval even after her departure from their home. Similarly, Hancock (1937/1956) acknowledges the opinion of her father in her correspondence. She describes, "I am glad father does not care to have me come home now, as I could not possibly leave my present business" (p. 225). These quotes illustrate both the power that fathers held over their daughters as well as the female's desire to satisfy the wishes of their fathers, even from afar. Although moving away from the physical reach of their father's power, they were not separated from the unseen influence of approval. In contrast, other women signed contracts without the knowledge or approval of families. Ames (1906) reported that she accepted her teaching position without notifying her family. Even after her departure, her family maintained their stance as, "Our families ridiculed our going and tried to stop us, prophesying our return in less than a month" (pp. 1-2). The text of letters between teachers and family members clearly illustrates that the women were concerned with the family's disapproval for her work. On the other hand, the women had asserted their power when accepting a position in the southern school away from the family's influence or protection.

Although the women traveled to their southern homes without family, some were soon greeted by a surrogate family unit. In these cases, the young female teacher would

live in a home with a male leader who usually acted as a principal or Freedmen's Bureau agent. In addition, there would be an older female that acted out the role as the maternal and spiritual leader. At times, this role of father and mother would have been occupied by a married couple who moved for the male's job in the Bureau. These living situations would have been established by the relief agency or Freedmen's Bureau and usually continued from year to year in the same "mission home." For example, Merrick (1868, Dec. 21) questions the arrival of a couple as, "In regard to Mr. Bringham, I would like to know whether his wife is coming. I want to know what plans to make about a room for him, so that everything may be ready for him, whenever he arrived?" (§ 7). All other women assigned to the house would have shared in housekeeping duties and would have followed the orders of the family's elders. Through descriptions of the teachers, it is evident that the family structure occurred most often in more populated areas such as Savannah while teachers in more rural areas were responsible for their own care and housing. For example, Towne, Murray, and other teachers shared accommodations in a Sea Island home before settling in a permanent house on the Frogmore plantation whereby four women shared the same bedroom with only one bed (Towne, 1912 p. 66). As women left their northern home, they began a new domestic life either isolated on a rural plantation or within a group in a populated area. Besides providing guidance and supportive living conditions, the situation also provided emotional support and acquaintances for the teachers.

Such living conditions joined men and women from both northern and southern society, often in a prescribed way. Individuals were placed together by Freedmen's Bureau agents or relief agencies in their homes with little regard for personalities or

habits. Naturally, conflicts occurred between “family” members within households. In some cases, the women complained of general unpleasantness as their habits did not agree with those around them. For example, Hancock (1937/1956) describes a night in her plantation home. "I am writing this under the greatest difficulties. . . Our family is large; the melodeon is going, base, tenor and alto singing, the piazza is full of people. We have guards all around. Altogether, it is more lively” (p. 246). In this example, the conduct of Hancock’s roommates was unsatisfactory to her but is no more than expected when a group of people gathered together for leisure time. In other situations described by the teachers, they described conflict that affected the living quarters. In some cases, women asserted their position in regard to conflict over religious or moral values within the home. For example, Burke (1865, Feb.) records her dissatisfaction with the home despite the growth and progress of her students. She writes:

On accommodation and the improper conduct of the men who live in the house, have made it impossible for me to stay any longer. But it is to be hoped our leaving may be the means of making the place more desirable for other teachers.

(¶ 1)

Although Burke was unwilling to leave her living situation and corresponding teaching position, the disagreement with the male did not cause her to leave the profession. She would move to the Sea Islands where she would teach on Hilton Head Island for the following years. Burke was willing to assert her displeasure to the male leadership, but this required her movement to a new home and school. On the other hand, other women were unwilling to be moved by the conduct of others. "I wrote you two weeks since asking to have Mr. Jenkins removed at once as I then see we could do much better alone

than with him" (Seymour, 1867, April 22, ¶ 1). In this case, Ellen Seymour asserts her displeasure and the necessary removal of the male teacher. This assertion of wrongdoing not only directly questions the value and purpose of the male in question but it contradicts the traditional role of the woman in the school and society.

The requirement to ask permission of a male authority figure, whether father or husband, is a concept that is very foreign to me in many ways. I was raised to be independent and focused upon my own career and life. My parents explicitly taught me that I should go to college to attain the education that I needed to support myself, and I sometimes worked two or three jobs during college to pay for my living expenses and car. Although I did ask approval of my parents to move to Savannah after college, both my parents and I were aware that I was moving somewhere for a job and economic independence from my family. It was a matter of finding a position that could pay my bills that brought me to Savannah. I remember speaking to my mother on the phone about a year or two ago, and she questioned my independence from my husband. I do not feel as though I have to ask him permission to do things or go places; we have a relationship built on respect for our married life and our own lives separate from one other. During this conversation, my mother criticized me and asked, "Why do you have to think you need to be so independent?" As her litany went on as to why I don't ask permission of my husband, I stopped her. I reminded her that she raised me to be that independent. She had previously praised me for staying away from home at college every summer and for moving to find a job. It is my upbringing and continued support of my husband that simultaneously makes me an independent teacher and doctoral student under the age of thirty. It is this unbridled drive that pushes me forward with my own purposes.

The 19th century southern teacher was not only monitored in her living arrangements, but the ways in which she taught and whom she taught were also closely watched. Each woman was required to send monthly reports to document the number of students taught along with details of race and gender of the student body. The reports further documented material covered in class and whether the women taught in Sabbath or sewing schools in addition to classroom duties. Just as today's teachers have lesson and unit plans or grade books, these reports were the means by which relief agencies and the Freedmen's Bureau agents were able to monitor activities of classrooms from afar. The correspondence between the teachers and leaders did not end there.

The reports were a formal means through which male superiors exercised control over the women's movements and actions in the southern schools. The women reported reasons for canceling school due to illness or other events in each month's report. Each woman was further required to gain permission when moving to a new school, taking a holiday, or closing the school for the summer months. For example, Pepper (1868, Feb. 22) describes her willingness to remain teaching on the Sea Islands as she writes, "I should be glad to be employed by you in the school work likely to be permanent. Will you consider me as an applicant for the position of teacher in the Normal School here, whenever it may be open" (§ 1). Pepper, like most other teachers, was required to reapply for a teaching position on a yearly basis and sought opportunities for a permanent and long-term position. Other women looked to move to other locations and even requested a companion on their personal journey. One example is from Wilkins (1867, Nov. 18) as she states, "Received a letter from Miss Burke saying she had asked you to send us together to Florida. I would like to be with her very much, hope you let us go together" (§

1). These exchanges demonstrate that although the women had to report to male superiors, they were able to voice their personal preference in a teaching position or location. They were able to exercise a voice in their opportunities while still under the control of the leadership. This is also similar to today's system as contracted teachers are able to move between schools within the same school system or to transfer to another school within a state without a change in certificate or credentials. In today's classroom, these basic procedures are essential to understanding the movement of teachers while ensuring that all schools are properly staffed for new students each year.

The role of the teacher in requesting movements or travel home was acceptable in the power structure as they upheld duties as defined by their relief association or Freedmen's Bureau agent. In order to engage the women regarding positive companions and to make the circumstances better for the women, leaders also accepted references for future employment of friends and acquaintances. Sarah Curtis (1867, Jan. 19) describes the qualities of a female friend as, "a person of more than ordinary patient & education, a sincere, earnest, working Christian, has the interest of the Freedmen very much at heart & I feel quite once would prove a valuable acquisition to your corps of teachers" (¶ 1).

Although Curtis was only employed in a school for a limited time, she obviously recognized the desired qualities of teachers and communicated these precise terms to the leaders. Similarly, Mary Still (1865, Nov. 29) details the support of a Philadelphia native who had applied for employment but was turned down. Still describes her as:

Miss Susan Waterman writes me that she has made application to the association for a situation in Beaufort or in this department as a teacher. She requested me to recommend her. I do this with great pleasure: because I know that just such

persons as Susan Waterman are much wanted here. They need those who can adapt themselves to their mode of life, at least long enough to establish a better one. Susan's habits and manners and qualification and power of endurance all constitutes her a fit person for this work. (§ 1)

In each of these examples, the women explain the positive qualities of the women in support of the educational movement to teach the freedmen. In doing so, women conducted themselves within the appropriate social and political spheres through their means of communication. The examples are cited to demonstrate two ideas. First, teachers were conscious of the qualities for employment and the expected role for women in society. Second, by advocating for the hiring of the women, they were demonstrating an awareness of the expected position of the women in the southern schools as an extension of northern society. This analysis demonstrates that women accepted their position and attended to the directives of leaders both in society and the classroom.

The women referenced above were able to voice an opinion openly to the leadership in an accepted manner in a way that supported the expectations for their position in the schools. The teachers accepted their role to satisfy the demands of society and the educational institution of which they were a part. On the other hand, the act of moving away from the control of a male family member to become controlled by other men was a troubling situation for some teachers. This was compounded by the daily expectation to make choices in difficult living and working environments without further suggestions or support of officials. Jones (1979) describes this conflict as it occurred in the lives of the women as:

The teachers accepted the schoolmen's argument that women had special, innate characteristics which peculiarly suited them for work in the classroom. But in the South they supplemented this moral self-righteousness with a strong sense of professionalism to produce forthright challenges to their male superiors in the areas of both educational policy and mission home management. (p. 56)

A conflict arose when the women were expected to meet northern ideals for submissiveness and morality while teaching in classrooms and interacting with members of the southern society, both situations that were drastically different from northern society. The northern women were asked to apply values that did not match the southern society. On the other hand, an assertive and strong-willed teacher acted daily in the classroom, and on the other hand she fulfills a submissive and docile religious figure in society. This conflict is summarized by Shearman (1867, Nov. 27) who was clearly one of the most outspoken teachers during the 19th century in Georgia and South Carolina. In one letter to a male official, she writes, "Tell me. What is duty, must we submit or complace?" (§ 1). As she challenges the authority, she questions the dual purpose of her position. Should she submit to the requirements of officials or should she act with self-conviction to achieve her own goals or purposes?

Even if teachers questioned their personal conviction or were even willing to voice displeasure with circumstances, they were no doubt affected on a daily basis by the expectations of the aid associations and Freedmen's Bureau agents. As women in the 19th century, social expectation dictated that they follow the directives of the male leaders. Instances of male power were demonstrated through the women's correspondence as they described specific ways in which men gave orders regarding

curriculum in the classroom. For example, Ames (1906) describes, “Mr. Redpath has issued a mandate forbidding the reading of the Bible in school—no religious exercise except saying the Lord's Prayer" (p. 30). Similarly, another example also mentions the moral or religious purpose of the school as, “Mr. French and the new superintendent of schools, Mr. Barrows of New York, came to see ours [school] to-day. Mr. Barrows spoke to the children with rather indifferent effect, and he advised our giving moral lectures every day" (Towne, 1863, Oct. 7, ¶ 2). In both examples, the male leadership addresses the moral and religious convictions of the women but in contrasting ways. Ames and Towne both taught on the Sea Islands in the early 1860s thus sharing the same context of time and place. On the other hand, they were given directives by two different men with two different purposes for the education of the freedmen. As both women were self-described as religious, this message either affirmed their position or contradicted their own feelings for the freedmen’s education.

The conflict between following regulations and confinements of a state of local curriculum is a battle for K-12 educators attempting to teach for social justice through personal and moral convictions. As states move toward Common Core Curriculum, the public image is a set of unified standards to make transitions easier between states or even schools within the same city for students as they attain a predetermined set of knowledge. Although the intentions are to keep all students at the same level to assist with movement in our increasingly mobile society, the curriculum is problematic in two key ways. First, it forces the teachers to teach predetermined standards to all students at a particular grade level without acknowledgement of the student’s personal level of knowledge, maturity, or mastery of prior skills. Second, by dictating the novels read and

texts to be studied, the standards take away both student and teacher autonomy and choice as standards and pacing guides dictate the common experiences to be had in each classroom and in each city. The teacher's conflict then becomes: do I accept the dictates given to me by the state or local board or do I teach through my personal conviction while risking poor evaluations and a possible loss of one's job. This battle is further fought each day in the classroom as district level administrators walk the halls of our schools to evaluate what week of a pacing guide each teacher is teaching. Furthermore, the personal conviction and freedom of the teacher is hindered by increased pressure from the state and district to not contradict the purpose and goal of the school district or state board of education. Increasingly, states are including clauses within contracts to limit teachers' public comments regarding the downfalls of our schools within the community or on social media sites.

The conflict between following orders and disobeying these commands was a struggle in the 19th century and it continues to be a political and economic battle in today's educational systems. Although the women were chosen to travel to the southern states to teach as a representative of the religious aid organization, women were often more assertive in their new position in southern society. Just as assertive women were judged in the 19th century, so are independent women ostracized in today's classroom. The lesson to be learned from the 19th century teacher is sought specifically in the matters that were raised and addressed to the leadership as written in letters or reports of the time period. For this purpose, I examined the purpose of the message when teachers raised important issues and whether the topic affected the teacher's personal well-being or the opportunities and circumstances for the students or all freedmen.

In some cases women vocally objected to a situation affecting their own position in a classroom or their role within a family or society. In these cases, the woman's purpose was to attain personal freedom or to control a situation in her life. The perspective of the teacher was often requested especially regarding living circumstances or the addition of a teacher to an already productive situation in a school. For example, Merrick (1868, Nov. 24) voices her opinion of the suggested addition of M. E. F. Smith to their Augusta home as:

I appreciate your kind thoughtfulness in putting the question of her coming to Augusta, in that shape which makes it proper for me to speak my mind. I have nothing personally against her, but I do not think it would promote peace and harmony in our family to have here. . . She would do better under a Superintendent of strong will and great force of character, than her. Still, if you think best to send her I shall do all I can to prevent any unpleasant consequences.

(¶ 3)

In this quote Merrick is able to voice her displeasure in the suggested situation but still asserts the power of the receiver to make the final determination in the matter. Although she would be displeased by a possible outcome, she has no authority to completely prevent the situation from happening. Similarly, Sharp (1869, May 4) engages in a lengthy dialogue with a bureau official regarding the living situation within her Savannah home. Specifically, she addresses the religious conduct of the family members. Sharp writes:

I know it's that Miss Drake, rather boasting of her influence at 'John St' told one of the family before she left, that she should inform you of her opinion of matters.

Miss D and Mr. Sharp are not at all similar. She is a regular Puritan, rather inclined, I think, to the rigid side of religion. (§ 2)

Although Sharp acknowledged the expected actions of her conduct to maintain the religious behavior of the home and conduct daily prayer meetings, she was unable to influence and control the younger teacher who did not share the same religious values while in the home. To rectify this conflict, Sharp supports her personal convictions and conduct to clarify any false impressions of her personal qualities. In both of these cases, the women described circumstances that affected the living conditions of which they were a part. As teachers, this conduct impacts the classroom curriculum as the women imposed their own religious or moral values through instruction and the hidden curriculum of the classroom. Furthermore, the women were part of the same communities in which the freedmen lived and all interactions were observed by the local society each day.

While these women addressed conflict arising in the home, other women addressed personal concerns related directly to individuals in leadership positions. This criticism contradicted the social expectations of the submissive female and challenged the power and authority of the male leaders. For example, one teacher requested honest and accurate appraisals of her teaching. "I like frankness and if my course here has been such as to occasion my removal, or if you are laboring under such impressions will you please to explain to me" (Foote, 1866, July 19, § 3). This teacher challenged rumors of her success and deliberately requested an honest response from the official. This statement further contradicted the 19th century expectation by allowing the woman to demonstrate the power to challenge the male and demand a response to the matter. Similarly, other

women challenged the position of specific leaders in their texts (Hill, 1867, Jan. 21; Shearman, 1867, Jan. 24; Hancock, 1937/1956). Hancock (1937/1956) targets Major O'Brien, a federal official of the Freedmen's Bureau as she first describes him as "an impetuous Irishman" (p. 252). This description places O'Brien in a subordinate position when looking at the comment in the historical context as Irish were seen as a different, lower class than the speaker. She goes on to describe prior acts of insubordination as, "I needed stoves for the school rooms and applied to him, he said he would not get them, so I sent to General Scott and he was immediately ordered to procure stoves for our use" (Hancock, 1937/1956, p. 265). In this act, Hancock disregards her own personal standing with the agent in exchange for the supplies needed to operate her school. The act of disobeying O'Brien's orders to appeal to another leader contradicts her position in the society. Nevertheless, this quality and the corresponding action was seen by her as necessary to acquire for the needs of her students.

Criticism of leadership not only contradicted the opinion of those in power, but it created grounds for dismissal from teaching positions. Similarly, in some current school systems, publically speaking against district leaders or the mission and purpose of an employer is described as a violation of teacher ethics. In the 19th century, although there were no formal contract requirements for service to the association or institution which she was assigned, her words and actions often contradicted the expectations for her decorum. One of the most outspoken women in the time period regularly challenged the power and authority of leaders from various teaching positions in both South Carolina and Georgia. It is difficult to trace the career of Julia A. Shearman due to a lack of regular documents including both letters and monthly reports as received by her relief agency.

Teachers, like Shearman, were required to send monthly reports, which were maintained in the American Missionary Association archives. Although letters exist from Shearman in 1867 and 1868, no reports were found within the archives to document the exact location of her teaching positions. The reports provided a way for officials to document and supervise the teachers and the absence of such reports over a lengthy period of time can be interpreted as the individual's act of resistance in providing this documentation. Her detailed and frank letters, though, provide an intimate look into the qualities of this woman. In chronological order, she first describes a lack of concern for the financial support that is provided for her work. "I confess that until a few weeks ago I had no affection whatsoever with the Association & only looked upon it as a means of getting at the Freedmen" (Shearman, 1867, Jan. 24, ¶ 3). Although this statement does not directly contradict leaders or undermine the purposes of the ruling power, it does offhandedly question the power of the institution over her personal conviction. As Shearman gained more power and was noticed by several leaders, her statements became more bold and authoritative. When challenging male decisions and demanding to be placed in a position of leadership, she writes, "You say that women will not be guided by women—perhaps not but they are not very willing to be guided by men" (J.A.S, 1868, Feb. 24, ¶ 3). Similarly, she later asserts her own position of power by requesting direct contact as, "If you have any fault to find with us, deal with us directly" (Shearman, 1867, April 12, ¶ 3). These quotes are given to demonstrate one case in which the teacher objected to the power structure and explicitly stated her expectations for change within the system. Although this assertive quality was unexpected in the 19th century society, she was instead rewarded for her comments and actions and appointed to an unofficial position

where she would travel to neighboring schools in coastal Georgia to evaluate the performance of other female teachers. This further contradicts the role of the woman during this time period as she assumed a traditional role of a male and even evaluated the success of other female teachers based on observations in their schools.

When women spoke out openly against the directions of bureau officials, they often did so with regard to their own comfort or situation. Although this went against social expectation, women justified their breach of decorum in an attempt to attain their end goals. Merrick (1870, Jan. 10) even asserts that she is not purposefully challenging the situation but that she is using her voice as a way to improve the state of educational matters. She writes, “Do not think we are making any complaint. Every thing is arranged to suit us, except that the schools are not well graded. There are only four teachers in our family. Three colored assistants are employed” (§ 3). In describing both the student and teaching population, Merrick explores possibilities for improving the school for the benefit of the students by suggesting that northern methods be employed to grade and level the school based on achievement. It was known and expected that one teacher would occupy and control up to one hundred pupils at a time and attending to the needs of different levels of students made that task more difficult. In a similar manner, Fenton writes to respond to directives of a leader with the focus still being the needs of the students and the physical capabilities of the teacher. Fenton (1866, Dec. 6) describes her situation as:

We have received your instructions and find it impossible to comply with them in every particular. You can see from the report we are doing the work of three

teachers and you will also observe that we only teacher one session. Teaching two sessions would necessity in value more labor. (§ 1)

Fenton does object to the expectations for her classroom teaching, but she defends her position by asserting her own capabilities and the needs of the students. By stressing the extent to which she is already working, she asserts her position. In both examples, the women dispute expectations by leaders through dialogue while still maintaining their teaching schedule and educating the freedmen. They were willing to sacrifice opinion of their own position in society in order to assist the young students.

Each of the examples above demonstrates that the ability to share a teacher's perspective in response to orders from male leaders is an assertion of one's professional perspective and teacher knowledge that is attained through interactions with students and community members. The women did not abandon teaching positions because of unfair conditions for themselves nor did they neglect their duties because of disagreements with superiors. In the professional world of teaching, the voice of the teacher is often silenced while determining district or county initiatives, programs, or changes while her role is relegated to decisions in the classroom. I argue that the opposite is necessary. Female teachers have the capacity to offer meaningful and practical suggestions and improve situations within schools and systems when their voice is heard and acknowledged.

The voice of the female teacher was not restrained to only addressing recommendations. In some cases, teachers spoke deliberately to male authority figures in the interest of the freedmen. In the following examples, Towne contradicts leaders to address perceived wrongdoings against the freedmen. First, Towne speaks for an elderly woman who is unable to attend services because of a newly created rule that forbids

freedmen from riding a horse in the community. "Park was there and I went directly to him. He heard me, and smiles as if a little pleased to be petitioned, came forward and promised the woman a pass or permission hereafter to use the horse" (Towne, 1912, p. 56). Although conditions on the Sea Islands were changing with promises of freedom for the former slaves, some leaders did not share the same perspectives. Previously, I noted that Towne's words and conduct can be interpreted as perceiving the freedmen to be an inferior class of people. Although her perspective toward the freedmen may exhibit her perceived privilege, she does look with compassion and kindness upon the freedmen, especially the elderly and children. Towne similarly speaks out for the benefit of the community to stop violence traditionally supported by the institution of slavery. Towne (1862, Oct. 7) voices her concerns as:

Had a most disagreeable talk with Mr. James Thompson, who came with his sister to the church. He talked so boastingly, and so despondently to the people, and the necessity of keeping them in order with whipping, that I told him he ought never to have come and ought to go home.

In both examples, Towne acts with regard to the well-being of freedmen. She exhibits the maternal qualities of care and compassion for others as she interacted with the former slaves in society. The early date on both documents indicates the initial need to address concepts of freedom in the southern society. Although she was sent to teach the freedmen, her job encompassed other aspects of southern life as she influenced others. Even more importantly, as she addressed southern men and their behaviors, her words and actions was interpreted negatively as the role of the women in both northern and southern society constrained the women's influence to the home.

Silenced by Society

The 19th century woman controlled the moral and religious expectations of the family home while entering the public sphere as a teacher or nurse—both occupations where she could further extend her maternal influence. Expectations of the male leaders and family members controlled her actions and made choices in social and political realms with little if any input from females. Women were to be provided for by men in the private sphere with no concern for economic or political happenings in the public realm. “Woman was to work in silence, unseen. . . She was to work only for pure affection, without thought of money or ambition” (Welter, 1966, p. 160). To fulfill expectations of their positions, the women were either quite or absent in public gatherings. Through use of societal and family power, the woman was metaphorically silenced. This expectation, both the social role for the maternal capacity of the women and her submissive role in the home, was understood by women and demonstrated in their correspondence. Although the previous section describes that some women were outspoken in their position toward educational and living arrangements, they sometimes exhibited a different stance. For example, Merrick (1869, May 10) describes her acknowledgement of expectations as “I know, very well, that if my opinion had been wanted, it would have been asked and a sentiment of delicacy has kept me silent” (¶ 3). This text demonstrates an awareness of a teacher’s role within the southern schools despite her perceived difficulty with a matter at hand. Although the woman was an authority figure in her classroom and dictated the day-to-day events of education, she did not receive the same status or respect for her knowledge in the greater society.

Conditions that created a submissive and silent female also impacted African Americans during times of slavery. Men, women, and children who were bound by slavery were forbidden to interact with their white owners, especially the women and children. The image was perpetuated in society that characterized the slave as barbaric and savage, a threat to the safety of a wife and children. Peter W. Bardaglio (1995) describes the social conditions and perceptions of the southern slave owners as:

The preservation of social order, not just domestic tranquility, rested on the smooth and effective functioning of the patriarchal network. In the organic model that served as the ideal of the Old South, people were supposed to know their own places as well as what part they played in the overall functioning of society. (p. 27)

The model created by the southern men created a system of opposition whereby women were seen as contrary to men regardless of race. The power structure that allowed this system was maintained by conditions of slavery that allowed the male owner to buy, sell, abuse, or kill his slave for misconduct. "In fact, by law and custom the master exerted enormous power over his slaves, who were required to show proper obedience and respect to him" (Bardaglio, 1995, p. 28). Obedience for the slave was characterized by work, following all demands, and silence in all matters. Even if a slave was being punished or wrongly accused, there was to be no rebuttal against the owner. The slave owner was the highest power in the plantation system, even resorting to his own discipline over the legal system of the state.

The silencing of the African American during slavery created conditions whereby men, women, and children did not speak or address the newly arriving teachers. Silence

was expected between the slaves and white owners and this expectation was extended immediately after the end of the Civil War to other white individuals. Lessons learned during one's experiences in slavery were not erased immediately when freedom was granted by different white authority figures. Ware (1969) initially describes the freedmen as, "They do not talk much unless we question them, when they tell freely" (Ware, 1969, p. 31). Later in her text, she describes the gradual changes that were taking place within the community. "We do not see so much of his [Robert] fun, as having been used to the house in 'Secesh time,' he is utterly undemonstrative before white people and is only gradually thawing into a little more communicativeness" (Ware, 1969, p. 214). The conditions of slavery were not quickly unlearned or changed for the freedmen as the female teachers represented a similar position of power due solely to their skin color when compared to the slave owning population. Cultural expectations for the freedmen in the past directly impacted the classroom and learning opportunities as the freedmen, both adults and children, were fearful of communicating with the teachers. This fear is exemplified in the beginning session of Botume's (1892) school as she called the children to class. Botume describes:

When I turned my back they all came out. When I faced about they darted off. In time, however, I succeeded in capturing one small urchin, who howled vociferously, "O Lord! O Lord!" This brought out the others, who seemed a little scared and much amused. (p. 43)

This example illustrates how unprepared and unaware teachers were when beginning their careers in the southern school. Botume exemplifies the lack of understanding for the children's knowledge and experiences that made them fear her and the institution she

created. Furthermore, the tone used to describe the children and their response shows her lack of compassion and understanding when teaching the young children. Unfortunately, this is not the only example of Botume labeling freedmen with animal names and metaphorically degrading members of the race.

Unfortunately, the illustration of Botume's experience that demonstrates a lack of awareness for one's student population is an occurrence that takes place in today's classroom as white teachers face with students. Personally, I was unprepared to address the student's disengagement with school and apprehension of both the parents and students when beginning my career in Georgia. Parents did not want to meet with me to discuss their child's progress or difficulties as I represented the authority figure. Additionally, I had trouble seeing the ways in which I represented the system or institution and how to negotiate this conflict with failing or low-motivation students. Several years later, I taught summer school classes at one of Savannah's urban schools where I was the only white individual in a class of more than 30 students. Anticipating possible emotions of the students, I discussed my expectations for the summer and assured them that we would work together to learn things they needed for life. My efforts to set my expectations continued for the first few days as the students continued to call me "crazy white lady" through the class. Finally, having heard the phrase enough times, I discussed their use of the phrase to answer or speak about me. Although I don't remember what I said, I do recall that the students listened then went right back to work as I ended. On this day, there was not an in depth discussion of race during this moment, but instead an open recognition of difference in the classroom. Class moved successfully through the following four weeks and the students made gains in their basic math

knowledge and confidence in the subject. The success of this summer session would have been otherwise negated by conflict that arose in the students and their feelings of past experiences or inexperience with white teachers.

The role of the northern women did not end at the doors of the classroom. The women conducted themselves as representatives of the northern religious and political institutions in church, Sabbath Schools, and other interactions with the freedmen in the communities. Conditions in southern society did not provide for the basic needs of the freedmen and extended the women's role to assist in providing a maternal influence in their communities. Teachers were expected to travel among the freedmen's homes to read the Bible and ensure proper hygiene was understood. The women even nursed sick elderly or children and advocated for the use of doctors and hospitals in nearby communities. Hancock (1937/1956) distributed government aid within her community. "I examine about 100 people every week and give them Rations if they come under the government rule. . . Also give them clothes and talk to them of all I wish to say" (p. 239). Similarly, Ware (1969) surveyed the capacity of the freedmen to work the coming year's crops. "I had promised to go to the quarters and rode down, C. walking by my side to take down the amount of cotton and corn land each had wished to work this year" (p. 144). In this capacity, Hancock served the influence of government institutions to give rations and supplies to those who were identified to qualify under federal guidelines, and Ware represented the economic institutions that operated within the community. In this manner, women worked to indirectly perpetuate conditions of slavery whereby freedmen only were hired through specific agencies to grow crops while earnings were also dependent

upon the same landowners or institutions as before the Civil War. The women worked within their societal roles to support white institutions that benefitted from labor.

The role of the teacher extended beyond the walls of her classroom and uniquely reached back to her northern home as well. Northern relief or aid organizations desired to know about the experiences of the women in the southern locations and even published their letters in journals or newsletters to gain interest and support for southern endeavors. In this capacity, the words and opinions of the women were desired but this only included their experiences which extended influence in the southern states. This occurred through a process whereby the teacher would be called upon by an agent or leader to correspond with a specific church or group in a northern town. It was the woman's duty to provide details of progress and growth in the freedmen as she perceived from her position. This duty was added to weekly teaching requirements, participation in night or Sabbath schools, domestic duties, and the regular letters and reports sent to superiors, family, and friends. Some women declined the imposed responsibilities citing a lack of time or ability to complete the task. For example, Martha H. Clary (1867, April 9) describes that "I am in correspondence with three sewing societies, to which I am hardly able to do justice. and I think I owe it to them to refuse any thing further" (§ 1). Other women hesitated to have their opinion and perspective published in northern papers citing privacy. "Please to consider all my letters are private—that is, not to be printed. I was greatly offended last year, at finding a private letter of mine in the American Missionary" (Merrick, 1868, Nov. 24, § 9). As Merrick cites a desire to have her private life separate from her teaching responsibilities, she draws the line between her influence in the community and her own personal qualities or experiences.

On a different level, publishing of letters demonstrates the power of the institution to control the perspective that is given of the teacher and her purpose in the southern school. The role of the teacher as a public figure had little regard for her personal life away from the school or satisfaction with the endeavor. In the 19th century, the teaching role was an extension of the women's role to influence the moral character of the home and community. When I was receiving my master's degree in Pennsylvania, we had several presentations that stressed the need to uphold personal moral character while in public because the teacher's job was never done. This included being seen drinking in public or having tattoos on one's body at work. Classmates had to cover tattoos daily or they were not permitted in the K-12 classroom. Teaching in Georgia, though, has a different set of regulations whereby tattoos are allowed and teachers do not have their license suspended or revoked for some actions in society such as a DUI. With technology, a desire for privacy has become more difficult to navigate as students and parents can peer into my personal life through Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Pinterest, or even a simple internet search. Students can also use that same technology to document my personal activities seen in public and to broadcast them through the cyberspace to friends, parents, or even my bosses. The difference between the 19th century woman and the present is that teachers in today's classrooms do not necessarily share the morals, values, or perspectives of the student body that they are assigned in the public school system or even that of the educational institution of which they are a part. Instead, we must help our students to recognize these cultural differences and work simultaneously to become aware of how we play a role in valuing these different perspectives while still co-existing with common goals. On the other hand, this can become problematic or a source

of tension when the personal life of the teacher becomes part of the classroom through conversation.

As women navigated different social expectations between their northern upbringing and southern conditions, conflict sometimes arose and the teacher's role continually changed based on new traditions and roles in the southern society. For example, the extension of the women's efforts was contrary to northern expectations as teachers spoke in churches and at public meetings, fulfilling a position of power as they served beyond their traditional roles when in their northern homes. Some teachers spoke in their diaries and letters as to the overt lessons received by male freedmen as to their "proper role" in society by the Freedmen's Bureau agents. In the early years during and after the Civil War, women were seen as an effective way to reach freedmen and include them in political or religious endeavors as determined by leaders. Teachers were included in religious meetings or were asked to advocate on the behalf of institutions within the communities. As the 1870s drew near, the political environment had changed as male African Americans were targeted by northern white men to take part in political efforts as they were recognized for their voting power. While the voice of the teacher was initially sought for the power to reach members of the community, it was now unnecessary as white male leaders were able to directly influence the male African Americans themselves. As women were dismissed from church meetings and political discussions (Towne, 1912, pp. 183-184; Ames, 1906, p. 92), African American men began to assert themselves as the dominant power of society. This change in southern society altered relationships between teachers and freedmen.

As the women continued to negotiate their role as a maternal influence while exercising different capacities of power in different social conditions, they also conveyed these systems of power to the freedmen through the hidden curriculum of the classroom and social interactions. In each case, the ways in which the women upheld the expectations of the relief agency or Freedmen's Bureau demonstrates shared goals between their personal agenda and curriculum and that of the supporting institution. The ways in which the teachers describe the events demonstrates their feelings pertaining to the perspective. Furthermore, I think that these actions and words are necessary to include in this research because the teachers conveyed expectations that disturbed the freedmen's cultural knowledge or expectations while also silencing the students to these matters.

One way in which the teachers enacted a curriculum of silence was to teach all students in the same manner while focusing upon organization and control of the students. While I fully recognize that implementing a variety of instructional methods in a classroom of nearly 100 students would have been nearly impossible, the manner through which instruction was delivered forced students to act uniformly without recognizing the purpose or goals of the students or family members. In two examples, the teachers stressed the importance of rules and discipline within the classroom. Marshall (1866, May 31) describes an ordinary day as:

still striving to have a well ordered, structured school, I say we as we have formed ourselves into a Ivy Company each one striving to do their best, Our Rules of Order are perfectly learned by each one and work admirably. As a reward of merit I send you the name of one of my scholars—John McIntosh—as being the best

boy in school. He has had perfect lessons, has neither been late nor tardy, and has kept the rules of school. (§ 1)

Marshall notes that the teachers have instituted a system of rules and reward for the students that implemented the norms and system decided upon by the teachers themselves. Although they allude to ownership of the rules by the “Ivy Company,” the school would have been established surrounding northern values and norms for behavior. Furthermore, by bringing attention to one student for achievement, the women ignore the shared quality of life in the African American community where members worked toward the goals of a family or community to share the rewards and benefits. The learned expectations for behavior were seen as a sign of progress and growth. "The opportunity of these people to learn the language and customs of civilized society and to acquire the simplest domestic arts has been meager in the extreme" (Carter, 1863, Jan. 22, § 6). As the students acted in accordance with the northern teachers' expectations, they were perceived as becoming civilized as they gained knowledge in the northern cultural values and system. This was further instituted as the curriculum included group activities such as “teaching them to count in concert, drilling them in behavior" (Russell, 1867, Nov. 19, § 3). Students were expected to act within prescribed expectations and to not challenge or disobey the requirements in any way. Just as the leadership imposed upon northern women, the women extended this same system onto the students and communities in which they worked. They embodied the cultural expectations and enacted these values in the southern classroom.

When beginning my teaching career, I included many activities during my internship in Pennsylvania where students and families would share parts of their own

culture within the classroom. Students taught a word of the day in different languages that included two dialects of Indian along with Japanese, German, and French. Parents would come to the classroom and talk to the teachers about their own cultural expectations for the children such as not watching television or movies. I was comfortable in these interactions and opened my classroom door to the knowledge of the student body. When I moved to Savannah and tried to implement the same strategies, I found difficulty. The low income or minority students did not offer knowledge of their own experiences or home life. When a student's familial or cultural expectations clashed with those of the institution as to behavior or language, I was unsure how to navigate these challenges. This topic is important because the 19th century teacher engaged in activities that were similar to my own early in my teaching career. I taught the way I was taught. I enacted my own cultural and social expectations for the classroom. When examining my expectations in contrast to those of families, though, I have come to identify diversity within my classroom beyond race, gender, and class. Instead, I must acknowledge how I hide behind state standards and district mandates to enact a white patriarchal environment in my room.

Circumstances arise when dealing with students or with even colleagues when people do not follow the rules and expectations. When addressing these events with students, there is sometimes a form of punishment that supports the goal of stopping the misbehavior. The situation of sitting in rows in a classroom while reciting numbers, letters, or other skills was a new experience for the freedmen and one that was disobeyed by the students. The women described this as they issued detention to stop the undesirable behaviors. "We stayed after school closed with three unruly boys, rough and

tough customers, who confessed that they liked to tease us; but they were ashamed and promised to do better in the future" (Ames, 1906, p. 58). In this case, Ames engages the students in dialogue surrounding the expectations for behavior in the classroom. Hancock (1937/1956) also notes that she resorted to keeping students after school in detention. In other cases the women employed different methods that included physical punishment of the child. Phillips twice records that she and the other teachers used corporal punishment in the school (1865, April 6; 1866, Jan. 1). As Phillips includes this description in two letters to male leaders, I cannot report how the students reacted to this event. Her description includes only her perspective of the incident. Interestingly, although Phillips personally desired to stay in her teaching position, she was not permitted to stay over the summer months or continue the following year within that school. Another example of corporal punishment is described in another text to reveals the community response to her actions as Botume (1892) writes:

I punished a boy by placing him in a corner with his face to the wall. When his mother heard of it she was highly offended, because I "hurt the feelings of her boy." She sent me a saucy letter, in which she said I "could lick him, for licks is a very good thing for a chile, but she didn't want his feelings hurted." (p. 250)

This example shows that in this case, the emotional well being of the child was regarded over the physical act of corporeal punishment by the student's parents. In fact, it was preferred by some teachers and parents alike. These examples are not intended to describe that all teachers acted physically against students. Some teachers such as Towne (1912) openly spoke against violence toward children in her community.

Even today, acts of physical punishment were and still are a topic of discussion when regarding child rearing as some schools still permit corporeal punishment with parent permission across our country. On the other hand, institutions of higher education are taking a stance against hazing and physical misconduct within sports and other organizations at the college level. In the context of the 19th century, the use of physical aggression mirrored the violence of slavery as masters and overseers controlled the slave population. Teachers forced silence and cooperation of the student population through physical means and perpetuated violence associated with the ills of slavery. In this manner, the women again reconstructed the same social and political system that limited the freedoms for women across the country.

Implications for Today's Classroom

I have asserted that the 19th century woman was chosen based upon the woman's ability to recreate moral and religious structures in southern society while still being controlled by the same system. In some cases, women acted against the patriarchal system as they voiced opinions and requested change within their work or home environment. For the most part, the women accepted the expectations of the relief association and Freedmen's Bureau agents and exemplified the characteristics of submission and moral integrity in their daily interactions. Furthermore, as the women taught students to read and write, they enacted the hidden curriculum of the classroom to include the same expectations that were assigned to them within their cultural realm.

During the discussion on the previous pages, I have discussed ways in which my own experiences as a teacher in a public school system have been similar to or different from those of the 19th century teacher. My role as a northern woman is complicated in my southern school because the students regularly recognize my actions or responses and call me a Yankee. While some students use a negative tone to describe me as a Yankee, other students proudly describe their own move from a northern home, comment on differences in family structure with a northern and southern parent, and speak about going back on vacations or to visit family. When attending parent conferences and discussing a child's progress or difficulties, though, the conversations do not always go as smoothly as when addressing a child in the classroom. Parents challenge my authority in the classroom and the personalized attention that the child receives. Now, I do not have any of my own children and cannot begin to assume to know how maternal instinct will impact my thoughts toward teachers when that time will come. As a public school teacher, though, I am required to teach up to 130 every day, which prevents me from spending the individual time that some students need. I do, though, hold between four and five tutorials every week and encourage my students to come to me during homeroom or lunch to get extra help. I answer emails and post notes and videos to help students at home. I allow students to revise and redo assignments to ensure they understand the material. When attempting to shift the focus back onto the progress and needs of the child, these efforts to help the child and family navigate challenges of the state curriculum are lost in the conflict between the parent and me. I do not and cannot know whether parents focus their aggression on me personally. Is it because I am young? White? Female? Highly educated? Regardless of the parents' viewpoints of me as their

child's teacher, I am sometimes ineffective at stating my own position and purpose as the teacher. At points in these meetings, colleagues have spoken up for me to assert my position and my good intentions for the child. It is only after these older women, both white and black, reaffirm my position and challenge the parents' accusations of unfairness or racism that the conversation can move back to the child.

I will never know if parents see me as white, middle-class, highly educated, or young and which attributes they use to judge my perspective of teaching. I do not know the stories that students tell at home that characterize me in the parent's mind. Exploring both the cultural positions of the parents and myself, and the various institutions in which we work, will help me to navigate such relationships and to bring focus back to the student in my classroom.

CHAPTER 5
NAVIGATING THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC INFLUENCES
ON EDUCATION

As I followed my students into the room, two women appeared in the door. One was a woman who has recently been conducting trainings on Differentiated Instruction for the county. The other woman I had never met nor seen. As my students filed into their seats and dug through book bags, the women proceeded to seats at my back table. Fear rose in me as some students noticed the women—pointing, whispering, watching.

Please, not today, I wanted to beg. Please, no I watched in silence at the scene that was about to unfold.

“Ok you have your clickers. Take out your workbooks and check the board for the assignment,” I reminded the students. This routine had been followed since December and shouldn’t have been a problem.

Through the murmur of the students, some comments stood out in my head. “Mrs. Smith I need a pencil.” “I don’t have my workbook.” “Hey, don’t take my stuff.” “Where’s my clicker?” “Hey, you farted, eww...” “No I didn’t.” “I still can’t find my workbook.” “Ok what good is you giving me a pencil if your pencil sharpener doesn’t work?” “Hey, I’ll help you.” “I need a pencil too.” “What page are we on?”

I went through the motions in utter amazement. How many pencils can a teacher possibly give out in five minutes? “Ok, thanks for helping him. Everyone, you should be on page 34 by now for warm up.” I walked to a female student who was especially off

task and loud. In a whispered tone I said, “Can you please go get a drink and come back in to work on your math?”

“WHHHYYYYYYYYY!?! I’m not doooooooooooooing anything?!? Seriously, you always pick on me.”

Yes, I am picking on you because you are the loudest. Please be quiet!

A feeling of defeat washed over me. I had no control over these students. It was already 15 minutes into the period and we had gotten no where. How would I ever be able to get them settled? What could I do to get them back into my routine?

“Ok two minutes until clickers,” I reminded them.

“I don’t have my clicker.” “I’m not done!” “No!” “Not yet.” “Hey, I don’t get this. I need help.”

After successfully clicking in the answers that I then assumed they had guessed, I moved on to review the problems. “Ok, let’s look at question four. Let’s try to use our tracing paper to explore the types of transformations with the given shape. Who can remind us what one of the three types of transformations is. Anyone? Cara?”

“Me? What number are we on?”

“Four, but that wasn’t the question.”

“Four, I don’t see a four.”

“Bryan?”

“Huh? Fraction?”

“No. A fraction isn’t a type of transformation.”

“Tommy, can you tell me the question I asked?”

“Huh?”

Ditching my initial question, I moved to question four. “Ok this question talks about the horizontal axis, if I look out over the horizon (motioning left to right with my arm) what axis is that?”

Really, are they really covered their faces? I can’t believe not one of them is looking at me. Boy, does she ever look surprised sitting back there.

With a sense of exasperation in my voice, I utter, “Ok let’s take a bathroom break.”

As the students filled out to the restrooms silently, the women followed. The women who had been our instructor at the trainings remarked, “Yeah, it’s really not working so we’ll leave. Maybe you can get them into the lesson then.”

I turned to the students back in the room, gathering my thoughts, calculating my next move. Students strolled back to their seats, in no hurry to start the lesson.

“Hey Mrs. Smith, when you are you going to start yelling?”

“What, CJ?”

“Well we embarrassed you enough, didn’t we? I mean most teachers would have screamed by now.”

Finally, I had the attention of the whole class. “I’m not going to yell. Look at number 4.”

I drove home today toward the causeway that would take me to my barrier island, my little piece of quiet and nature, my home. My thoughts traveled to the parts of

my dissertation I would tackle next: reading the newest books from the library, writing my methods section, revising my current writing..... As my car sped past the trailer homes along the road, my thoughts traveled back to my first year teaching and the students who lived in those homes. One student stood out to me today.

I remember the only parent conference that I have had in my six years of teaching where the entire family attended—together, willingly, as a whole. Karina sat right beside me, her sister only two years her senior at her side. Her brother, a high school student, sat to my left. Her parents, nervous but holding hands, sat at the other end of the table. The site of this family together made me start the conference a bit differently.

“What do you want for Karina? What do you hope for her?”

The parents described that they knew that education was important for their daughter and education would get her a good job. They remarked that they knew she struggled, but they didn't know with what. They wanted to help her at home.

As I looked upon this family sitting together, I realized their strength was in their unity and devotion to the youngest member of the family. As the conference went forward, I continued to deviate from the tradition. There wasn't discussion of a litany of standards she didn't meet or the goals of the grade level. The attention remained with the family.

Her brother was in charge of her written work, making sure her sentences were written with spelling and punctuation and her homework was done. Her sister promised to read with her every night, sharing books and the love of literature. Her parents offered to provide a quiet space for homework and promised to encourage her to study every night. A plan was made to help Karina with the help of the whole family. As the

conference ended, everyone in the room voiced their satisfaction with the plan and promised to ask questions if they came up.

What I failed to reveal in the beginning of this story was that Karina was labeled throughout her permanent record by the educational school system which she attended. The family only spoken Spanish at home; her parents spoke no English. Her brother translated documents to the best of his ability. There was no social security card on file; each year notices were sent to the home in English requesting the document. She was labeled as part of an EIP class, receiving extra educational support from kindergarten to third grade in areas of reading and math. What her documents did not show was that she had a caring and loving family who vowed to do everything in their power to help her succeed in the English speaking world in which they were a part. I can only hope that I helped along the way.

Both teachers and students make powerful decisions each day in our nation's classrooms that assert the power of the individual or group. In some cases these actions are reactions to directives and expectations of institutions in their lives. In other cases, they are conscious and deliberated decisions that assert one's own identity and position within a larger group. In the 19th century, teachers followed directives from the Freedmen's Bureau and relief agencies while also navigating challenges of southern society. In today's classrooms, teachers must follow curricular decisions made by federal and state leaders while also meeting the expectations of district and school building

supervisors. In some cases—both in the 19th century and today—these positions do not match the expectations of students and families which add another dimension of the political and social side of teaching that is faced in the classroom. As active participants in institutions, teachers were and are responsible for creating and maintaining systems of oppression and dominance in the southern society.

As schools were created throughout the coastal regions of Georgia and South Carolina in the late 19th century, multiple influences affected the day-to-day curriculum and experiences within the classrooms. Teachers entered with their own cultural expectations built through formal and informal teaching experiences in their lives. Freedmen's Bureau agents and representatives of the northern philanthropic agencies monitored the activities of the classrooms and issued directives to be followed by the teachers. Southern men and women, including members of the white and black races, openly voiced their position regarding the educational efforts in their own neighborhoods. Finally, the students and community members voiced expectations and concerns for the educational process. Each factor brought a different set of expectations and traditions to the classrooms. The intentions of the parties sometimes matched and the process moved forward. In other instances, including those described in the previous chapters, conflict arose and impacted the participants and the educational process.

There is no question that each of the groups described above played a role in the educational opportunities for the freedmen by exerting social, political, or economic influence. As the Freedmen's Bureau schools are often regarded to be the foundation for our nation's public school system, the teachers' actions and words show how the systems that were created in the 19th century are continued in today's classrooms. In this chapter,

I explore the ways in which teachers acted with, through, or against these multiple factors in the 19th century classroom. To analyze these experiences, I conduct the analysis of the teachers' actions and words against research within the field of Curriculum Studies related to power, institutions, and freedom. Several theorists have written extensive texts regarding the impact of institutions on classrooms and educational experiences across time and place, but these discussions have yet to be applied to Freedmen's Bureau schools in the 19th century. To do this, I will first give an overview of the texts followed by the analysis of the past experiences within the schools.

Curriculum Studies and Institutional Power

Institutions have the power to control experiences, learning, and opportunities for both members and non-members of groups. When thinking of educational institutions, it would be naïve to assume that schools operate in a system removed from political, social, or economic realms. In fact it is just the opposite. Educational institutions are inextricably bound by influences in many parts of the greater society including politics at the local, state, and federal level, the culture of consumption supported by our economic systems, and a variety of other social groups or clubs including religious institutions, parent teacher organizations, and various advocacy groups. When looking at ways in which teachers navigate the many influences, there are several components to explore. First, curriculum theorists have looked at the ways in which power is used to maintain dominant cultural norms in society by continuing banking models of schooling, control of both teachers and students in the daily classroom, and the consumption of prepackaged

curriculum materials to guide instruction. Second, theorists look at the use of power more critically to explore the ways in which power is used to discipline teachers and students by removing choice, freedom, and individual culture from the classroom. Finally, theorists have explored what a democratic classroom or school involves and suggested means to move a staff or program toward these results. The work done by a variety of theorists explores the ways in which institutions use power over both teachers and students to control choice and creativity while offering contrasting views of what education could be in our nation's classrooms.

Political Education

Two of the most well-known theorists that delve into politics and education are Giroux and Michael W. Apple. Both men have dedicated volumes to explore the connections between education and politics in our nation's schools. Giroux (1996) focuses on naming and critiquing political education in his text *Fugitive Cultures: Race, Violence, & Youth*. Within this text, he first defines political education as an act of "decentering power in the classroom" (p. 126). The effect of this choice is the devaluing of culture and knowledge possessed by minorities while also suppressing dialogue that can complicate these conditions in the classroom. "A politicizing education silences in the name of a specious universalism and denounces all transformative practices through an appeal to a timeless notion of truth and beauty" (Giroux, 1996, p. 127). Giroux's statements problematize political education as a form of oppression against those deemed to be of less value in society. In fact, Giroux's focus is still a problem relevant to this research because political education occurred in the 19th century and continues today. The text does not stop at pointing to the problems of education. Giroux points to the

intersection of educational experiences of the classroom and the lived experiences of teachers and students to provide meaningful opportunities for reflection and change through education. “The curriculum needs to be organized around knowledge that relates to the communities, cultures, and traditions of students, which in turn provide them opportunities to critically appropriate a sense of history, identity, and place” (Giroux, 1996, p. 128). From this position, it can be seen that Giroux seeks to put the decisions and opportunities for education back into the hands of the students, community members, and teachers to critically examine their own past, present, and future. From this perspective, curriculum is decided through dialogue within communities rather than politicians in bureaucratic institutions.

Like Giroux, Apple has greatly contributed to the field related to power and education. I believe that one of his great contributions to this topic is *Education and Power*. In this text, Apple speaks to the multiple facets of curricular decisions from those who make the choices, to the ways in which they are implemented in the classroom, and conversely to the ways in which students and teachers can work against these power structures. One of the statements early in the text summarizes curricular movements of leaders for many years. Apple (1995) describes the intensions of both educators and curriculum theorists as:

[they] devoted a good deal of its energy to the search for one specific thing. It has searched long and hard for a general set of principles that would guide educational planning and evaluation. In large part, this has reduced itself to attempts at creating the most efficient method of doing curriculum work. (p. 11)

Although this statement was written in 1995 by Apple, this movement toward unifying curricular decisions is still occurring with the ongoing implementation of Common Core Standards across our county for all students in all cities and states. Teachers are even being told how to deliver the material with particular instructional materials at a more alarming rate. This movement is an unfortunate step toward conformity of our nation's schools while devaluing the cultural capital of groups across the country and ignoring research and theory on multicultural education. As Apple continues, he reasserts the use of both teachers and students as cogs in the school machine to manage not only curriculum, but also discipline and obedience in the classroom. To illustrate his point, Apple calls upon ethnographic studies that demonstrate varying levels of resistance by both adults and students in work and schools respectively. In this manner, he brings interesting points to the discussion by describing that minority students will manipulate the circumstances despite the power of the institution and authority of the teacher or administration. "Large numbers of them. . . creatively adapt their environments so that they can smoke, get out of class, inject humor into the routines, informally control the pacing of classroom life, and generally try to make it through" (Apple, 1995, p. 87). In this passage, Apple records his analysis of students' actions that are otherwise described as "disruptive behaviors" to be acts of resistance against the institution that contradicts their home or personal culture. In this way, the students assume power over the situation to assert their own position in the system. Although research questions the impact of these types of disruptions, I can assert from personal experience that such actions of students disrupt different teachers and systems to different degrees. Some classrooms are controlled by the actions of the students to disrupt routine and instruction while other

teachers are able to continue lessons and divert the attention of these actions. Regardless of the intentionality, Apple's position describes the acts of defiance in a manner contrary to deficit thinking of other theorists or educators who label the students or students' actions as problems. Instead, Apple legitimizes their acts in response to the contextual elements of their lives. My only critique of this position and text is that Apple predominantly draws his conclusions from studies on lower class members in society and primarily focuses upon one such study done in England; little attention is paid to the diverse environments in our nation's own schools to address not only class differences but also race and gender. Drawing from the publication date, it would have added value to the text to explore other connections that educators or theorists can make within our own country's population.

A chapter co-authored by Apple highlights some of the same concepts in the previous text regarding political education and specifically the characteristics of democratic educational practices in our nation. In the chapter titled "The Case for Democratic Schools," James A. Beane and Apple (2007) describe characteristics of democratic educational practices in the classroom. Like the previous selection, they assert that all parties should have a role in decision making regarding school practices and curriculum decisions. In support of democratic educational practices, they highlight the far reaching impact of conflict and turmoil within education and society. "Conflict among political, religious, and cultural groups fuels debate over free speech, privacy, land use, lifestyles, and, throughout it all, the rights of the individual in relation to the interests of the larger society" (Beane & Apple, 2007, p. 5). As the school is a site where conflicting positions are presented to assert power, democratic practices ensure that all of those

involved in the school as stakeholders have a voice in the decision-making process. The goal is a unification of decisions instead of a use of power by some over others. The authors illustrate the use of power to divide a group instead of unifying along shared goals by pointing to the use of competition within institutions. Competition is a key part of society and reaches into the classroom through both academic and creative games and activities beginning in the youngest grades. In this competition, teachers, administrators, and politicians are pitted against one another for funding, recognitions, and awards instead of working toward the common goal of betterment for the students. “While democracy prizes diversity, too many schools have largely catered to the interests and aspirations of the most powerful groups and ignored those of the less powerful” (Beane & Apple, 2007, p. 13). Competition divides school communities and resources due to political and economic decisions made by leaders and politicians. Furthermore, the illusion of a community gaining from competition hides the unequal distribution of resources, knowledge, and equity in the nation’s classrooms. Interestingly, the concept of competition was central to the organization of 19th century schools as teachers used competition and rewards to structure the school day and promote the accomplishments of one over others. Such actions introduced a power structure into communities previously organized around the common good of the whole group.

Power as Enforcement

Power structures create and maintain unequal distribution of resources, staffing, knowledge, and cultural values in classrooms. These conditions create experiences for students and teachers that devalue their self worth in opposition to the accepted norms in society. Such circumstances, though, must be critically analyzed by theorists because the

conditions have implications for damage to the individual beyond daily interactions in the classroom. Continual devaluing of personal wealth causes the individual to question his or her place in the classroom and system; over time, this position is either accepted or rejected by the student or teacher.

Several theorists explore implications for political education in the classroom. Each of these individuals looks at the lasting conditions that are created and maintained by the power structures in educational institutions. It is particularly important to note that these structures are often invisible and silent; teacher preparation programs often do not help teachers critically analyze these conditions when they enter the classroom. Furthermore, a culture of complacency leads members to larger social and political problems without the ability to question and critically critique the circumstances in their world. Because of such far reaching implications, theorists explore the consequences in the following selections.

Although not a curriculum theorist, Michel Foucault (1977) is influential for his published texts that are relevant to the field of Curriculum Studies in many ways. In his text *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Foucault explores various methods of violence and punishment in the history of humanity. Although some may criticize that there is no relationship between education and prisons, the relationships between the power structures in school and the methods of devaluation and examination produce an invisible relationship between the two. “The expiation that once rained down on the body must be replaced by a punishment that acts in depth on the heart, the thoughts, the will, the inclinations” (Foucault, 1977, p. 16). Since punishment as a form of control cannot be physically acted upon in the classroom, other means are used to order, devalue, and

critique both students and teachers. Specifically, this is done by controlling the environment of the classroom through time management, exams, surveillance by authority, and disciplinary power—each of which is used in both prisons and schools. Foucault describes that the demonstration of power onto time “assures its control and guarantees its use” (p. 160) which replicates the motion of factory machinery within the school building. The school time starts at x and ends at y; classes change in regular intervals regardless of the engagement or activity within the classroom. Principals, curriculum specialists, district specialists monitor the whole function of the school. Both the actions of students and teachers are under constant watch, record, and critique. “A relation of surveillance, defined and regulated, is inscribed at the heart of the practice of teaching, not as an additional or adjacent part, but as a mechanism that is inherent to it and which increases its efficiency” (Foucault, 1977, p. 176). By pairing passages from Foucault’s text on the creation of the prison system, one can see correlations to the order and discipline found in educational institutions throughout the world. This effect of power reaches all students and teachers as they not only are controlled and manipulated by the invisible system, but they also partake in the execution of its elements by watching, disciplining and evaluating one another.

Noam Chomsky, again an influential theorist to the field of Curriculum Studies, writes about the effects of political education in the classroom in two of his texts. Both texts explore the effects of ineffective education with a slightly different focus. In 2000, Chomsky published *Chomsky on MisEducation* in which he explores the ways in which institutions act to keep students and teachers from participating in democratic methods. He asserts that the individual learns early in his or her educational experiences that there

is a power structure in place and that one receives benefits from supporting that system in the classroom. “You have to keep quiet and instill your students with the beliefs and doctrines that will serve the interests of those who have real power” (Chomsky, 2000, p. 23). He continues to label “the business class and their private interests” as represented through the social and political power within the institution. To maintain this structure, it is necessary to disengage the participants from meaningful dialogue and critique of the circumstances. “The goal is to keep people isolated from real issues and from each other. Any attempt to organize or to establish links with a collective has to be squashed” (Chomsky, 2000, p. 25). This description is relevant to the classroom of both the 19th century in two ways. First, in Freedmen’s Bureau schools, some teachers who questioned the practices of leadership or attempted to move and make contacts with teachers in other schools for support were denied the request or even a teaching position in the following year. The assertion of one’s position through questions led to the demise of some teachers in the 19th century classrooms. In other situations, similar actions received a different response as the women were supported for movement within southern schools. In this way, the actions were interpreted differently within the 19th century expectations for the submissive societal role of the female in society. In today’s classrooms, disconnects often occur between teachers in different parts of a county or system. Little opportunity exists to critique and evaluate programs, materials, and changes to propose solutions; instead each teacher or school faces the same dilemma alone without support of other problem solvers within his or her community.

Chomsky’s (2003) second text includes the chapter “The Function of Schools: Subtler and Cruder Methods of Control.” In this text he critiques the institutional role of

curriculum and describes that if one complies with all directives and objectives, he or she will be successful in light of the requirements. Specifically, success in elite institutions and collegiate environments depends upon ranks (p. 29) and “simply refinement” (p. 30). On the other hand, those who reject and oppose the power structure are labeled as “‘behavior problems,’ or ‘unmotivated’” (p. 28). The examples given in the text all support his assertion that the schools “reward discipline and obedience, and they punish independence of mind” (Chomsky, 2003, p. 28). Instead, Chomsky advocates that individuals learn from many cultures instead of openly accepting the dominant discourse delivered through educational institutions.

Two other authors explain the effects of political education in the classroom in their edited chapters of a book aptly titled *Education as Enforcement*. In the first selection, David A. Gabbard (2003) focuses upon the economic influence on schools in American society. Within this chapter, he compares educational institutions to measures taken by the church to indoctrinate pupils. “Just as the church formulated rituals to ensure compliance, the modern nation-state had to seek its own ritualistic means for incorporating people willingly and eagerly into compliance with the norms and laws of a market society” (Gabbard, 2003, p. 64). The purpose of this movement was to instill new desires into the students to provide an increase in the economic market of the society. Education is used to produce consumers and which further supports inclusion in the normalized consumer culture of our nation. Each individual would be part of the same collective group; inclusion is purchased through economic means. Although written in 2003, the message of Gabbard reaches back into history as the 19th century teachers acted to support the economic intentions of cotton producers and northern merchants by

introducing new consumable goods into southern communities despite the need for basic supplies such as food and clothing. Furthermore by using these physical items as rewards, the consumer mentality further supported obedience of northern norms and values in the classroom.

The second chapter from the same edited collection is Enora R. Brown's (2003) chapter "Freedom for Some, Discipline for 'Others': The Structure of Inequality in Education." In this chapter, Brown focuses on control of the physical space within schools as a method of discipline and order placed upon students. She describes increased surveillance and rules including uniforms, militarization through JROTC programs, and other forms of policing. Brown asserts that these measures are problematic in the student's life because the school provides critical experiences that build one's knowledge of the world and themselves. "These places constitute the physical space where particular social, economic, political, and psychic relationships are forged, nurtured, and contested. Public schools are sources of identity, constituted within webs of power relations that frame the choices and aspirations of youth" (Brown, 2003, p. 128). Brown is correct in her position that the student navigates his or her identity within a physical space that also includes conflicting influences of family, society, politics, and the economy as the power structures assert their position of dominance in the daily affairs of the school. Although not discussed by Brown, I believe that her idea can be taken one step further. Constant surveillance and organization of the school system limits the ability of students to navigate choices in a safe environment while also learning appropriate consequences of such decisions. When under constant control, the ability to question and choose is

limited. This, too, is another form of oppression and suppression of individual identity in the nation's classrooms.

Macedo (2006) explores the ways in which institutes of higher education create and maintain systematic silence in America's schools. This is primarily done by creating a system of obedient workers who in turn create obedient students. Looking at the school system as a machine, teachers are considered the "technicians who, by virtue of the specialized training they receive in an assembly line of ideas and aided by the mystification of this transferred knowledge, seldom read the critical capacity of analysis" (Macedo, 2006, p. 23). Without being able to critique or understand the processes of the world the teacher technician is unable to bring those experiences to the students. Macedo explains that the problem lies in the institutions that train the teachers to become technicians at instructional delivery while being devoid of empowering, personal thought and reflection of the world's problems and struggles. Instead of lessons on literacy, the teacher implements training in obedience and the dominant cultural tradition. "Because many schools of education train teachers to become technicians who unreflectively embrace methods and approaches, they are in some cases either unwilling or unable to prepare teachers to become intellectuals" (Macedo, 2006, p. 153). This situation has significance for both the 19th century school and today's educational settings. For one, the 19th century Freedmen's Bureau teacher was selected to implement the directives of the authoritative agencies and to teach from primers and spellers that dictated the curriculum within the classroom. Those who did not comply or questioned the decisions of the authority no longer were employed in their positions. With the creation of the Common Core Curriculum and mounting pressure for students to pass state exams,

teachers are reaching for manufactured curriculum and programs with no regard to the independent skills and talents of the student. Pacing guides, packaged worksheets, online benchmark assessments, and state practice tests are taking the creativity and challenge of teaching from the teacher; conversely teachers no longer have room to diversify the curriculum based on individual students' talents or interests.

Critiquing the System

When we look at our educational institutions as a conveyor of cultural and historical memory, there are contrasting perspectives as to what knowledge should and should not be included in this debate. In two examples of such texts, opponents of educational programs that maintain oppressive conditions speak to the ills of the curricular decisions. These two men, John Willinsky and Freire, delve into the conversation primarily from their own experience while also expanding their critiques onto larger systems of educational development worldwide.

Freire is one of the most recognized theorists known for his contributions to the pedagogy of freedom through his work with the population of his home country. In fact, much of his critiques of educational movements focus on what he identifies as the “banking model” whereby teachers deposit specific knowledge through predetermined methods into the minds of students without allowing for reflection, critique, or questioning of the knowledge and implications. Three of his texts most relevant to this research each deliver particular messages related to the critique of current methods and implications for future pedagogy within these institutional systems. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (2008) focuses attention on the conditions that create and maintain power structures within schools. Like Apple, he describes the use of power structures to

be acts of violence on the student body as he writes, “With the establishment of a relationship of oppression, violence has already begun” (Freire, 2008, p. 55). One cause of oppression, as described previously, is the economic stimulus of the nation. “For the oppressors, what is worthwhile is to have more—always more—even at the cost of the oppressed having less or having nothing. For them, to be is to have and to be the class of the ‘haves’” (Freire, 2008, p. 58). The use of power creates difference within society and the only way to gain acceptance or inclusion is through the attainment of the material or financial results that are desired. In this manner, Freire names the underlying intentions of the systems at play.

Freire’s work does not end by labeling the underlying components of oppression. In his other works, Freire offers suggestions and methods to fight against the power structures for freedom and inclusion of all students. Freire’s (1998) text *Pedagogy of Freedom: Ethics, Democracy, and Civic Courage* moves the reader to new understandings of work within the institutional systems of oppression and devaluation. In fact, he challenges the role of the traditional teacher, and a symbol of the banking model, to become reflective on one’s practice and committed to the educational efforts of the classroom. “Silence makes it possible for the speaker who is really committed to the experience of communication rather than to the simple transmission of information to hear the question, the doubt, the creativity of the person who is listening” (Freire, 1998, p. 104). By stepping back from the traditional role of authority, one is able to listen to and listen with the students; there is a reflexive quality of the educational process. Similarly, Freire (1998) writes, “Education does not make us educable. It is our awareness of being unfinished that makes us educable” (p. 58). This statement notes the dual nature of the

role of teacher; he or she is in a continual motion of learning from and with the students. The knowledge of one is not placed above another. The reflective quality adds individualization to the curriculum and allows for action. This position is further supported in Freire's (2005) text *Teachers as Cultural Workers*. In this text, Freire pushes the teacher a step further again, to first reflect upon his or her own position, perspective, and prejudices within his or her place of power. "Tolerance requires respect, discipline, and ethics. The authoritarian, filled with sexual, racial, and class prejudices, can never become tolerant without first overcoming his or her prejudices" (Freire, 2005, p. 77). Progression within Freire's texts builds meaning behind the importance of reflective thinking and action for every teacher in every educational institution. It is the role to build a culture of acceptance and understanding within one's own environment by first critiquing one's own preconceived cultural knowledge followed by a reflection upon the curriculum taught and supported by the teacher. One must reflect upon the ways in which the curriculum can be broadened while focusing upon the cultural wealth of all students.

Willinsky (1998) also critiques the curriculum of institutions—particularly the ways in which a culture of difference and dominance is maintained through decisions. Unlike Freire, Willinsky does not focus upon the method of delivery or exclusion of individual knowledge within the classroom. Instead, Willinsky discusses the negative aspects and accounts of historical memory that are maintained by the dominant curriculum in classrooms. "We are schooled in differences great and small, in borderlines and boundaries, in historical struggles and exotic practices, all of which extend the meaning of difference" (Willinsky, 1998, p. 1). Willinsky's concern lies not only in the continuation of the lies but the lack of critique of such socially accepted norms. Instead,

he suggests helping students to navigate the socially constructed differences in the world and exploring their cultural role within this position. This also includes critiquing the ways in which people, groups, and cultures are named and labeled both in history and present society (pp. 9-10). Willinsky challenges the authority of historical memory and the role of educational institutions to help students counter this dominant position. This is of particular interest in this research because many 19th century teachers focused upon the differences of students in intelligence, ability, race, gender, and other factors within the classroom environment. These same teachers also failed to question their own place in this system of difference as they perpetuated dominant perspectives through word and deed.

Countering the Critique and Curriculum

Thus far, I have reviewed the literature that focuses upon the role of institutions to exert and maintain power related to social, political, and economic intentions. These influences on educational efforts are often disguised or defended by power structures and accepted by students unconsciously in the daily events of the classroom. The literature moves beyond these critiques to offer suggestions for resistance and improvement of the situations for both teachers and students. In each of the following examples, the authors explore ways to navigate the multiple influences on classroom practice and provide alternatives to the banking method exposed in Freire's work.

In the first selection, Lilia I. Bartolomé (2007) illustrates through a research study ways to challenge educators to explore the political curriculum of education as well as the ideological foundation of experiences. The goal of her research was to propose a program that allows teachers to reflect upon their own situation or a school's environment while

simultaneously comparing these structures to their own cultural and political positions. “It is also important for prospective teachers to examine the political and cultural role that counterhegemonic resistance can serve to contest and transform the exclusionary, harmful, and fundamentally undemocratic values and beliefs that inform dominant educational practices” (Bartolomé, 2007, p. 263). Like Macedo, she extends the critique of the educational system to teacher education programs as the foundation for critical exploration of difference and corresponding underlying causes. I find that her research is weakened because her participants engaged in the research study voluntarily, yet she does not address the importance of this participant sample. Research has shown that growth through professional development will most likely occur with the willing participation of the teacher (Wiliam, 2007/2008). In her case, she supports the advantages of her research but does not reiterate that the participants were willing to participate, willing to reflect, and willing to change.

The next two theorists move the discussion a step further by encouraging the teacher to embody the qualities of freedom and respect through their interactions with all students. This position is in stark contrast to the desire for organized and obedient teachers and children. Both Phillip Wexler and Ayers encourage a spiritual and redemptive process whereby both teachers and students find their worth and value in the classroom. Wexler (1996) points to the collaborative process of education within a social context. “For teaching, as for the revitalization of everyday social life, there is no protocol or formula for being” (p. 145). In Wexler’s text, he supports character education and the possibilities for individual students without attention to the standards, objectives, and assessments of the day. He brings an element of morality, of right and wrong, back to

the educational discussion. This position of character education requires further discussion because Wexler's text offers a different approach to educating for moral and ethical citizenship in contrast to the perspective that "may assert that morals and ethics are needed to insure education that sustains the national social fabric" (p. 136). Instead, Wexler supports educational institutions that thrive on creativity, personal growth, and an understanding of one's own position within his or her place. Wexler writes:

Resacralized, redemptive teaching then does not mean teaching religion. What it does mean is that cultural conditions exist that facilitate the sort of intersubjectivity, relationality, or, simply, social interaction that is simultaneously part of a collective process of sociocultural renewal (resymbolization) that we understand as constituting education. (p. 142)

This process calls for a reorganization of educational institutions whereby teachers are part of a process whereby students recognize their own personal worth and position within their group or culture. Education becomes a social process where the student learns from his context of time and place and acquires an understanding of one's place within the world and human kind. The student's learning reveals his or her self worth and value. Wexler's position is in direct opposition of character education whereby the focus is on one's obedient and disciplined role in society and our nation which is often taught through control and organizational structures within the school building.

Ayers (2004) focuses upon the moral aspect of teaching through moral and ethical positions. Like Wexler, Ayers places the position of the educator within the social and cultural environment in which the school operates. Ayers similarly discusses possibilities for vitality and energy that propels each individual toward his or his capacity. "Teaching,

at its best, is an enterprise that helps human beings reach the full measure of their humanity” (p. 1). This position removes the educator from the position of authority in the classroom as one instead assumes an equal footing. Teaching toward freedom means a step into educational experiences with the student, embodying a reflexive process of learning for both teacher and student, and movement toward the utilization of personal strengths instead of deficits and weaknesses.

When reflecting upon the guidance of Wexler and Ayers, I believe that both men contribute important critiques of the vulnerability of the teacher and the capacity to aid those individual beings with whom we interact with each day. Within the cultural, social, political, and economic environments in which we live we must navigate the different influences to maintain our teaching positions as employment. The reality that faces teachers is that too many students enter our classrooms in a timed sequence each day to learn the mountain of objectives and standards as dictated to us. Although this is an increasingly daunting task to our nation’s educators, it is our jobs to heed the advice and remember that we are interacting with humans who need our love, care, compassion, and devotion in light of all of the other influences each day.

Institutions Impact Culture and Place

When people move to southern states, they comment about the differences between North and South. Some differences are obvious such as food, dialect, and the impression of southern hospitality. Once living in a southern state for a longer period of time, one acknowledges that if you are not southern born, you are never truly southern.

You may say y'all and drink sweet tea, but that alone is not enough to characterize a southerner. Throughout this research, I have alluded to differences between the two geographic locations, between the two places. In fact, in order to understand the contextual elements of this research, one must explore the distinctions between these locations.

When one digs under the apparent differences in northerners and southerners, there is a great deal of cultural separation that reflects the region's religious, familial, economic, and political influences. These distinctions may be due in part to the cultural history of the regions. In particular, the 19th century society was controlled by the economic empires that were centered on New York and New England. Although other states such as Pennsylvania provided materials such as coal or were political centers due to proximity to Washington, the most influence came from the economic institutions of New England. Within these states could be found the most power and influence of the economy that was incidentally often connected to Protestant religions. Max Weber (1958/2003) comments that this may in part be due to the willingness of Protestant men to move between industry to climb ranks within companies while Catholics or members of other religions were more inclined to stay within a specific industry or trade for life. Furthermore, many positions within economic institutions would have been acquired through birth, and the institutions did not separate religion from the state. In fact, quite opposite had happened throughout history.

Protestant males were directly linked to the highest ranks in the industrialized north while their religious upbringing suggested the need to fulfill religious duties outside of the church. These beliefs blurred the lines between the religious and financial

institutions and instead created an atmosphere where one's worth was determined by one's success in fulfilling one's duties. "The Reformation meant not the elimination of the Church's control over everyday life, but rather the substitution of a new form of control for the previous one" (Weber, 1958/2003, p. 36). From these cultural elements of history, the Protestant and economic influence of northern society was sometimes intermixed within the public. Weber (1958/2003) exemplifies how these messages became part of the greater society by noting the influence of Benjamin Franklin to cement phrases like "time is money" into the greater society. As this type of language permeated the general public, the message became part of northern morality for all individuals, not only Protestants. Personally, I find significance in this message as my Catholic family raised me with messages of personal worth measured in part by financial success. My parents have owned their own business since my childhood, and I held a part time job throughout high school while also working two or three jobs at a time during college for my expenses. Therefore, as these messages became part of society, individuals internalized personal success by attaining the American dream and financial stability for one's family. Despite the creation of these messages in the work of Benjamin Franklin, they continue to pervade society today.

This relationship could be seen in the world of the 19th century teachers and relief agencies in the southern states. Teachers and relief workers bought and purchased land, supported labor contracts, and spoke deliberately about these exchanges within their letters. There was no separation between the religious and economic efforts, but instead the two goals were both addressed simultaneously within the classroom and society. From this position the women interchangeably conveyed the desire for order, cleanliness,

and timeliness under the guise of religious values while simultaneously supporting the desire for material objects and personal wealth from an economic perspective. “Man is dominated by the making of money, by acquisition as the ultimate purpose of his life” (Weber, 1958/2003, p. 53). In many cases, there was no distinction between the religious or economic intention of the teachers.

The role of northern individuals was blurred within southern society as they acted under the pretext of religious salvation and freedom for all while also supporting the need for southern freedmen to obediently work to gather crops. Landowners needed crops to be planted and harvested within small time frames to ensure maximum profits, and this required additional hours of work by the freedmen. While some laborers accepted additional pay or rations in exchange for work, others rejected these options. Occasionally, conflicts did arise between agents and freedmen who did not share the same goals of labor as landowners and laborers did not share an innate perception of the urgency of labor. Instead, each individual had learned his or her own perspective of work from life experiences. Weber (1958/2003) describes this relationship with a Protestant education as:

Labour must, on the contrary, be performed as if it were an absolute end in itself, a calling. But such an attitude is by no means a product of nature. It cannot be evoked by low wages or high ones alone, but can only be the product of a long and arduous process of education. (p. 62)

To hinder conflicts and build common meaning of industry, teachers and agents of the Freedmen’s Bureau worked harder to not only implement labor contracts and pay for their portion of the work, but to explicitly educate the freedmen from the perspective of

religion. “It had to originate somewhere, and not in isolated individuals alone, but as a way of life common to whole groups of men” (Weber, 1958/2003, p. 55). Without the production of former slaves to recreate cotton production throughout the South, northern industries would have suffered. Over time, links between Protestant leaders and the success of this market economy were inextricably bound in order to support the other system. Unlike in other religions, history had not separated these religious institutions from public matters; instead, the dual purpose of the power was reinforced by shared messages and purpose.

The qualities of northern Protestant work ethic were not limited to the 19th century. The Constitution of our nation was formed by our founding fathers to support religious freedom to ensure private industry. Benjamin Franklin had even suggested many of the same qualities to guide his life as he listed virtues to include industry, moderation, cleanliness, and order. It is no surprise to see how these qualities permeated many communities and aspects of northern society. In fact, when one regards northerners, they often recognize a value placed on hard work, industry, and a busy pace of life. These qualities, again, support the Protestant and paternal goals for our nation. On the other hand, southern society does not have the same urgency for labor and industry. As much of the land during the 18th and 19th century was rural farm land, there was no need to rush or hurry other than during planting and harvest seasons. Even in these times, the labor was often done by workers or entire communities together. From this difference extends another distinction between the two places. The northern pace of society and industry left little time for pleasure and leisure. Therefore, men, women, and children found bonds through group membership in churches and other houses of worship to

fulfill societal and religious needs. The bonds of community in northern states were formed around this type of cultural heritage which also mirrored the expectations for society. Communities in the South were linked through different cultural and historical circumstances throughout the region. “The South offers a unique sense of community that comes, perhaps, from shared poverty, natural disasters, southern violence, as well as from a shared appreciation of the beauty of the natural environment” (Edgerton, 1991, p. 94). As noted by Edgerton, southern society focuses upon the land and the shared experiences of that geographical feature over time. On the other hand, much of southern society was spread throughout the rural land and family was the center of one’s community. This southern value placed on local communities is seen as some regard close friends as family and value a person by the qualities of his or friends. This position is also supported by Casemore (2008) as he discusses the construction of identity through meaning made in regard to the land and relationships within southern communities. While northern communities are centered on houses of worship, southern families value the closeness of family and the bonds shared between those people and one’s place. When you are asked, “Who are your people?” you don’t respond Polish or Irish or Italian. In the South, you respond with your parents’ names or your high school. These are the signifiers of your family and your personal wealth in southern society.

The differences between how one acquires wealth contrasts northern and southern individuals within our country. In the northern society of the 19th century, the male is in control of economic and public realms while the female is resigned to her place in the home and occasionally in religious, educational, or medical realms. In the southern society of the 19th century, the female was also removed from the public eye, but this

was seen as a way for the male to protect his daughter or wife from the ills of society—including male African Americans. In both locations, women were expected to be respectful of the male influence and even silent or submissive to her position. The role of assertive and bold northern females disrupted the norm for women in the southern society and produced lasting impressions to both white men and women. Even today, the stereotypes persist that characterize northerners as loud or assertive while southern individuals are laid back, respectful, and friendly. While I do feel as though many of these generalizations are to some degree supported by the general perspective of society, I take caution with such statements. First, as with any stereotype, the qualities of some are not exhibited by all. Although southern men and women are widely recognized for hospitality and friendliness, my experiences have show that this can be a front to disguise one's displeasure or disapproval; although the outward appearance is of acceptance or tolerance there can be a different emotion held within. Southerners are hospitable and accepting as long as one follows norms for behavior while challenging the southern perspective is seen as a threat to be eliminated. Conversely, northerners are sometimes describes as being rude or harsh in contrast to southern charm and friendliness. To a northerner, this no-nonsense perspective is openness to deal with complex issues and a willingness to share one's personal perspective of the situation. These two differences in language and mannerisms can be misinterpreted or even harm relationships that are being forged within different groups.

The generalizations that extend from religious and economic differences to the role of females and personalities in society also extend to education. In general, despite the years that have elapsed since the Civil War, there is a general hostility and lack of

trust between northern and southern counterparts. Both places have exerted their superiority over different matters whether it be cultural, societal, or political influences. The unease that surrounds the tolerance of the Other's perspective is further extended into the school. In the 19th century, southern whites did not trust access to the southern schools and society by the white, female teacher. Distrust has continued to veil interactions within communities and critical evaluation of the wrongs of both northern and southern society. Southern society clings to remembrances for a past heritage and a richness of community values. Northern society asserts their prominence by adhering to the benefits of work and industry and the valuation of one's Self through the accumulation of goods. Material wealth is valued over personal attributes.

Supporting the Hidden Curriculum

When women became teachers supported by the Freedmen's Bureau or northern missionary associations, they became agents of forces bigger than their personal intentions. Each Bureau agent and relief agency had particular perspectives of the purpose of education for freedmen. The intentions of the schools were often driven by political and economic concern as the success of rebuilding the southern economy had tremendous power for the growth of our nation as a whole in the post Civil War society. Each teacher met these influences and either consciously or unconsciously determined her own path based on her own feelings or moral conviction within the southern society. Clearly articulating the complex ways in which different components impacted schools and educators is difficult for two reasons. First, influences upon schools were often invisible and silent. Students were impacted by the hidden curriculum without it being openly discussed by the teachers and agents. Teachers interpreted observations and letters

for underlying meaning or significance. In most cases, detailed political or economic conversations related to the educational opportunities did not take place through formal written communication. Second, the role of the teacher was not limited to the classroom instruction. Teachers interacted with freedmen throughout communities to provide relief and assistance when possible. Teachers attended and prayed in churches, conducted Sabbath Schools, and read letters from lost family members. In addition, the personal feelings of the teachers are often not included in letters to Bureau agents or personal communication with family or friends. It is for these reasons that understanding the myriad of institutional factors on the schools is blurred over time.

Often the work and lives of teachers and Freedmen's Bureau agents were interchangeably united in descriptions of the time period. In fact, although the Freedmen's Bureau agents had little to do with the daily operation of the schools, popular historical memory labels these agents as the conductors and creators of southern schools. Although recognition is given to male leaders for their primary roles in organization and maintenance of school operations, the day-to-day activities of both leaders and teachers are described simultaneously by many historians. Tyack and Lowe (1986) point to this parallel description as:

The northerners who joined the crusade for black schooling were to some degree interchangeable. Whether they worked for the military, the Bureau, or private benevolent groups, they tended to share evangelical religious convictions (many of the men were ministers); they believed in the power of education to upraise blacks from the degradation of slavery and to make them responsible workers and

citizens; and they believed that the “army of civilization,” the teachers, were carrying on the war by reconstructing the South on Northern principles. (p. 241)

In other words, this statement unites the efforts of all northern workers and also describes the efforts of the teachers as two-fold: to make the freedmen productive consumers and to educate the freedmen to include moral and religious instruction. Although historians such as Tyack and Lowe group the intentions and curricula of all teachers and all schools into one overarching generalizations which is also supported by other authors including Parker (1954), I find that the oversimplification does not apply to all teachers in all schools. Instead, a critical examination must take place into the intentions of the teachers within the particular context as much as possible. Furthermore, this more detailed analysis allows for a look at the different political, economic, and religious impacts on the schools.

Institutional Power of Race

Freedmen’s Bureau agents, teachers, and aid workers entered the southern states and were immediately granted the authority to organize and educate the former slaves. Although their efforts were opposed by many members of the southern society, the disarray of the southern people was no match for the power of the federal government. Consequently, northern, female teachers were granted immediate authority in most communities because of one factor—race. Although I have spent an extensive amount of time discussing the impact of race within the southern schools in chapter three, it is equally important to note the authority and power assumed by the teachers which controlled southern classrooms. Without this immediate assumption of power, the hidden

agendas of the economic, political, and religious institutions would have been more difficult to infuse throughout the southern society.

It must be seen that the teachers, as agents of the government and missionary associations, were granted authority and positions based on assumptions of white authority, whether openly admitted or silently ignored both then and now. Therefore, one must question why they, as white, middle-class, northern women, were given reign of the schools. Edgar B. Wesley (1957) expresses his position of white superiority by describing that the white teachers merely filled the gaps that existed in the southern society. “In the absence of any persistent theory or successful practice of public schools that were native to the South, it was inevitable that Yankee ideas would flow in to fill the educational vacuum” (Wesley, 1957, p. 124). This belief is an incorrect assumption because in some locations like Savannah, there were productive schools operated for both white and African American students. Although these schools required additional funding to expand operations, the schools did in fact exist and thrive. Instead, the position of white superiority gave teachers authority to create schools and dismantle existing institutions that corresponded to their ideological beliefs and practices which were exhibited in northern Common Schools.

The creation of Savannah’s educational system for freedmen dates to before the end of the Civil War and the beginning of Reconstruction. On January 10, 1865, over 500 African American children marched through the streets of Savannah to the former old Bryan Slave Mart. The organization for the new school was supplied by the African American leaders of churches throughout the city, and the men almost immediately formed the Savannah Education Association (SEA). The purpose of the SEA was to

create a constitution and school board, publically appoint African American teachers, and to provide funding for the schools. The school did receive some funding from the National Freedmen's Relief Association, but this support was free from influences of the relief agency within the classroom. Upon arriving in Savannah S. W. Magill, an agent of the American Missionary Association (AMA), was struck by the organization of the freedmen and the influence of the male leaders within the institutions. Magill was a former Congregationalist pastor and sought to extend his religious influence in Savannah. Magill became frustrated by the power of the SEA and sought to infiltrate the organization with James Simms, an African American man who had joined been ordained by the Boston Baptist churches during his time in the north. Despite the organization, attendance, funding, and structure of the SEA and the sponsored schools, these advancements represented the power of the African American community in the city that threatened the northern influence. This example serves to illustrate that although the schools existed and functioned without the influence of white leaders and teachers, the movement symbolized a threat to the power and influence of whiteness within the southern society. This position of authority was eventually broken by northern interests who used their monetary funds to gain control of the SEA schools in the spring of 1866. The schools initially organized by the SEA were then taught by white, northern teachers.

The position of teachers must be interpreted as use of white privilege and the unspoken powers of whiteness. Furthermore, the transfer of power in Savannah from southern blacks to northern whites represents the power to support northern institutions and systems above the freedoms and power of the southern blacks. But undermining the power of the religious leaders, this also indicated the AMA's position of their racist

curriculum and alignment with northern institutions. Willinsky (1998) reminds us that “education can always be cast as an act of power, however benevolent in its exercise, between teacher and student” (p. 107). Thus, education of the Freedmen’s Bureau schools was controlled in many cases by power of the teachers. “White northern men and women were quick to colonize these spaces and temper any sense of total black autonomy” (Winders, 2005, p. 397). This is not to say that the freedmen did not have their own power and ways to exert resistance to these efforts. Yet, I agree with Willinsky and Winders as they assert that the power of the teachers is viewed through assumptions of white superiority and privilege within the schools.

Interestingly, though, this power of the northern, white, middle-class teacher did not always correspond to power in the larger social and political structure. In terms of the greater society, the paternalistic ideologies of both northern and southern men dominated the discussion of economics and politics. Winders (2005) illustrates this dynamic for one teacher as:

Basing her position of authority on an association between whiteness and northern privilege, Ames had little remaining when that racial and regional authority was eclipsed by gender inequality that excluded her from public meetings. When Ames strayed beyond the confines of the schoolhouse and into the role of contributing community member, she was quickly reminded of a woman’s place. (p. 399)

Thus, the authority of the female was guaranteed in most cases within the classrooms and other educational activities but was dramatically limited in the greater social sphere. On the other hand, freedmen themselves were able to gain positions of authority in these

social and political worlds; freedmen stood on the firm shoulders of their leaders who were able to convey the collective spirit of the African Americans in social and political realms.

Institutional Power in Practice

A teacher in front of the room is a sign of authority in the classrooms. Visitors observe this individual in front of even rows of seated students and judge her effectiveness by the order, cleanliness, and manners of the pupils. In order to attain classroom behavior that met northern norms for Common School classrooms, teachers not only taught reading, writing, mathematics, and religion. Each teacher also conveyed lessons in behavior, morals, and attitudes through the daily events of the classroom. In many cases, these experiences were based upon rules, discipline, and authority. “The teacher ‘manages’ the system. This both increases efficiency and helps discipline” (Apple, 1995, p. 29). The physical management of over more than 100 bodies in one room was necessary for learning to take place. Conversely, the mental management of the students was unknowingly used by teachers to convey northern expectations through economic or political lessons. Specifically, northern institutions which were emulated by the teachers sought to train immigrant children in discipline, obedience, and timeliness to be workers within the growing industrial market of northern society. In order to continue production of cotton to supply the northern market, the freedmen must also submit to the same system of control and labor as in northern factories and southern plantations during slavery.

Silent Forces of Discipline and Control

Teachers in the Freedmen's Bureau schools conveyed messages of discipline and obedience both through classroom instruction and lessons within the community. As discussed in chapter 4, these measures were justified by a perceived need to convey these ideals of religious and societal expectations. While the women were observed using their position as the controlling element of the classroom and society, power was also used over the teachers through systems of observation and surveillance within the southern states. The eventual use of power by one teacher over another and a teacher over the students inextricably connected the teachers themselves to the power structure that was embedded in the society. This transfer of power, though, is no surprise considering the upbringing and education of the teachers within northern educational institutions. "Internalizing paternal authority through the rigid relationship structure emphasized by the school, these young people tend when they become professionals. . . to repeat the rigid patterns in which they were miseducated" (Freire, 2008, p. 155). Institutional power was a repeated pattern that was exercised through time management, naming, surveillance, examinations, and controlled knowledge in the southern schools.

Plantation society in the southern states was all encompassing and revolved around the earth's changes. Crops were planted and harvested based on changing of the seasons. Fish, crabs, and shrimp were caught on the changing tides. Men, women, and children rose with the morning sun. When the northern, white women began schools within this timeless system, they were astonished that the children did not understand the idea of a timely and systematic start to the school day. Botume records common phrases

used by the freedmen to describe the relationship between daily events and their lives.

Botume (1292) includes such description as:

The dial of the contrabands was: "When the first fowl crow,"—"At crack o' day"—
W'en de sun stan' straight ober head"—"At frog peep"—"When fust star shine"—"At
flood tide," or "ebb tide" or "young flood"—"On las' moon," or "new moon."
(p. 128)

These phrases that were common in the lives of the freedmen show interdependence in the lives of the people and the land; the events of the day were tied to the changing moments of the natural environment. This cultural way of life met the community's needs as the daily jobs of the land required sunlight and correct tides. Time was only measured by the changes of the earth.

When the women arrived on the islands, the different perspectives of time were not initially understood by some teachers. In fact, several teachers discussed the necessary imposition of timely habits within the schools in their diaries and letters. At first, some women were astonished that the children had little habit related to a set time of the day. "How little I knew of these erratic beings! I was as ignorant of their powers of comprehension as they of my meaning. What did two o'clock or luncheon signify to them!" (Botume, 1892, p. 110). Botume came to a realization that the children did not have a common system for time when she asked students to come after breakfast (p. 68), but breakfast was an unknown term to the young children. She observed that some children rose with the sun and ate when they chose. Despite this difference between the cultural lives of the freedmen and the desire for discipline by the teachers, the children were made to abide by the northern order of the schoolroom during the first weeks and

months of their educational experiences. Ware (1969) describes that a student would ring the school bell and that all the children would gather together for the day's lessons. This action necessitated the purchase of a school bell loud and strong enough to reach across the farthest plantations in each area. Although some teachers were able to create a system and order by using the school bell, other teachers sought to teach time by purchasing a clock for the school (Hancock, 1937/1956; Towne, 1912).

Despite the efforts to draw children to the classroom through the use of bells and clocks, the attempted system was imperfect. Botume (1892) describes that children sometimes came to the schoolyard waiting and watching for the bell to ring (p. 89). Other teachers fought regular and timely attendance amid requirements to work on the land during planting and gathering seasons. "Our scholars are more regular and punctual in their attendance than formerly, and make better progress than they have ever done before. But the season is approaching when children's labor will be valuable and as labor is very scarce" (Carter, 1864, March 1, ¶ 4). The intentions of the teachers and Freedmen's Bureau to institute a timely start to the school day were disrupted by the habits of the children and the economic needs of families. Measures were also taken to call roll each day and to document the attendance and timeliness patterns of the students each month (Fenton, 1866, Dec. 6, ¶ 1). Although this information was reported by the teachers on Bureau reports, they were never able to completely convey their own perceived importance of the concept to the students.

Teachers were required to report their efforts to conduct a regularly scheduled, punctual school environment in monthly reports to the Freedmen's Bureau agents. On these reports, teachers accounted for the total number of students to attend during the

month and the number of regular attendees or tardies. While this information was given to account for the punctuality of the students according to northern requirements for schools, the teachers also reported how many days the schools were closed and how many Sabbath School or Bible studies were conducted. In this manner, the teachers opened themselves to the surveillance of those in authority over their positions within the Bureau or the relief agencies. The reports were a symbol of their acceptance of their responsibilities in the southern schools and society and an acceptance of their role to maintain these structures. "Obedience becomes a pivotal tool for the reproduction of the dominant culture to the extent that independent thoughts and actions are regulated by the system and/or repressed by the individual who has submitted his or her will" (Macedo, 2006, p. 67). As the women themselves were measured for punctuality and performance without the physical presence of an agent, they became physical symbols of obedience to the male patriarchal system in place within the southern schools. Within the Freedmen's Bureau schools, there also were several other methods of surveillance by which the male authority figure patrolled the actions and curriculum of the teachers. This was done by regular visits by agents, groups of traveling northern philanthropists and visiting teachers, and the northern females themselves. Each visitor brought his or her own personal perspective of education to the southern school and the approval of this gaze was discussed by several of the teachers in their letters and diaries.

Northern visitors of family members, Bureau agents, or any other interested individual were anticipated with some urgency in the southern schools. Teachers noted upcoming visitors and the hope for their children to meet the expectations and questioning of the northern individuals. Some teachers, such as Towne (1912), mention

these visitors as a part of a daily occurrence. "Mr. Pierce came and examined our school. He asked the children questions which they answered pretty readily" (p. 108). Other descriptions add more detail and therefore more significance in the event. Towne herself describes embarrassment at an event when Mr. Parker, a local preacher, visited her school. Towne (1912) describes:

He pointed to his eyes, ears, mouth, nose, and explained how ideas got in, in so low a voice that my class could not hear and could only see his motions, and these seemed so comical that Fairy Jenkins burst into a fit of laughing that nearly upset me and the whole class. (p. 134)

The embarrassment of one student's reaction to this visitor demonstrates the significance of the visit to Towne and the desire for the work in the southern schools to be approved of by authority figures. Hancock (1937/1956), on the other hand, illustrates approval received from such visits. On two separate occasions she received visitors from the Philadelphia and New York communities to visit her school and inspect the learning of the students (p. 221; pp. 238-239). In both cases, Hancock describes that "They complimented my school very much; said I was one of the most interesting teachers they had seen" (pp. 238-239). These examples demonstrate that the women understood their position within the schools and the influences of the northern society on their positions. The visiting men and women were responsible for providing funding which directly influenced the teacher's job from year to year. Thus, the individual students themselves were not being watched, but it was the perceived progress of the students and therefore the effort and success of the teacher that was being measured.

While some teachers described the success of the visits, other teachers focused on the questioning of the visitors to the students. As in any conversation with a child, one's questions can be perceived as measuring the degree to which the child meets his or her expectations of knowledge and learning. Individuals ask questions of the students that meet the norms for the child's age. Hancock (1937/1956) describes the interaction of the Superintendent of the Boston schools with her students. The woman asked such questions as "What is the difference between an oasis and an island? What difference between a strait and an isthmus?" (p. 221). The content of these questions shows the expectations of the northern woman for learning within the southern states. This is an interesting account for two reasons. First, from Hancock's account, her students were able to answer the woman's questions related to geography terms. If the account is true, it shows the curriculum objectives of this teacher with her students. Many accounts describe that education within the schools fell short of just more than basic reading and writing, yet these questions involve intricate knowledge of vocabulary. Second, it shows the alignment of southern instruction with northern expectations for curriculum. Although Hancock was pleased by the performance of her students and the accompanying approval of her teaching, other teachers questioned the perspective of other visitors. Botume (1892) describes the manner in which her students were addressed as, "Visitors would talk before the contrabands as if they could neither see nor hear nor feel" (p. 107). This account shows the position of superiority of the visitors who regarded the freedmen childlike and unintelligent; the men, women, and children were addressed as lifeless objects. From this report, some visitors clearly did not see the children as humans of equal standing with themselves. This text from Botume is interesting because she points

out a rude encounter with other white individuals to show the apparent racism of this group. Since this is Botume's account of the event, a reader cannot determine whether the event took place as described or if the interpretation of the event was recorded from her own position. One must remember that Botume herself recorded her own feelings toward the former slaves as she uses language traditionally used for animals and labels their actions and behavior as unacceptable. This one aspect of Botume's text may demonstrate growth and a developing awareness of Botume to the capabilities and value of the freedmen. Furthermore, Botume's text was edited by herself making the dates of the events unavailable. This may have been a moment of change and growth for Botume, realizing the value of her children or it may not.

Members of northern white society provided a system of observation through regular visits to the southern schools. These visits and discussions with both teachers and students provided approval or disapproval to the teachers. Since agents did not have regular schedules of visiting schools throughout all of the southern states, authority figures turned this desire for observation back onto the teachers. In a few cases, northern female teachers were asked by Bureau officials to monitor their peers throughout the surrounding communities. One example is the hiring of Towne to oversee the schools in her surrounding community. Although she at first refused the offer to pursue her personal objectives, she later accepted the position as a source of income. In another case, a respected northern teacher was assigned to monitor surrounding teachers in her area before beginning her own institution. Mather (1867, Dec. 9) reports in a letter that "Yesterday in accordance with Mr. Herrit's wishes I rode out to Perry clear and visited Miss Johnson and Miss Clary, both of whom have large schools and are indefatigable

workers" (§ 1). Mather's acceptance of the position to evaluate other schools was an acceptance of her role under the authority figures to which she reported. In her position, her reports only include commentary regarding the success of the schools that she encountered. This was not the case for the third teacher turned supervisor.

Shearman (J.A.S.) was discussed in chapter 4 for her willingness to overstep 19th century social norms for behavior as she questioned the male authority figures. Over time, her persistence was rewarded as she was designated an unofficial position to travel throughout coastal Georgia to evaluate teacher. She documented her observations of the other teachers in letters to Bureau agents. In some cases, Shearman complements the teachers for their efforts and progress of the children. For example, she writes "Miss Marshall, now Mrs. Dr. Clift of Savannah though not very profound in her mental constitution was yet a very admirable teacher in her own peculiar line. She has the best disciplined, happiest toned school almost without exception" (J.A.S., n.d., § 1). In this case, she describes the intelligence of the teacher and the discipline of the children, both characteristics desired by authority within Freedmen's Bureau schools. On the other hand, Shearman also devalues the contributions of other teachers through her comments. Describing another teacher from her observations, Shearman notes, "Miss A has some drawbacks in the way of character, is frivolous & noisy, not promotive of much improvement in a family & moreover is in very much health consumptive I believe" (J.A.S., n.d., § 1). In this example, Shearman clearly attacks the character of the teacher in comparison to the 19th century norms for a quiet family and religious figure capable of cultivating future generations. This example is one of several from the archives that demonstrate a reversal of power in the teacher's life. Instead of being controlled within

the classroom, Shearman assumes the power to judge and ridicule from a position outside of the classroom in the male dominated society. Her transition in this position signified a move into a position of power that was enacted through her critical evaluation of other teachers.

Both in the 19th century and today, systems of surveillance have been created to maintain the dominant curriculum of the classroom. Teachers and students are conscious of the arrival of authority figures, principals, academic personnel, and unknown figures, as they walk into classrooms with a clipboard or an electronic device. The observational period is symbolized by note taking, capturing of images or even video to record the day's events for eternity. Regardless of the purpose, interest, and position of the individual conducting the observation, power is held through that position. This role of surveillance in today's schools has become a topic of debate as different state and national initiatives are put into place through systems of surveillance and control. The problem of constant surveillance and evaluation happens when teachers become fearful of consequences of their behavior; teachers lose confidence in their own convictions and question their abilities. "When teachers become fearful, they begin to internalize the dominator's shadow and the authoritarian ideology of the administration" (Freire, 2005, p. 16). As noted by Freire, a perceived loss of control of one's classroom environment and personal decisions related to student progress and behavior leads the teacher toward the dominant perspective and practices. This change will over time bring the once reflective and independent teacher into the dominant ideology and strip her from creativity, independence, and choice. This, though, does not always have to be the outcome. Again, Freire (2005) speaks to monitoring but in a different way as:

The educators responsible for a program of study need to know, at each step of the way, how well they are achieving their objectives. In the end, evaluating is a process through which practice takes us to the concretization of the dream that we are implementing. (p. 13).

In this case, teachers who are part of the decision-making process and are empowered by their own curricular choices are aided by positive feedback through observations.

Observations can be a form of surveillance by which both students and adults are provided meaningful commentary to achieve unified and join goals to cooperate toward common goals. Foucault (1977) also discusses the use of surveillance within systems.

“The distribution according to ranks or grade has a double role; it marks the gaps, hierarchizes qualities, skills and aptitudes; but it also punishes and rewards” (p. 181).

Freire’s position explores the potential for teachers to align their position with other teachers or shared goals of a group. Alternatively, Foucault focuses upon the dual nature of the results to both punish and reward depending upon the results of the observation.

This topic is of increasing significance in schools as money was given to states under conditions of increased observation of teachers and options to receive rewards based on the meeting of standards for performance. In these cases, the political goals of the federal and state governments are not shared by all teachers, students, and community members with a common goal and vision of education as advocated by Freire. The observations are used to collect data and value or devalue the performance of each teacher.

The role of supervising and assessing the teachers and freedmen was not limited to within school walls. Instead, teachers were directed to regularly interact with the former slaves in their own communities and to report conditions back to Bureau agents.

One historian, Edith M. Dabbs, also describes the role of Towne within her community. Dabbs (1983) writes, “Miss Towne, as official supervisor of the whole island, tried to keep in touch with them all and cover the whole territory, travelling in her buggy with her little doctor’s bag” (p. 158). In this example, Dabbs describe the role assumed by Towne to monitor her surrounding community and to provide basic medical care. This practice was repeated by other women such as Ware (1969) as she visited the community upon her arrival from a visit north to inspect the new children and the school that had continued during her absence (p. 121). In this manner, not only were there the freedmen being evaluated in the classroom but were also watched and judged in their own homes and communities. The structure and cleanliness of their homes was judged with little regard for the lack of resources and materials throughout slavery and Reconstruction times. Their family structure was ridiculed with no understanding for differences creating by the buying and selling of slaves. The common bonds that existed throughout communities were ignored because they did not meet northern values of individualism and competition. As northern men and women entered the southern communities that did not meet their cultural, social, and political expectations, the existing structures were criticized and devalued.

Similarly, teachers used power in similar ways to devalue the knowledge and cultural capital of the students and community members. One such way was to question and negate the knowledge of the freedmen learned from generations on the land. When the female teachers entered the communities, they often attempted to care for the sick and elderly. To do this, they used forms of medicine and common practices learned in their northern homes. These practices, though, conflicted with the cultural traditions that were

practiced around the ill and dying. For example, Ware (1969) describes that a common practice "bathe the swelling when the tide was going out, that it might carry it with it" (p. 35). Teachers also learned that a reliance on nature to care for the ill accompanied a fear of doctors and hospitals in towns and cities. Teachers believed that the ill or injured should be transferred to a hospital to be cared for, but family members preferred to watch over the sick without the medical advancements that were unknown to the rural communities. Botume describes one instance where a father refuses treatment for his son. "I had the post surgeon and bureau doctor examine him, who decided he ought to be taken to the hospital in town. When the father heard this he indignantly refused, saying he 'could mind his child'" (Botume, 1892, p. 105). The institution that cared for the sick and ill was an unknown threat to the tradition of the freedmen; they regarded the hospitals as a trick to steal weak people (Botume, 1892, p. 105). It must be remembered, too, that the hospitals were operating under poor conditions during and after the Civil War and were possibly operated by doctors and nurses who were not trained in the precise medical and surgical practice. Instead, the freedmen had their own methods for healing that had been used for generations throughout their own communities. Despite this perceived belief, teachers were unable to change the freedmen's perspective even if it meant helping a sick child or adult. Skepticism in the institution symbolized the threat of a white system which for so long had caused death and hardship to the African American community.

As in the previous example, teachers did not understand the unwillingness to accept the aid and the significance between the aid and perceived power structures. They did not understand the strength of the community and the perceived responsibility for that family. Instead, the teachers focused exclusively on the benefits of the system that

supported their personal perspective and the power structure. Similarly, teachers did not understand the power of unity within the communities. Schools were one way to impose structure and label children and adult family members as different through the separation of children into different ability groups.

Another way of changing the community to value competition and individualism was through public examinations. These events took place in the spring and drew attention from the surrounding community to watch the students perform the knowledge gained through the classroom. Botume (1892) describes how her school conducted an examination as she describes, "The copy-books were handed around for inspection. One woman having her child's book given her, showed it with great pride to those sitting near, declaring she was 'proud for mad,'" (p. 224). In this case, the examination allowed parents and family members to show pride in the accomplishments of children as compared to one another. Similarly, Towne's examinations gained support in subsequent years. "We had a nice exhibition which was attended better than last year by the parents. Only our school and the Frogmore School were represented" (Towne, 1912, p. 208). As many of the adult community members were illiterate, the exhibition allowed the students to be compared to one another regarding their written and oral work. This singled out the accomplishments of one child against another and worked toward building support for individual success in the educational institution. By making the examinations public, the communal structure of the whole was undermined by the focus on a specific student's growth in educational matters.

In the same way, teachers created systems of rank within the school buildings to create competition between the students on a daily basis. The students who excelled for

academic strengths were publically rewarded, often with material items that symbolized the economic market of which they were now a part. For example, Hancock (1937/1956) describes the end of year program where she rewarded those individuals who had excelled. “The children assembled and sang some pieces, and then commenced the distributions. I allowed them to make a choice as they ranked in the class” (p. 281). The act of comparing and ordering individuals and further recognizing those who succeed created a competition system and ranking. This was a further form of control in the schools whereby those at the top were rewarded. Chomsky (2003) regards this system as “All of this stuff is put into people’s heads in various ways in the schools—that you’ve got to beat down the person next to you, and just look after yourself” (p. 29). In this regard the teachers created a culture that celebrated the strengths of one over another, which mimicked the individual quality of northern, capitalist life. On the other hand, events such as the rankings, examinations, and systems of surveillance created tension in the community whereby members were compared and valued over one another. “As schooling was applied to colonized peoples, it was made to stand against family and community, against a culture that seemed to fly in the face of the ostensible rationality and enlightenment of the colonial power” (Willinsky, 1998, p. 95).

In each of the examples above, the teachers enacted the paternalist power structure of northern society and schools. They watched, evaluated, and ranked the student population during school while focusing upon the entire community outside of the school structure. Through these methods, the northern teachers used the authority as white women to dictate the curriculum and structure of the educational experiences. All these events were conducted to convey control and gather the students into the dominant

ideology. While these events were silently and invisibly occurring in classrooms, parental support gained as parents wanted their children to be educated. The documents shared at examinations demonstrated something tangible that was being gained. “We have learned to say that we want our children to get an education, or to receive an education. Suddenly, something that had previously been treated as a process became a thing that one could possess” (Gabbard, 2003, p. 66). The possession of an education was marked with the influence of social, political, and economic forces that were to remain unchallenged by continuation of the educational structure in the southern schools. This idea is important when regarding the concept of schooling in our nation’s history because it marks a possible transition of the idea of an education as something tangible and concrete that is possessed. Education was not seen as a set of skills for life but was perceived as a thing that was held by the individual. The position of the female teachers must be mentioned here because they were using the examinations to order and create systems that valued some students over others. In order to accomplish their goals, they used their authority to create the programs within the school structures. Similarly, southern men and women created their measurements to rank the performance of their own children and schools. This was done to maintain an individual’s own position in southern society through the performance of the children. In the teachers’ case, they were asserting their own measurements onto the students and therefore valuing and devaluing Others through the methods.

Curricular Influences in the Freedmen's Bureau Schools

Teachers commented regarding the significance of educational institutions within southern society in the 19th century. For example, one teacher writes “No institution can live unless it has a place to live in, and the more permanent the place the better” (Gaylord, 1865, Dec 2, ¶ 1). From the context, it cannot be determined if she understood the significant relationship between the social, political, and economic realms and the school agenda. Nevertheless, there is a direct relationship that binds the educational institution to the contextual world in which it symbolically lives.

This research thus far has demonstrated that different women held different perspectives and agendas for classroom instruction throughout their time in the southern states. Some teachers stress remedial instruction in the alphabet and reading, other teachers focused on the moral and religious uplift of the freedmen, and still others influenced the former slaves in decisions of the political world in which they were a part. The role of the women, though, was also to establish the schools as institutions under the influence of northern groups. Chad Alan Goldberg (2007) believes that the purpose of instruction for some was that “the bureau was a means to reconstruct people as well as institutions. For them, the bureau’s primary purpose was nothing less than the transformation of slaves into citizens” (p. 45). This position alludes to the transformation of the freedmen to citizens—active both as consumers and, for Republicans, political individuals with power of the vote. Cimbala (1997) also describes these political intentions as, “Despite the paternalistic attitude of many of them, the Yankee teachers helped politicize the freedpeople by teaching them patriotic songs and professing the equality of the races” (p. 113). Thus, the perspectives of these historians support the

affiliation of the work of the teachers with religious, moral, political, and economic instructions. As the freedmen were educated, they were being taught more than just reading, writing, and arithmetic through both the explicit and hidden curriculums of the schools. These experiences created a system of schooling and educational institutions that represented dominant powers; these institutions would remain a figure of southern life for years to come.

A Capitalist Society Influences Curriculum

When the slaves were emancipated, they were viewed as new consumers in the national market by northern business owners. To support the northern economy, teachers, members of the Freedmen's Bureau, and other relief workers attempted to influence the freedmen to purchase material goods with their earnings. Teachers even opened up stores near schools to aid freedmen to this cause. "The intent of new commodities and the marketing that accompanies them is to induce new wants in people, to generate a sense that happiness stems from people's ability to satisfy their ever-expanding scope of wants" (Gabbard, 2003, p. 66). Although this position was not openly expressed in letters or reports to the teachers, the intention was conveyed by several experiences including setting up stores near schools and exchanging material goods for books and services within the southern communities.

These experiences are important to note because they symbolized a union between the economic focus of purchasing items and the value of these items as educational tools. It is without question that students needed books to read and tools to practice writing and math. The inclusion of the stores with or near the schools forced the students and families to purchase the items that were not provided by the school. This

was a transition in the 19th century society because education was formerly provided in schools with tuition being paid by families. In the Freedmen's Bureau schools, not only did the students and families support the schools with material objects and tuition, but the students were also required to purchase adequate clothing and materials to take part in the schoolhouse.

Teachers influenced students as to the value of material objects in several ways. One example was the giving of material items for the highest rank in a class or as gifts during the Christmas season. The custom of decorating a tree and giving gifts was unknown to the students and community members from their past experiences. In several cases, teachers describe gathering items to be distributed to all students in the class on Christmas Day. For example, Botume (1892) writes, "These were my gifts, and nothing could have been more acceptable, -to each girl a needle, to each woman a needle and a 'hank' of thread, and to the men and boys, picture papers" (p. 72). In this example, Botume describes giving both useful and decorative items. In other cases, teachers gave dolls, books, and toys. In another example by Hancock (1937/1956), she describes the late arrival of the items to be given as:

They came in time for us to play Christmas the day we re-opened the school; and as the children do not know dates or care about them, I think Christmas went off as well to them as if it had been celebrated punctually. (pp. 280-281)

These examples both place the focus of "Christmas" on the physical giving of gifts to the children. In each case the women did not correlate the concept of giving gifts to the meaning of the Christian holiday or any religious celebration of this occurrence. These events silently placed value on the material items as objects to be sought and held with

value within the communities. By including all students—men, women, and children—the lesson reached as many individuals as possible.

Along with the giving of gifts, several teachers operated stores near their homes or schools to supply the material goods to the communities. In some cases, the teachers sold cloth, needles, and clothes to meet the immediate needs of the community. For example, one teacher describes, "We use for shop the little room between Mr. G's and the entry. . It is a funny sight and funny work for us, albeit interesting, for they have had no clothes for a year and buy eagerly" (Ware, 1969, p. 24). In this case, the teachers helped provide the necessities of life by selling the goods for little profit over the cost of the items. These goods were often shipped by relief agencies in the North or even families to help aid the freedmen. On the other hand, the same teacher used material items to reward workers for extra effort in the fields on their day off. "There has been a good deal of trouble about their working Saturday, and the bacon was only given to those who went to the field to-day, I hope with good effect" (Ware, 1969, p. 48). In this example, Ware goes beyond her role as a teacher and helps to explicitly support the economic gain of land owners by bribing the freedmen to work six days a week. The economic value of labor was placed over the rights of the workers as they were encouraged to engage in the same system of manual labor during slavery.

In example above, the teachers gave material possessions for satisfaction of northern values. The women sold the items manufactured in northern factories that were subsequently sold in the stores operated by the northern teachers and relief workers. A perceived desire for the material goods would continue to sponsor production within northern facilities and transfer monetary wealth back to northern society. Students

excelled at the curriculum of the school and were rewarded. Individuals worked extra hours in fields to ensure production necessary for northern factories six days a week. In each case, authority figures identified and celebrated the obedience of the students and community members for aligning their behaviors with expectations. Individuals were celebrated for compliance, obedience, and hard work. Apple (1995) comments regarding the necessity of such lessons in the hidden curriculum as:

Schools are organized not only to teach the 'knowledge that, how, and to' required by our society, but are organized as well in such a way that they ultimately assist in the production of the technical/administrative knowledge required among other things to expand markets, control production, labor, and people, engage in the basic and applied research needed by industry. (p. 19)

Celebrating the individual achievements of students facilitates an individual to understand his or her position in society and the material or financial benefits received from that system. While teachers are conveying lessons of the traditional curriculum including reading and writing, they are also conveying messages of punctuality, obedience, and orderliness. Over time, reward systems convey messages often unconsciously to the student and community. Furthermore, by identifying individuals for compliance, it moves these students from the larger community and separates the bonds of group membership that had previously existed over time.

In the cases described above, the teachers' actions speak for their intentions and support of the northern economy. While the above described teachers conveyed this position through the hidden curriculum of the classroom. In other cases, some teachers

explicitly describe their feelings on the system that was being established. Gaylord (1866, Jan. 22) speaks to her position on the support of wages and the selling of items as:

It seems to me it would be a great deal better to put this people in a way of earning their living at once than to have them falling back on us every little while for clothing. They have been long in the habit—(not their fault of course) of depending on others for supplies and the sooner the prop is taken from them the sooner they will learn self-reliance. (¶ 6)

This teacher's words symbolize the position of several teachers as they advocated for the use of wages to buy basic necessities for life on the former plantations. In a community that had depended on slave owners and the plantation for food and clothing, the former slaves were now responsible to provide these items for themselves. This accountability was challenging for the freedmen because they still were not paid fair wages for their work as compared to northern laborers. In cases where children or families could not pay for necessities using their wages, the teachers were willing to barter for the items. Towne (1863, May 12) describes an example of this experience in a letter as "school children came loaded with berries, for which we gave them some old books and some buttons. It is so that their industry may be encouraged. All their money goes to their parents and they want to earn something" (¶ 2). The position of teachers to accept bartering from the students was not only done by Towne. Other teachers including Champney (1869, Jan. 30), Putnam (1868, March 2), and Still (1866, Feb. 19) all describe this practice in their letters and reports. This is significant because the items received during the exchange were primarily used by the teachers for personal reasons, such as food and other goods. Another example of a teacher's personal opinion supporting this system is described as,

"I think the people ought to support us as they have no rent to pay. They have sent us in new milk, Sweet Potatoes, Syrup & Eggs which are a great help" (Champney, 1869, Jan 30, ¶ 3). Although the teachers intended to teach lessons in self-responsibility and participation in a fair market, they were personally benefitting from the exchange without returning the funds or value to those who had originally donated the materials to the southern teachers.

Butchart (1980) asserts that the northern teachers were unaware of the system in which they were a part. "Most teachers who worked the southern field were undoubtedly unaware of how the modern northern school ramified the social division of labor" (p. 121). Although this may have been true in some cases where women completely accepted the contextual influences in their lives and the northern patriarchal perspective, the examples above demonstrate that Butchart's position is not completely supported by the archival collections. Some teachers explicitly discussed their position related the market economy and their corresponding position regarding the work of the freedmen. Therefore, it must be argued that at least some teachers were aware of their role in the system and supported the transformation of the former slaves into workers and consumers in a system modeled after the northern market. Gabbard (2003) describes the use of individualization in a market economy which is the same system in place in the 19th century southern classroom. The necessary component provided by the teachers was "a ritual that would function to incorporate individuals into a market society, providing them with the means for cultivating their use-value in order that they might be able to find their own individual salvation in the market" (p. 65). Unlike Butchart, Gabbard's description corresponds to the action as they used rituals of reward to solidify habits in the minds of

the freedmen and therefore instilled the northern values of hard work and material wealth. The measures taken by the women to continue these habits and secure material goods through letters and personal requests to northern aid agencies and families further supports their full-fledged participation in the newly created system.

The teachers also participated in the economic system by hiring help within their home. Coming from northern middle-class backgrounds, the teachers would have been familiar with having paid help in the home to care for the home, property, and children. This practice was continued in the southern home but under one different circumstance. Towne (1912) describes the process of hiring help within her home as:

We have an old man in the yard, to tend to our horses and cow, cut our wood, etc., for four dollars a month; then Rina to do our cooking, washing, and housework for five dollars a month, and a girl for scrubbing, waiting on table, errands, fires, etc., for two dollars. This is much higher than before, but low wages are going. Cooks get here enormous wages—from eight to forty dollars a month. The place is growing so far, and I suppose we shall soon come to Northern rates. (pp. 126-127)

Although Towne and other teachers were paying for the help within their homes, they were not giving fair rates to the workers. They were still paying less and continuing the system of unfair labor as before the Civil War. By not paying adequately, families continued to rely on northern aid and the government for basic needs including food and clothing. The teachers helped to perpetuate an unequal economic system through unequal wages despite the end of slavery years before.

As I mentioned previously, the work of teachers was confined to the schools and other religious and moral aspects of education in the greater society. Although interactions regarding contracts and economic issues between the freedmen and white individuals were normally facilitated by members of the Freedmen's Bureau, reports show that the teachers did have some degree of influence over these economic aspects of life. This is especially true of teachers on the Sea Islands who supported the purchase of land in tracts designated by the Freedmen's Bureau and a corresponding consumption of products that supported northern production. Teachers would give material items to the freedmen with a rationale that the freedmen were lacking personal items as possessions after the Civil War. Yet, these exchanges crossed the boundary of gift giving when teachers opened their own stores to supply the demand of the freedmen. Swint (1967) describes this hidden curriculum as:

Markets for new products can exist only where there is demand; demand comes close on the heels of knowledge. Knowledge, or education in the ways of the West, has therefore been considered essential if the "backward" peoples are to be induced to purchase western goods. (p. 458)

Thus, although the teachers may not have profited from the purchase of items, the connection must be made between the actions of the teachers and the profits of the northern agencies or companies. This example serves to show that some teachers acted with capitalist ideologies, whether they recognized the connection or saw purchasing and consumption of goods as an extension of proper northern society.

When the Freedmen's Bureau was established, the goal was to provide relief in the form of food, clothing, and education for the former slaves. The broad goals of this

relief organization were not adequately supported with the necessary finances for schools in all areas or for the length of time necessary before state aid began. To help supplement efforts of the federal government, teachers began charging tuition for students to attend, especially for sewing or technical programs. These collections were reported in letters to Bureau officials. Lane (1865, April 4) writes, "I charge (\$5) five dollars per scholar per term of twelve weeks. Mr. Richardson thought it would not be possible for me to succeed, but I determined to make the effort. So you think I charge too much?" (¶ 1). Although she was requesting advice, she had already begun the practice of charging a large amount for a three-month term. Wilkins (1867, Dec. 17) similarly describes her collection as "every cent I have been able to raise is (\$400) it is a harder work then the teaching, perhaps next month I shall not be able to raise as much" (¶ 1). These examples are given to show the actions of teachers to connect educational experiences to the economic market of the community. In many areas, freedmen had already gathered funds for land and school buildings and provided service for the buildings such as gathering firewood. These actions of the teachers went beyond those communal activities to place the monetary burden on individual families and placed a monetary value on education gained in the schools. Furthermore, these same families were expected to provide food and clothing for their children despite the low wages paid in fields and other jobs. This measure is one example of how teachers included the support of northern economic institutions within their hidden curriculum.

The examples given above are not meant to characterize all teachers in all communities. Several teachers openly oppose the practices of unequal pay for work and the charging of tuition for attendance at schools. For example, Russell (1868, May 22)

describes the help received from the freedmen, but her tone is different from examples previously given. She writes:

Our fire wood is given us & our washing done by individuals, without charge.

The people have sent us green stuff from their gardens & the children supply us with berries, we do our own work & rarely ever get more than two meals per day.

(¶ 1)

This example is in stark contrast to those previously given because Russell is appreciative of the contributions of the freedmen and remarks that she too works to complete the daily activities required to care for her home. She is a part of the community and does not see herself at a higher position than the freedmen. Similarly, when Mather arrived in Beaufort, she was attempting to provide a school in an area that had little influence of the Freedmen's Bureau. She describes the unequal opportunities in this community by requesting a school for adults. Mather (1867, Dec. 9) appeals as:

Mr. Newcomb a Methodist clergyman here sent out by the Methodist Missionary Association has commenced a pay school for adults but the poor people are not able to pay, they want to learn but have no means of supporting a school. (¶ 3)

Both examples serve to show that the women had the immediate needs of the community members as their concern. They did not attempt to benefit financially from the freedmen and therefore perceived an equal position in society with the men and women. Again, although these are two examples of the teachers, they demonstrate that different teachers entered their positions with preconceived notions and an awareness of the objectives of the dominant ideology, yet they chose to navigate these systems in different ways from their positions.

Religious Sponsors Influence Schools

Most teachers were chosen and sponsored by a missionary society, usually with a particular religious affiliation. The societies, because of the large commitment of their monetary support, paid particular attention to ensure that the religious and moral values of teachers coincided with those of the associations. To better understand the positions from which the teachers worked, it is necessary to first note the background of the corresponding associations. Swint (1967) provides details that characterize each agency in his text. For example, the group responsible for most aid in Savannah is described as, “The American Missionary Association was probably the most important representative of the sectarian associations engaged in missionary and educational work. . . but the religious, moral, social, and political uplift of the freedmen was the chief aim” (Swint, 1967, p. 11). Although this association was nonsectarian, many of the leaders and, thus, teachers were chosen from the Congregationalist faith (Swint, 1967, p. 12). On the other hand, some societies were known for their strict religious adherence. “One of the strongest of the strictly denominational societies was the Freedmen’s Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church” (Swint, 1967, p. 13). Although some groups were sponsored by particular churches, like the examples noted by Swint, others were not. Over time, many groups, regardless of religious affiliation, could not compete against the coordinated effort of the AMA, and by May of 1866, all nonsectarian societies joined under the united title of the American Freedmen’s Union Commission.

Some historians (Rabinowitz, 1974; Jones, 1980/1992; Leloudis, 1996) have focused on the religious intentions of the teachers and leaders as a direct motivation for their work. For example, some support a commonality in the beliefs of the white and

African American leaders to instill religious instruction. “Black and white educators were in agreement on certain fundamental issues. Most shared the belief that the building of ‘Christian character’ was a central part of education” (Leloudis, 1996, p. 38). This connection can further be understood as many of the initial leaders of the Freedmen’s Bureau schools, both white and African American, were leaders in their respective churches as well. Howard N. Rabinowitz (1974) takes the description a step further to describe the particular beliefs of the teachers as, “The majority were imbued with strong antislavery beliefs, humanitarian impulses, and burning religious fervor” (p. 568). This “religious fervor” is a common description of the teachers as their lessons were seen to include reading instruction from the Bible and other forms of explicit moral instruction. In addition, this position is further supported as teachers also held schools on Sundays and encouraged freedmen to attend or spoke of conversions to particular faiths (Huntoon, 1869, April 12; Sharp, 1869, May 4; Towne, 1912; Ware, 1969; Wilkins, 1868, Jan. 7). It is important to remark that not all associations or Freedmen’s Bureau authority figures held the same position on the role of religion in the schools. In fact, Ames (1906) documents how a directive was given to completely remove religion from the Freedmen’s Bureau schools by a superior (p. 30). Again, as no description can uniformly describe the conditions and practices of all schools, this description contradicts any assumption that prayer and religious teaching was a foundation or essential component of curricular decisions in the 19th century.

Teachers’ descriptions on monthly reports included details of how many Sunday and Sabbath School sessions they taught and the corresponding number of participants. This factor documents that many teachers did provide religious instruction throughout

their time in the southern schools. On the other hand, although the popular position states that the teachers explicitly taught with a religious intent, the letters and diaries of the women do not fully support this “religious fervor” due to a lack of description that would explain the curriculum decisions made in such circumstances. In one example, Ames (1906) explains the type of lessons from her Sunday School as:

I do the preaching and Emily attends to the singing. She is highly amused at my teachings. What surprises me is that they know so little of life of Christ; not knowing even of his birth, but they all are familiar with his sayings. They all believe in a hell! I asked the children whom they love best. Some answered “God.” (p. 68)

In most cases, as that of Ames, instruction was primarily oral and included passages from the Bible. Singing was also used to include all persons in attendance. Towne (1912) describes her participation at a Baptist church although she was Unitarian in faith. “We first had a Sunday school where the letters were taught principally, and then the commandments and the Lord’s prayer read” (p. 22). This description from early in Towne’s time in the southern school documents that religious denominations were not isolated at all times. Although of a different faith, Towne was still welcomed to teach the freedmen in the school. On the other hand, Towne shows that religious instruction was not only the purpose of this session as fundamental reading skills were also taught.

The purpose of any type of religious instruction in the southern school would have been a dismissal of the traditional religious practices that included praise meetings in an elder’s house and shouts held late into the night. For example, Carter (1863, Dec. 12) records increased interest in participation of the freedmen in Sunday Schools.

"Having now three teachers we are able to make more satisfactory arrangements in our Sabbath School. We have two classes who read in the Testament and the remainder are instructed orally" (§ 4). Similarly, Abbie Case (1866, Feb. 5) writes, "We usually have between seventy & eighty present, and they seem very much interested in the exercises. We also hold a meeting Sabbath afternoons for the children or such people as may wish to attend" (§ 1). Those providing religious instruction would have aimed for conversions to the corresponding religious denomination. These occurrences happened as early as 1862 as Towne describes baptisms in the nearby waterways. "After church Father Tom and his bench of elders examined candidates for baptism and asked Ellen to record their names" (Towne, 1912, p. 79). Although Towne (1912) practiced the Unitarian faith, she participated in the conversions through her attendance and further supported traditional religious practices by teaching in Sabbath Schools (p. 22; p. 76; p. 206). In another example, a teacher also speaks of the purpose of the religious instruction and the way in which this involvement impacted the freedmen. "The meetings are quite well attended and interesting. Several have been converted we trust and others are anxious to know what they can do to be saved. We hope much good can be accomplished here" (Huntoon, 1869, April 12, § 4). This statement, made almost seven years after the first teachers reached the Sea Islands is important because it documents persistence in the efforts of the teachers and a documented change in the religious practices of the community members.

It is clear that teachers impacted the curriculum of the schools, both traditional Freedmen's Bureau day schools, teacher sponsored night schools, and church sponsored Sabbath Schools through their choice of material and manner of delivery. To impact the freedmen's daily decisions regarding religious and moral values, teachers also modeled

behaviors to the men, women, and children in the community. One such way that teachers impacted the community was by regularly attending church. In some communities, multiple religious institutions existed simultaneously just as before the Civil War. In other cases, limited physical space demanded the sharing of resources in the communities. “The only white meeting house here in the place is owned by one individual & the Presbyterians & Methodist preach alternately. We have attended once & were treated very respectfully” (Champney, 1869, Jan. 30, ¶ 4). In this example, Champney describes that the religious practices commenced without interference between religions or differences between northern and southern participants.

This harmony did not last in all locations. In some cases, community members attempted to persuade the teachers themselves to convert to the Methodist or Baptist Church. These experiences were described both by Towne (1863, Feb. 5; 1912) and Ames (1906) who were both Unitarians. Towne (1863, Feb. 5) describes one confrontation as:

Mr. Lynch called this afternoon. I asked him whether I should come to communion. He said why did I want to come—that Unitarians did not acknowledge Christ. We had a little discussion. He went away pitying me and urging Ellen to convert me. (¶ 1)

In this example, the confrontation took place in the privacy of Towne’s home and the disapproval of the female teacher was not heard by other community members. On the other hand, this event of a male attempting to use his authority over the female based on a cultural difference was significant enough from the perspective of Towne for her to include the material in her letter. In other cases, when southern individuals created a

separate church for only whites, Towne continued to attend the church alongside freedmen (Towne, 1867, March 27). This is the only statement made by a teacher regarding participation in the white only church, and therefore no specific conclusion can be drawn regarding the teachers' preference in attending white only churches from the archives analyzed. Alternatively, white northern teachers may not have been accepted in the southern white churches since they were not accepted in the southern society. These events document a conflict between the teachers, male leaders, and southern community to show that there was not always harmony in the southern community.

Although the event described by Towne took place within her own home, there were other events that took place publically that were observed and interpreted by the freedmen themselves. Both Ware (1969) and Towne (1862, July 1) describe the arrival of a new Baptist preacher in their community who "in his sermon express very liberal views towards other denominations of Christians" (Ware, 1969, p. 269). After subsequent deliveries of the same message by this individual from the preacher, members of other faiths were asked to leave the house of worship due to the different religious views. As the teachers left the church, this act was observed by the freedmen who were perceived to be confused by the course of events. In many communities during slavery, both blacks and whites professed within the same church at the same time. This was one instance where equality was shown in the southern community. In the experience described above, as the teachers left the church, some freedmen interpreted the action as a rude and disrespectful. "Since then we have heard wonder expressed that all the superintendents and the white ladies left the church when ole massa & misses used to stay & drink out of the 'very same cup' with them. They were evidently hurt" (Towne, 1862, July 1, ¶ 1). In

a society where growth and progress were built by the bonds made by the teachers and students, actions perceived as rude or unfair would have caused a divide within the community. As the northern women were discriminated against based on their religious affiliation, they were subject to criticism that they most likely did not face in their northern communities.

To adequately explore the contextual elements in the 19th century society, one must acknowledge the religious structure of society. These actions of religious personnel must be regarded in their cultural context as the Baptist and Methodist faiths were the dominant religious institutions in the southern communities. Other faiths including Congregationalists, Unitarians and Quakers would have had fewer members of the congregations and teachers such as Ames, Towne, and Schofield would have been minorities within the religious society. Members of the Baptist and Methodist religions were also responsible for acting against the northern teachers as they threatened to take the land and school buildings in which the teachers were organized. The religious leaders attempted to disrupt the influence of the northern teachers in exchange for the extension of their own religious influence over the freedmen. "The Baptist Church dominated the lives of Georgians of both races. Unlike other Protestant denominations, which formed synods or circuits, each Baptist congregation was responsible for the behavior of its members" (Chirhart, 2005, p.16). The work of the northern female teachers of different denominations contradicted the message of the church and contradicted the male authority figures within the community. To exercise power, the leaders then attacked the work of the teachers both personally and within their schools.

Cultural conflicts along religious lines are important to point out when examining the southern society in the 19th century because the religious perspectives of the male authority figures and teachers impacted the day-to-day lives of the freedmen in many ways. In particular, as the white teachers and leaders interacted with the freedmen, they conveyed messages of their religious and moral perspective. One action and corresponding message was the disapproval of cohabitation without marriage. To contradict the practices of the freedmen, laws were established with religious support that dictated the marriage must be sanctified between one man and one woman before the court. Botume (1892) quotes a law established in South Carolina as, “Hereafter this which the law regards as a civil contract is required to be duly solemnized, either by a minister of the gospel, the district judge, a magistrate, or any other judicial officer” (p. 167). Teachers communicated and supported this new law by quoting the contents to families within the community, aiding in marriage ceremonies, and giving gifts to newly wed couples. These changes supported northern opinions of marriage and ignored the historical events of slavery as men and women were torn from one another with every sale. Bonds were intentionally broken by slave owners to separate husbands and wives, parents and children. These events are also significant because the teachers began to instill value to the religious ceremony by giving gifts to new brides which further introduced the couple to the market economy.

When examining the ways in which teachers conveyed religious messages to freedmen, one must consider the manner in which they delivered their messages. In the traditional classroom, the curriculum was decided upon by teachers and leaders and explicit lessons could be given and discussed. On the other hand, when attempting to

influence the moral and religious position of the people, teacher needed to be sure that they did not offend the current religious and cultural practices while suggesting possible alternatives. Gabbard (2003) describes this position of religious institutions throughout time as:

The church, however, did not pretend to be able to provide people with grace itself, only the means for achieving it. People could only acquire those means through their incorporation into the church and through their subsequent participation in its rituals. Through their willful participation in these rituals, they would learn how to live their lives in compliance with the word of God. (p. 63)

Women were expected to lead family and community to the benefits of a religious and moral life through their words and deeds. This position was seen both in the 19th century and today to be the best way to involve the community members in their own transformation. Unlike using discipline and obedience, the freedmen must act through their own accord to receive the religious benefits.

Cultural Imperialists or Stubborn Yankees?

Imperialism is regarded as a domination of one country or people over another. Often, historians look to periods of conquest where larger and more powerful countries exerted their influence over cultural, political, and economic resources of a people. I think that when people think of imperialism or colonialism, they often look beyond our borders to larger scale actions of domination in other countries. Yet, individuals acted and continue to act with convictions in our own country to eradicate particular cultures or

ways of life that did not correspond to ideals of the ruling elite. Historical examples include residential schools for Native Americans which sought to erase the cultural identity of students and aspects of schools under the supervision of the Freedmen's Bureau. "Colonial education among the dispossessed was at best an empire-serving process, trumpeted in its intentions and occasionally inspired in its delivery by dedicated teachers and missionaries, but as often sloughed off and halfheartedly bestowed on native populations" (Willinsky, 1998, p. 101). Although actions of the teachers and missionaries were most likely enacted to match their perceived perspective of equity and freedom, the degree to which these actions were carried out and the particular orientation of the educational instruction comes into question. One must question who held the knowledge and norms that were communicated through lessons.

One way to examine racist and unequal positions of Freedmen's Bureau officials and teachers is to look at the documented interactions between white leaders and the African American population or comments that referenced particular traditions of African American life and culture. Some historians remark upon these interactions in their texts. For example, Parker (1954) asserts that the teachers were fixed in their cultural beliefs and describes, "The teachers, like most missionaries, were stubborn persons inclined to be intolerant of social observations not in agreement with their own theory of life" (Parker, 1954, p. 19). Although Parker cites the "intolerant" mindset, she does not elaborate upon these positions nor label the actions as race oriented. One way of seeing thus further is to examine the ways in which the teachers expressed this "intolerance" toward the religious practices of the African Americans. For one, "the missionaries disapproved of the shouting, regarding it as a survival of paganism" (Rose, 1964, p. 92).

In other reports, teachers were dismayed in beliefs of “the hag” and regarded such stories as nonsense. Once again, Rose cites the inability to accept different perspectives and practices while failing to move the conversation deeper toward a discussion of implicit reasons or personal convictions. As shown in the examples of word and deed as taken from the archives and discussed thus far in this dissertation, cultural and religious traditions were ridiculed and openly attacked by the teachers as they attempted to spread their own political, economic, and religious beliefs in stark contrast to the cultural practices of the freedmen. These examples support Smith’s (1997) position that “Implicit in the AMA curriculum was the belief that middle-class white values took precedence over African-American culture and tradition” (vii). Although this discussion of the choices of teachers is discussed by historians in several texts, the authors do not explore or problematize the actions of the teachers. The examples are added as part of historical memory without critiquing the manner in which lessons were delivered or how such steps minimized the cultural practices of the freedmen themselves.

When many teachers arrived on the Sea Islands or in Savannah, the language spoken by the freedmen was foreign to them. Isolated along the coasts of Georgia and South Carolina with common ancestry in Africa, dialects of Geechee and Gullah had been maintained through slavery and served as a symbol of a united cultural heritage. These dialects, though, could not easily be understood by teachers nor would words common to the dialects be taught in schools. A common language, “known as Gullah, bound them closely together. Black agriculturalists, carpenters, blacksmiths, cooks, and other skilled workers had made the plantations largely self-sufficient. Often families of several generations lived together, and black communities were only strengthened when

whites fled” (Tetzlaff, 2002, p. 12). Monica Maria Tetzlaff notes that the communication style was a symbol of the unity found on plantations throughout the region that had been strengthened over time through struggles to survive. The strength of this community and the language of the people was a threat to the individualistic values of the northern teachers and leaders. Therefore, explicit instruction in formal English and a dismissal of local dialects was one way in which teachers acted as cultural imperialists in schools. Willinsky (1998) remarks “Languages are not lost by accident or unwillingly forsaken. They give way to other desires, desires to join and be heard in other conversations” (p. 190). As the schools provided freedmen with opportunities to share in a political, social, and economic world, including a world of literacy, acquisition of the English language was of paramount importance to the northern teachers. It provided a common ground through which the white authority figures could communicate with the freedmen. On the other hand, the unwillingness of teachers to support the use of dialects of the freedmen undermined the educational necessities of students and the community.

The task of understanding students and community members was a challenge to teachers. That could be understood by regarding the dialectic differences between regions throughout any portion of our country. I had similar experiences when I moved to Savannah where I found that common phrases used in my northern home were not understood by the children in my classroom. Furthermore, I encountered families in which parents could not speak English, and I used a translator to communicate with these parents. The manner in which the 19th century teacher describes and ridicules these interactions, though, reveals much about her position and regard as compared to the freedmen. Hancock (1937/1956) describes observing the speech patterns of freedmen. "It

takes them about one half hour to say as much as an educated person can say in three minutes. They have such a few words at their command. I never get tired of them" (pp. 239-240). While she notes pleasure in hearing the freedmen speak, she does so from a position of authority over the "uneducated" people. Her comment insinuates ridicule of the capabilities and cultural stories of the freedmen. Ames (1906) similarly speaks from a position of power over the students. "The evening was pleasant; the children sang to us and we told them stories, -Red Riding Hood, etc. They had never listened before to stories of any kind, and were most attentive" (p. 61). In this statement, she undermines the cultural heritage of the community and ignores the history and story telling of its people by valuing her tales over those of the African American culture. By placing significance on her own experience and devaluing the contributions of community members, she is acting from a position of power that seeks to replace culture and history with that of her own upbringing. In both examples of Hancock and Ames, the teachers group the students based on their observations without regarding the cultural significance of the people themselves. "The kinds of knowledge considered most legitimate in school and which acted as a complex filter to stratify groups of students were connected to the specific needs of our kind of social formation" (Apple, 1995, p. 20). As teachers valued their own stories over others, they valued their own culture and power over that of the freedmen. As this process was repeated throughout the community in political, economic, and religious events, the hidden curriculum of the teachers and leaders would be conveyed to the freedmen.

Eliminating the common bonds of language was not the only way in which teachers devalued the culture of freedmen in the southern communities. Teachers also

targeted the close-knit family structure and the role of the female leader through their actions. As previously noted, teachers did not approve of the communal living structure in which unmarried men and women lived together with children, often including offspring of other relationships. Dabbs (1983) describes the community structure as:

Related households considered themselves part of a larger family and knew their relationships well. The sense of responsibility for others in greater need was so strong that most households included at least one adopted member, usually an orphan or someone physically disabled. (p. 190)

These circumstances were a result of economic and political situations in the freedmen's past, yet the teachers still attempted to change the living conditions to meet northern and religious expectations of a cohabitating married couple. Furthermore, the group solidarity ensured that orphans and elderly were cared for by members from their own community, by members who accepted the added responsibility as their own blood relatives.

When the teachers targeted the living conditions of family members, they often did so by criticizing the physical characteristics of the homes. They described the lack of furniture, clothing, and kitchen utensils as a measure of the family unit. They described the size of the homes as a descriptor of the success of the family. In each of these cases, teachers measured the satisfaction and success of the family against a measurement of the material possessions of the inhabitants despite the inability to acquire such objects during times of slavery. Towne (1863, April 21) describes an event in the community as:

I went up there to dress her burns this morning. I had to crawl on hands and knees to get into the little palmetto covered hut in which she lay. It was filled with smoke from the fire built in the middle of it, and chimneyless. I could see day-

light through the roof everywhere and there was not room to stand up between the floor and roof, neither could I pass the woman who lay on the floor without stepping over her. There was every possible discomfort. (§ 1)

In Towne's case, she describes the conditions of the home and acknowledges that they lived in these conditions because of the economic conditions of the time period. On the other hand, another teacher criticizes similar circumstances. "The opportunity of these people to learn the language and customs of civilized society and to acquire the simplest domestic arts has been meager in the extreme" (Carter, 1863, Jan. 22, § 6). Both examples serve how the teachers worked in the economic and political realms of the communities and extended their influence as they supervised and reported the living conditions to northern associations and the Freedmen's Bureau. As such accounts were repeated throughout northern communities, they fed the racist positions that regarded the former slaves as animalistic and uncivilized. If the freedmen could not conduct themselves in their own homes, how would they ever be part of a civilized society?

While teachers attempted to change the family structure through marriage ceremonies and influencing decisions of the families to purchase material goods, they influenced the communities with northern values. This position corresponded to the patriarchal and religious expectations that dominated northern systems and the women's perceived role in society to transmit this perspective. In many cases, northern teachers' influences began with the children and then reached into the family structure. Several individuals were repeatedly described in written texts with reverence and were not focused upon to change their position or perspective on life; these men and women, often the elderly and wise of the community, were provided with comforts in their old age.

Descriptions of the encounters between teachers and these community leaders were also included in the teachers' diaries and letters. Towne (1912) describes going to see Maum Katie, a respected elder of the community; she "remembers worshipping her own gods in African, but who had been nearly a century in this country. She is very bright and talkative, and is a great 'spiritual mother,' a fortune-teller, or rather prophetess, and a woman of tremendous influence" (p. 144). Towne recognized the authority of such men and women in the community. As she describes the positive attributes of the woman, she does so from a position of respect and reverence. This is important to note because the teachers never record trying to influence these community leaders; teacher never record any discussions the ending of praise meetings or shouts in the elders' homes. Instead, they focused upon the younger generation where their contact would have a more lasting impact throughout the society.

Willinsky (1998) sums up actions which represent cultural imperialism of the teachers as he writes, "The themes of discovery, conquest, possession, and dominion are about ways of knowing the world, of bringing it to order, or surveying, mapping, and classifying it in endless theorizing of identity and difference" (p. 85). These actions of conquest and domination are easily seen as teachers identified cultural elements different from northern norms for behavior. Over time, instruction by the teachers forced the eradication of many of these traditions that had existed from African ancestry. Unfortunately, although the intentions reflected northern values, the teachers devalued the knowledge of the freedmen and replaced it with knowledge that they found of the most worth. Again, I want to return to the idea of how the teachers were able to communicate these norms to the freedmen in a manner in which they were accepted

throughout the community. Freire (2008) reminds that the use of the hidden curriculum was a political negotiation within the society. “All domination involves invasion—at times physical and overt, at times camouflaged, with the invader assuming the role of a helping friend” (p. 153). By examining the teachers’ actions and words against Freire’s theoretical position, we can see that the teachers were continually acting to suppress the freedmen’s cultural knowledge while imposing their own perspective throughout the economic, political and religious realms of society.

Freedom

When the Emancipation Proclamation declared that all slaves were free from the bonds of slavery, the act symbolized a political change in the southern society. This one act changed the economic and political structure of the southern states. As northern men and women moved south to aid the millions of freed men and women, they did so with their own perspective of what that freedom meant for members of the African American community. Ayers (2004) uniquely defines freedom as it “points to the possibility of looking through your own eyes, of thinking, of locating yourself, and, importantly, of naming the barriers to your humanity, and then joining with others to move against those obstacles” (xiii). This definition puts two individuals or groups on the same level in society; it places the groups as equals as humans. Importantly, it suggests looking at the barriers that hinder this equal footing in society. He continues to note that “freedom must be chosen in order to be brought to life as authentic, trembling, and real” (Ayers, 2004, xiii). Freedom must be embedded in one’s authentic experiences and the real world. Freedom must recognize inequality and be a force to change society for the better. This definition of freedom is a characteristic of a democratic school, but was not perceived or

practiced by all of the 19th century teachers. In many cases, the teachers had a different perspective of freedom that was symbolized by participation in the economic and political aspects of our nation that simultaneously kept the freedmen in an oppressed position in society. Throughout this chapter, I have shown multiple examples in which teachers acted to impart their northern values on the freedmen. Teachers themselves documented how they attempted to influence families and communities to meet expectations and be part of the market society. The letters and reports that documented the effects of their teaching, though, also presented a different perspective of progress. It must be remembered that teachers used the letters and reports to solidify their position in the southern society, and this was often done by describing positive aspects of the experiences including progress in cleanliness of the freedmen or increased attendance in daily lessons. One example describes a former slave's feelings regarding newly found freedom. "I have asked many of the most destitute if they did not wish the Yankees had stayed at home so that they would have had somebody to take care of them. The universal testimony is in favor of freedom" (Douglass, 1866, Feb. 1, ¶ 3). A second example describes results of changes after freedom was granted. "There was one thing she had now that she never had before, that was peace of mind. Although she had not been a slave for many years, still she said she had not before had peace of mind" (Hancock, 1937/1956, p. 198). In both of these examples, the northern teacher attempts to sell the comfort and peace that have resulted from participation of the northerners in the southern society. These two circumstances cannot be united because of the variety of other factors that also affected the freedom of the former slaves. Freedom, meaning a lessening of the ills of slavery, was not solely a result of the northern influence on a day-to-day basis.

Change Happened

When northern teachers arrived in the southern states, they entered at a time of change due to the Civil War, Emancipation Proclamation, and Reconstruction efforts. In the context of the larger political and economic transformations, the women who taught in the schools were only one portion of the events happening throughout the southern communities. Although the women were only one small part, it must be concluded that the freedmen were influenced by the teachers in some way due to the teachers' persistence in and out of schools. "Education is always enacted within a social surround, a community or a society, and schooling always involves ushering the young into some social order or other, into an entire universe" (Ayers, 2004, p. 9). Both the taught and hidden curricula of the school caused change and transformation in the southern societies; that is the purpose of education in a society. On the other hand, as time progressed in the southern society change also took place regarding the role of education and the northern teachers in the southern system. As states renewed their political and economic strength after the Civil War, they were again powerful forces within society and were able to put pressure on the teachers and schools that they were previously unable.

In the early 1860s, men, women, and children attended school either during the day or at night to learn the written word. Some attended school after working in the fields all day while other families sacrificed to send their children to school instead of the fields. This interest in educational institutions, though, waned as the 1870s approached. Botume (1892) describes the changes that she observed in the communities as:

Many things conspired to check their zeal, the chief of which was the little importance placed upon education throughout the country. The men were eager to

hold office, and positions of trust were frequently given to those who were studying were set aside. . . They could not understand that education helped them to ways and means of which they knew nothing. They had yet to learn the power of knowledge, and that it is not so much what we do, as how we do it. (p. 274)

As men began to play a daily role in political efforts and gained independence in sustaining freedom, there was little value placed in education. Adults, who entered schools without knowing the alphabet, grew tired from hours in the schools with little benefit in their own lives. Results were gradually seen, and this was not enough to meet the challenges in society. For these reasons, some former slaves began to learn from experience—whether good or bad. "Like children they were buoyant and confident. They asked less and less advice and help from their white neighbors. Of course they made great mistakes and fatal blunders. Their misfortunes were their best teachers" (Botume, 1892, p. 272). This transformation freed men and women from the constant guidance as they assumed positions in society. During slavery, white authority was feared. During Reconstruction, white authority was used to gain knowledge, material possessions, and information to help navigate the complex systems in the community. Now, African American men were willing to enter the complex milieu of their world on their own feet, without the daily guidance and support of the white teachers and leaders. They were entering the world to determine their own destiny and to guide their communities into the future.

As political sentiment changed to allow African American men into the political workings of society, circumstances also changed for women. During slavery, the female was the leader of the family and community within African American culture. This role

continued in the years during and immediately following the Civil War as women encouraged the education of children, supported families as males were called to war, and cared for orphans and elderly within their communities. As 1870 neared and men asserted their role in political events, a change happened that affected the role of the female as the authority figure. Towne (1912) describes a meeting that was taking place in her community where the school children were invited to sing. During the meeting, "two or three white men—one of them Mr. Wells—a got up and said women and children ought to stay at home on such occasions" (Towne, 1912, p. 183). This statement gained support throughout the meeting and the community and solidified the political realm for men only. Although this position was not new for the northern women as their role was isolated to the family home and religious institutions in northern states, the teachers and African American women had maintained their role as authority figures for years in the southern society. By dismissing the women from the meetings, men gained power and influence over women not only in politics but in other aspects of society as well.

The increased use of political power by males secured their roles in society and undermined the power of women to make decisions. At the same time, funding for the Freedmen's Bureau was reduced and the efforts in the southern communities were halted. The removal of northern teachers created space for the growth of the southern, white influence. Over time, this transfer of power and influence was one way by which southern, white men gained power over the southern schools that had been created and maintained by the northern women. With this transfer came negotiations between the teachers and systems to continue positions in the schools. In some cases, southern politicians attempted to secure teachers they believed to be favorable to their perspective

while denying positions to other teachers. In most cases, this included the hiring of southern men and women or African American men and women to teach in the schools. Northern teachers were often denied employment. "The state schools are now taught by colored teachers of small attainment & experience mostly from our Penn. Schools in this district or by the returned 'old owners' who also have little experience " (Towne, 1874, April 11, ¶ 3). Towne goes on to explain that the new teachers conveyed messages of hatred for government and northern influences that contradicted the perspective of the schools for so many years. Furthermore, Towne notes that the schools were not well supported as "Their schools have no books, slates, maps, blackboards, etc. We have all these and they keep order for us, by giving employment to the restless" (Towne, 1874, April 11, ¶ 3). This description in a letter to Mr. Cope documents that the transition from northern power and influence to southern control was marked by a change in curriculum and a lack of financial means that were necessary to purchase material objects needed by the schools. While this account supports the superiority of the northern sponsored agencies, it also demonstrates a lack of support for equality in the southern schools under the state's control. At the same time, northern women continued to appeal to northern relief agencies for the financial support of their schools. Some women resisted being supported by southern states and were even willing to put aside religious affiliations to gain support. "Thee speaks of the Friends not supporting this school. They will be green if they don't but if they don't I shall go to the Pennsylvania Freedmans and get them to take it up and go over to them" (Hancock, 1937/1956, p. 274). As this woman tried to negotiate power between religious associations, she shows the lack of support for the southern cause and the teachers' devotion to the students. Regardless of her intentions or

use of different curriculum in the schools, she still desired to maintain her role in the students' lives after several years. By this time, many of the teachers who had initially traveled to the Sea Islands had returned home to northern families with the exception of Schofield, Mather, and Towne. These women remained steadfast influences and continued their schools for many years to come.

Importance of Analysis

Exploring the role of the northern, white, female teachers in the Freedmen's Bureau schools is a necessary component in our nation's history. Teachers were not isolated from the social, political, and economic conditions of time and place, but instead worked within the perspectives of these systems. Through participation in the systems, teachers become part of that system. As demonstrated in this chapter, teachers used both overt and hidden lessons to convey meaning to the freedmen in their daily lives thus making them part of the system that continued oppressive circumstances in the southern states.

This analysis of the role of teachers within institutions is critical to examine the role that teachers play to continue or disrupt directives of those in power. Furthermore, as teachers worked to dismiss African American culture, language, and history, a part of our nation's memory was forgotten. "Their voices were either muffled or silent. This culture of silence served, by and large, to create the impression of a mythical common culture and to deny the existence of cultural difference" (Macedo, 2006, p. 45). Instead, teachers filled the minds of the young children with tales of Little Red Riding Hood and the importance of allegiance to our great nation. This critical exploration of the teachers' actions and words provides a contradictory account to the historical memory of our

nation that perpetuates the metaphorical “angels” and “saviors” that entered the southern states with noble intentions and saved the African American race. As an alternative, I have shown that most teachers entered the southern communities armed with northern norms for social, religious, economic, and political participation that questioned and undermined the ability and knowledge of the freedmen. I am in no way stating that the freedmen did not need assistance; they were starving on plantations with no way to acquire resources and necessities. On the other hand, the efforts that were made held underlying meaning and significance in the communities.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

At first glance, people share characteristics that define their cultural knowledge, ways of life, and past experiences. While some identifiers such as gender, race, hair color, or language are more obvious to others, there are more aspects of culture that cannot be recognized. While some shared qualities unite men, women, and children within groups, culture is a multifaceted concept that complicates these similarities between individuals. Both the 19th century, northern, white women and I shared observable characteristics including race, gender, and origin and a shared set of experiences by moving to southern communities. Although some would assume that these generalities are enough to unite our experiences and culture, there are more complex aspects of our lives that divide our experiences and identities rather than unifying them.

The move from North to South signified a transition between two different cultures despite the significance of the geographic locations within one nation. I personally perceived distrust and skepticism for my intentions from southerners both in my school and the larger community. I had been asked several times when I planned on moving home and leaving the South. At this point, I was able to identify differences in speech, language, and the pace of life within my southern community. As I began my research, I intended for my topic to explore the ways in which the women's experiences could serve as a guide for other northern teachers moving to southern states and

understanding why and how I was labeled as different. My focus initially intended to incorporate components of race, gender, and religion in the discussion, but the archival analysis soon took my work toward power systems, institutions, and even a more critical understanding of my own race. Therefore, my research focus changed over time as my topic allowed me to explore complex notions of culture and the power that is either given or denied based on one's position. Also, the texts analyzed within this research showed direct relationships between the teachers and the institutions of which they were a part which again extended my research, personal reflection, and increased understanding.

The previous work on the Freedmen's Bureau from the perspective of historians (Butchart, 1980; Jones, 1980/1992) depicted the 19th century northern teacher as a savior to freedmen throughout the South. Analyzing the work of these women required placing the text within historical context of time and place, which included analysis of both southern and northern intentions for the economy, religion, and politics during and after the Civil War. Due to the complex nature of these circumstances, each chapter of this work has approached one aspect of the 19th century Freedmen's Bureau school from a unique perspective. By exploring the complex relationships within the school from many perspectives, a different interpretation has been made that critiques the work of the women by analyzing their intentions for the freedmen and southern society. **The research presented in the previous chapters has produced several conclusions that can further be connected to current educational trends and experiences in a southern classroom.**

Fixed in Time and Place

The 19th century women entered the southern schools with their own notions of freedom for the former slaves. These preconceived notions of both education and the value of the contributions of the men, women, and children to society determined how the women interacted with community members each day. Since most women did not interact with African Americans in their northern societies, there was potential for growth through shared experiences and new understandings of the African American race.

Although the opportunity existed for change to include equality for freedmen in a democratic society, this did not take place during the women's time in the southern states. The women were either unwilling or unable to alter their own perceptions of African Americans and instead maintained racist perspectives of inequality throughout their time in the South.

Potential reasons for the inability or unwillingness to change one's position or perspective comes from the foundation of a person's identity in culture. The lessons learned from family and other influences that each individual is and will be. In addition, women carried with them popular notions of the inferiority of the African American race that was supported by scientific racism during the time period. This perspective and sense of Self is developed throughout a person's life and cannot be easily negated by the addition of other knowledge or meaning through experiences. "What we have come to see is that knowledge cannot easily be separated from the knower whose view of the world is profoundly influenced by the cultural assumptions, social values, and linguistic structures that constrain and shape human knowing" (Shapiro, 2010, p. 107). The significance and influence of culture conveys meaning that is either supported or denied

by power structures within society. If one were to alter their personal perspective it would also require a questioning of the power structures and systems that created and maintained the experiences and position of the cultural group.

The position of the teachers in the Freedmen's Bureau schools created or supported a place and a system for the schools for the men, women, and children that had previously been denied educational opportunities. This movement contradicted the lack of opportunity within the southern society by imposing northern norms for education. In this way, the teachers changed southern society to enact the intentions of themselves or the northern relief agencies. These acts, though, cannot be equated to creating equal opportunities for the freedmen or contradicting oppressive circumstances within the society. Teachers maintained their superiority over the freedmen by controlling the curriculum and decisions for the school and supporting the economy that was still based on the labor demands of the cotton crops. Although slavery had ended symbolically and the teachers were making room for education, this cannot be seen as a critical exploration or evaluation of southern society by the northern women. The teachers extended their own perspective of the Common School Movement as way to create obedient and disciplined workers to the southern states in order to create workers in the nation's economy. Throughout this process, critical examination of the process and therefore their participation in the system was absent. This is exhibited by a lack of conversation between teachers and other community members in the archives or an absence of reflection within personal diaries. From this perspective, it is asserted that although the women included limited opportunities for the freedmen in the southern society they did

not explore alternatives for the northern expectation or attempt to equate whites and blacks within that society.

Pre-Civil War southern white society depended upon the complete oppression of the African American population that was symbolized through the ownership of one human by another. The pre-Civil War African American southern society was controlled in all ways by white owners that limited mobility, family structure, and opportunities. During Reconstruction, white southerners attempted to regain control over their own economic and political systems from the influence of the federal government and northern agencies, of which the teachers were a part. During this same period, freedmen were looking to reunite families, provide for the daily needs of the community, and to gain independence in the daily operations of their own lives. While the white southerners sought to renew the structure and power that had existed prior to the Civil War, the freedmen looked to the future and began to make plans for their participation in the economy, political realm, and even for their families. The North did not seek to make great changes to the southern society during Reconstruction. While religious agencies and preachers sought to convert men and women to their denomination, they also functioned within the economic perspective that sought to maintain pre-Civil War industry. For this reason, to continue the northern economy that demanded the continuation of southern production of crops and cotton, the freedmen were restricted by the contracts and continued oppression within society. Therefore, the freedmen continued to be limited by constraints placed on them by both northern and southern white men and women. Whether this oppression was based on economic, political or religious reasons, is indeterminable from person to person or teacher to teacher because one cannot know how

cultural influences separately impact the decisions and actions of individuals. This indistinguishable feature of culture is because the same power structures that create and maintain unequal conditions also make the systems invisible to most individuals. “The dominant ideology veils reality; it makes us myopic and prevents us from seeing reality clearly” (Freire, 2005, p. 10). The same systems that create one’s identity cloud a person’s recognitions of the ills of that system or standpoint. In this way, not only did the women enter southern society with their preconceived viewpoints but the task of analyzing these relationships and realities would have required recognition of the problems of northern society and a conscious and difficult decision to face the ills of those systems.

From this position, one must recognize that the women were unable or unwilling to change after interacting with the freedmen. In most if not all cases, they maintained their own perspective and identity and acted from these personal convictions in the classrooms. The women held preconceived notions of the freedmen that did not correspond to equity or freedom in terms that we see today. Although the 19th century women proclaimed that the former slaves were free, they held the freedmen to an unequal place in society where whiteness maintained power over racial Others. Freedom meant a new position outside of the constraints of slavery but it did not allow the African Americans the same quality of life or ability to move from their position within society. Freedom meant that the freedmen were able to control familial relationships as long as they were sanctified by marriage; freedom included choice of participation in a specific house of worship as this replaced previous norms for praise houses and shouts. Freedmen were afforded educational opportunities that were limited by the curricular decisions of

the teachers and authority figures. It was claimed that there were multiple opportunities for choice in an occupation but the limited pay and strict work schedules impeded personal action for income. Still yet, freedom did not mean equality as interaction between whites and blacks was still criticized or forbidden in some communities, both North and South. The circumstances of inequity were perpetuated through the Freedmen's Bureau schools by using curriculum which mirrored northern schools that also held northern minorities such as Polish or Irish to the same position. Freedmen were criticized and mocked for their own cultural practices including dress, language, and religion. Most importantly, the women acted as agents of change to eradicate these cultural norms and values of the freedmen to correspond to the women's northern views of civilized individuals.

A comparison must be noted in the use of whiteness in northern and southern societies. Northern Protestant leaders used whiteness to place minority students in educational institutions with the creation of the Common School Movement. Polish and Irish children were ordered in society based on their ethnicity, not the color of their skin. There was a social hierarchy created and maintained by leaders, teachers, and society. This system was continued in southern society as leaders and teachers extended the efforts of the Common School Movement into the southern states. Leaders and teachers continued the systems of oppression that had been created during slavery and used different powers to keep the freedmen as less than themselves. In this manner, the women acted as imperialists in both places by using whiteness.

One of the most easily recognized ways in which the former slaves were controlled and oppressed was through economic opportunities. Many teachers, northern

Bureau workers, and northern philanthropists electively engaged in the cotton industry whether they bought land, sold land, negotiated contracts, or spoke directly to the necessity for labor. Both unfair pay and work schedules that required labor on six days each week maintained the same situations that took place during slavery. Despite the lack of change, the teachers and Bureau officials celebrated the opportunities of the freedmen to make choices in labor contracts and decide where to work. They did not discuss or possibly even acknowledge that the unfair pay was necessitated by the freedmen to purchase basic needs such as food and water for their families. Turning down any paid position meant that one did not receive pay and could not provide for his or her family, but this was seen as one's choice in the economic situation. "Under slavery, however, the black man had come to despise labor. . . Clearly, then, the cure for black moral deficiency was an educational program that would dignify labor and that would train black men and women to appreciate its rewards" (Jacoway, 1980, p. 9). Men, women, and children were taught that by participating in similar working conditions as during slavery, they would receive the benefits of labor. This position supported the Protestant value placed on work for all, not just the freedmen, and recognized possible success that could be attained through a person's own work and diligence regardless of societal conditions.

Unequal conditions were not only perpetuated by forced labor in the labor system. In some schools, the curriculum was also adjusted for the freedmen. Skills just as sewing, wood work, and other trades were taught in sewing and industrial schools throughout the coastal regions. Although industrial schools gained momentum in later years with the support of

Washington, “the industrial education idea seemed also to assure that the nation’s blacks would remain in a subordinate, though contented, social and economic position” (Jacoway, 1980, p. 2). The curriculum of the industrial school limited the possibilities for the freedmen to gain employment in fields other than the labor in which they were engaged and further restricted the freedmen by not teaching to the same high standards of academic knowledge that was conveyed to other children, including white students. By limiting the educational opportunities for the freedmen, teachers further continued unequal opportunities both in the present and future. In this example, freedom did not mean the same and equal prospects for the freedmen related to economic matters.

The concept of freedom can be explored in multiple ways within the Freedmen’s Bureau schools. Teachers were limited by their cultural knowledge and were largely unable or unwilling to recognize the problems with racism and sexism within the schools. Within this position, one can see that the teachers were oppressed just as they used the same type of power over the freedmen. The 19th century female teacher was manipulated in the same system that controlled opportunities for the students. In this manner, both teachers and students were placed within subordinate positions and were parts of the overall economic and political systems of the time period. “Far from employing natural educational techniques, schools exercise discipline in both controlling what people know and how they behave” (Giroux, 1996, p. 14). In the case of the teachers, they were limited in the experiences of their upbringing and personal education. In order to maintain their positions within the northern, white society, it was required that they met northern ideals of behavior and participation in the system. To ensure their personal success it was required that they support northern economic and religious demands. On

the other hand, they used the same measures of control to educate the freedmen in the same way northern immigrant children were taught. Lessons did not reflect the cultural or individual knowledge of the students and was removed from the daily lives and concerns of the students.

Our nation's public education system has developed to provide opportunities for students of all races, ethnicities, and cultural groups to reach the highest levels of educational attainment. High school graduation is possible for all students regardless of race. With this in mind, one can see that public education has progressed since the 19th century. Despite these changes, some problems within the 19th century schools continue to trouble public education in today's society. Teachers are influenced by economic and political influences within educational institutions. If a teacher chooses to question or refuse to meet the directives of the authority, his or her position and career may be in jeopardy. In this way, teachers are limited in freedom of speech and are suppressed by the same systems of which they are a part. When looking at the curriculum of today's classrooms, the subject matter and chosen texts dictated by the Common Core Curriculum and corresponding pacing guides do little to reflect the cultural diversity of our nation's students. This limits the cultural knowledge of the student and possible connections between the classroom curriculum and students' lives. Instead, new changes in curriculum seek to create a one-size-fits-all model that supports dominant ideology and the traditional male cannon. "Attempts to equalize educational opportunity on a global scale have led to the ignoring of local cultural values and traditional forms of knowledge and ways of thinking, which are in danger of becoming extinct" (Masemann, 2007, p. 114). Students are expected to share common interest in topics that have little relevance

to their lives and personal contexts. By denying members of different cultural groups the opportunity to learn more of their own culture and personal identity, we are limiting the freedoms granted to us as human beings. This not only deters the student from learning within the classroom, but it devalues the contributions of the students' culture, the students' family, and the student. This is more problematic because devaluing the contributions of an individual is an instance of questioning the self worth of the individual. "The real issue is not Western culture versus multiculturalism. The fundamental issue is the recognition of humanity in us and in Others" (Macedo, 2006, p. 89). Macedo's comment brings a moral focus to the discussion of freedoms and limitations as exercised in the classroom. The 19th century teacher, whether knowingly or unknowingly, participated in the unequal treatment of the students and community members. In today's classrooms, teachers are limited in the texts and content of classroom instruction which restricts their abilities to meet the diverse needs and cultures of their student bodies. Today's teachers exist in a complicated position between meeting the economic and political expectations of the school district or county and best serving the student body and local community.

In today's classrooms, teachers are prompted to reflect on personal teaching practice or procedures but are rarely urged to investigate ways in which they are affected by institutions or the ways in which they act as part of the system each day. At no point in my education prior to my doctoral work was I pushed to explore the context of my teaching position. Consequently, I did not see the ways in which I enacted dominant ideology to the detriment of my students. To understand the intentions of educational systems, one must explore the curriculum, the history of education, the history of society,

the manner of delivery, the hidden curriculum, and the systems of surveillance and dominance within schools. Personally, the insight gained from this research has prompted me to explore the culture of testing, the systems of observation of students and teachers, and the labeling of students in the classroom. These examples have been provided in narrative form within the previous chapters.

When I look back at my own teacher preparation programs and induction activities, I can remember talks to ethical behaviors. From my memory, such discussion attempted to help young teachers navigate social environments as adults who were not far from the age of some students and involved mention of societal laws and general behaviors. During these sessions that sought to discuss the moral and ethical conduct of teachers in our nation's classrooms, there was no mention of the ill effects of the devaluing of students by the curriculum or curricular practices. There was no discussion of the requirements of teachers to support students' cultural and ethnic heritages in the classroom. No one directly spoke about the day-to-day operations of the school and the ethics involved in teachers' decisions. To address these circumstances would be to address the wrongdoings of state and federal mandates and the omissions of state curricula to ignore contributions of minorities. This would be an open critique of the institution by the institution, and this cannot be allowed in order for the dominant ideology to continue.

Instead, teachers and communities must fight for freedoms within individual schools. Many texts devote chapters to the need for democratic schools, and it is not my intention to review the depth of those texts. After exploring the racist and unethical decisions that were documented through the archives, my research has led to me to a

recognition of the need to address the institutional forces in today's classrooms and to work toward fair and equal opportunities for all students. Beane and Apple (2007) characterize this type of school as recognizing "dignity and rights of individuals and minorities, concern for welfare of others, collective capacity of people, open flow of ideas, use of critical reflection and analysis to evaluate ideas, 'idealized' set of values" (p. 7). Each of these qualities promotes the valuing of students and opportunities for social equity within the school and classroom. These should be a guiding framework for teachers and schools to work together to promote opportunities for all. The use of the principles described by Beane and Apple open the school to the voices of students, teachers, and parents and shares the responsibility for reflection and shared goals by all parties. I am cautioned here in expressing an overly idealistic view because the size and scope of public education in our nation must have some shared goals and curricular decisions between all parties. The shared perspective of education is impacted by each individual's own definitions of self and the role of school in one's life. "Our task is to find ways to organize dominant knowledge so that it is accessible to the least privileged children without compromising their right to rich educational experiences" (Beane & Apple, 2007, p. 19). Therefore, a possible solution is the process of finding programs and solutions that meet the needs of the students and community members within a particular school or society. Problem solving is a cooperative action that guides the group toward intended successes.

When looking for ways to explore an individual's position in schools, we must also acknowledge the intentions and voices of the students on a day-to-day basis. When students are ignored or repeatedly devalued their actions can be perceived as acting out

against the teacher or subject. There is often a different reason for the student's actions, whether conscious or unconscious. Students may be repeating a learned behavior, resisting a cultural conflict, or attempting to voice perceived inequity in a situation. Without allowing the student to voice his or her frustration or feelings and helping the student to articulate his or her position, teachers are further using the role of authority to silence students. In my personal experience, these are some of the situations that have been the hardest to navigate as a teacher. When students have endured years of cultural conflict within a school or remembers being the recipient of racist comments or actions, they may interpret other situations in a similar way. The presence of my whiteness represents past experiences of the child or child's family and the historical oppression the student and the student's family has endured over time. Just as I must reflect on how I understand and embody the institution's requirements, I must also see the value in the students' perception of these situations and acknowledge their perspective. Throughout these interactions, I must balance my affirming the position of the child in the classroom, communicating this support of the child's identity to parents and caregivers, teaching the prescribed mathematical content, and maintaining the high standards for academic excellence and personal conduct for all. I learn from and with students to continually critique and explore the contextual elements of the educational system and negotiate my place within the educational institution.

Maintaining the Status Quo

During my work, I questioned the ability of systems to maintain situations. In informal conversations with teachers and non-teachers, some have commented that is not worth trying to change our schools because it cannot be done. They state that you can't change the decisions of authority figures who dictate what to teach and how to teach it to all students. I believed that I had been prepared by my undergraduate and graduate degrees to teach in schools, but when I entered the classroom I was unable to understand the situations and the contextual forces on my day-to-day life. **Through reflection upon institutions and power structures, this research has caused me to question the educational process for teachers both in the 19th century and today and to ask why teachers are unable to critique the educational institution of which they are apart. The schooling received by teachers, either in society or in institutes of higher education, deskilled the teacher into dutiful workers within the nation's economy and systems.**

This position includes two types of skills that needed for participation within educational institutions both in the 19th century and today. Some Freedmen's Bureau teachers held skills in the art and techniques of teaching that had been learned through formal and practical training during their lives, through either training in institutions of higher education or personal experiences within northern schools. In this regard, the women were prepared to step in front of students to lead instruction in various ways. The other skill of the 19th century teacher was the capacity to question, challenge, and change opportunities within the schools. Some teachers such as Towne and Mather can be noted for stating their personal perspectives for changes within their institutions; this is possibly

due to their personal position within the institution and a notable economic freedom from northern aid agencies. Other women who were contracted on a yearly basis were not as assertive in their personal positions. This perspective of multiple skills can correspond to today's teachers as well. In fact, teachers now leave institutions of higher education with a variety of skills and knowledge that can be implemented in different levels of education to include the use of objectives, texts, and assessments but the daily choice of many teachers is restricted as he or she arrives in public schools with pre-determined pacing guides, weekly modules, and mandated texts. Conversely, today's teachers feel added pressures of surveillance and evaluation and are either unwilling or unable to challenge the directives of state and local agencies for fear of losing their jobs.

The 19th century teacher had choices in the day-to-day operations of her school. She ordered materials, chose curriculum, and conducted herself according to personal convictions within society. Although the 19th century teacher was controlled in many ways by systems and institutions through the use of power, she still was valued for her contributions and authority in the classroom. A movement in today's schools, on the other hand, does not always recognize the potential of the teacher to recognize problems and individualize curriculum for students. As the Common Core is disseminated into the schools, narrow pacing guides and required texts remove the authority of the teacher and in turn suggest that not only are all students the same, but so too are all teachers. This deskilling of the teacher not only is taking place within federal and state changes, but is caused in part also due to the changing curriculum of institutes of higher education.

I have had the opportunity over the past year and a half to travel around the country and teach fellow math teachers about making their math curriculum engaging and

meaningful to their students. Although the Common Core Curriculum mandates the skills that students must comprehend at each level, there is some freedom within my curriculum to make this content meaningful to the students themselves. As part of the International Baccalaureate Educator Network (IBEN), travel to lead workshops that help teachers look differently at state curriculum and textbook lessons. I encourage teachers to set aside the textbook and to recall what is meaningful to their students and to their community. After recently leading a workshop in Ohio, I received my evaluations completed by the teachers and was bothered by the comments. It took me a few days to understand why I did not agree with the opinions of the teachers. After spending two and a half days with the teachers, I received comments such as “I wish I had more lesson plans to follow,” and “I wish you gave me assessments to just use with my kids so I didn’t have to make them up.” After much reflection, I found my answers. The teachers were asking me to provide pre-packaged curriculum that they could follow without thought; the teachers had been deskilled. These teachers, who were part of schools that sought to teach international mindedness and that develop the social, emotional, physical, and educational aspects of the whole child, were openly requesting that I do the thinking for them. They did not understand the need to make learning meaningful to their students, but only the need to teach specific material at specific weeks according to documents, textbook page after textbook page. I had failed to convey my perspective of education to these teachers over two and a half days.

While the 19th century woman was controlled by the economic and political institutions in which she was a part, there are similar powers used in today’s systems of public education. In both cases, teachers learn expectations for protocols through teacher

training programs, observation and surveillance, and explicit instruction from authority figures. Teachers are directed as to how to behave, what to teach, and how to teach it. With technological advancements in recent times, though, the influences upon the classroom have increased through developed curriculum, packaged programs, and workbooks or worksheets promising to fit every child's academic challenges. The teacher is being deskilled. Apple (1995) writes:

With the large-scale influx of prepackaged material, planning is separated from execution. The planning is done at the level of the production of both the rules for use of the material and the material itself. The execution is carried out by the teacher. (p. 133)

At this point and time, the teacher is a living and breathing individual that serves as the authority figure in the room. With packaged materials and packaged curriculum that erases the individuality of students and teachers alike, I wonder how much longer teachers will be required in all schools.

With the removal of the teacher from classroom decisions and daily rituals, there is a removal of the authority of the teacher who is then replaced by the curriculum and indirectly the dominant ideology of authority. "Power also resides in the cultural authority of those who name, define, and legitimate how knowledge is selected and framed; and more often than not, the underlying principles that structure teacher-student relationships are neither open to critical analysis" (Giroux, 1996, p. 19). While teachers are deskilled in their capacity to create meaningful lessons and curriculum, to vary lessons to the individual needs and interests of the students, and to insert personal individuality into daily interactions, they are further deskilled in their authority and

capacity to challenge the status quo. Teacher preparation and professional development is negated to following premade worksheets and defending one's position with data driven decisions. I argue, though, that data does not show who our students are. A score on a state mandated mathematics exam does not show gains a student made or if the student was enduring problems in his or her home. A score on a computerized test of reading skills and the student's independent reading level does not have the capacity to diagnose a student as a failure for not reading appropriately when the student's life may be devoid of personal experiences with technology, including computers or e-devices. Negating the role of the teacher within the classroom is an ethical choice made by our nation's leaders and problematizes the teacher's role in the classroom. "Teacher preparation should never be reduced to a form of training. Rather, teacher preparation should go beyond the technical preparation of teachers and be rooted in the ethical formation both of selves and of history" (Freire, 1998, p. 23).

The analysis put forth in this discussion does not speak for all schools, all administrators, and all teachers. There are many public schools that work within the system to help students and communities. Despite the success of these schools, recent changes in surveillance and state curricula are placing heavier demands on teachers to meet the requirements of the dominant culture. Similarly, some schools and students benefit from meeting the prescribed demands to graduate, receive scholarships or additional funding, and recognitions for achievement. In this case, these individuals and schools have no necessity to appeal to the dominant ideology pertaining to their own performance and position within the system. Instead, they have an ethical obligation to question the system that harms Others. "The dominant are not provoked by lived

contradictions to question a system that seems to so directly benefit them. The dominated, on the other hand, have every reason to question and to search for another order of things” (Edgerton, 1991, pp. 82-83). While the oppressed must challenge the dominant systems to succeed in this society, those who take advantage of their position do not share the same requirement. Instead, they may perceive an ethical and moral call to fight for equity and fairness for all of humanity.

My personal struggle for answers took me to the research discussed in this text. The multiple sites of conflict in our society require that teachers explore not only their own relationship to expectations but the relationship between oneself and that institution. How does one participate in the system to support the dominant ideology? By being a passive participant, does that ethically align one with the dominant ideology? My desire to find answers to these questions took me to explore the cultural connections of my past, present, and future. “Shaped within unequal relations of power and diasporic in its constant struggle for narrative space, culture becomes the site where youth make sense of themselves and others” (Giroux, 1996, p. 15). Culture is the means through which one learns of one’s self and one’s place in the social, economic, and political worlds in which each person lives. Culture is the way in which one navigates one’s own position against past experiences and circumstances within society. Culture is the way to critique one’s position and explore possibilities for future action and choice. By taking the authority over one’s own life, one can begin to explore the ways in which one contributes to the human race each day including both ethically and morally correct decisions that contradict and complicate the world. This analysis of the world and one’s place within it must be continual and critical. One must explore all facets of the system and ensure that

one does not become compliant with one's position or circumstance each day, week, or school year.

Teachers are Traditionally Female

Both in our nation's past and today, teachers are predominately female. In the 19th century, it was acceptable for women to become teachers and nurses; these occupations kept the woman shielded from the everyday society while still allowing employment or work outside the home. Today, staff at elementary and middle schools are especially dominated by female teachers as the woman is still expected to assert her maternal influence over children once they enter greater society. I would further extend this position to child care workers for children younger than school ages as day care and after care centers are predominately staffed by women. Within that position, women are expected to adhere to the rules and regulations set forth by the authorities and institutions. Despite over one hundred and fifty years of elapsed time, women are still expected to silently accept directives for curriculum and classroom practice also filling the maternal position in the students' lives. I think that this position in current times is seen as the public continues to place the emphasis of the school and increased teacher responsibility on societal issues such as obesity, mental health, moral norms and social values in addition to the standard curriculum of the classroom. When these issues are discussed through media, emphasis is placed on the requirements of the school while negating the influence of the family. **Both in the 19th century and today, a teacher's job has been redefined to include skills and expertise beyond instructional matters of the**

classroom; teachers are expected to develop the whole child and address society's ills in an allotted time frame each day.

In the 19th century, the active and assertive role of the female teachers challenged both northern and southern expectations for women's behavior. As the teachers challenged the role of the woman in society and asserted her position within churches, schools, and communities of freedmen, she contradicted the southern expectation for a male dominated society. This navigation of the teacher's role regarding gender is interesting because in northern society, the women were also restricted to influences of the home and church. Therefore, in a way, women created a new role as southern teachers that were apart from both northern and southern expectations for authority. "The shift from a South open to a civilizing mission to one filled with white southerners left these northern white women 'no place' and many others with only tenuous authority in the region" (Winders, 2005, p. 400). As teachers gained more influence over the freedmen, they used increasing levels of power and challenged the male role. This leadership was controlled in part through the observations by Bureau agents, relief agencies, and northern visitors and through required reports each month. Still yet, after the southern states were able to regain political power, they removed many northern teachers from their schools and again controlled opportunities and influence over the freedmen. Interestingly, though, some teachers such as Schofield and Towne maintained their individual schools but were only able to function with continued support from their own networks for financial support independent from the southern states' control.

This is not to say that the northern teachers attempted to influence the southern whites. Instead, as they moved into the southern communities to influence the freedmen,

they were invading southern land. The women brought education and expectations for the freedmen that contradicted southern perspective; the women were deemed unnecessary and unwelcome in the southern states in part because southern society did not observe the daily curriculum in the schools due to a separation within the cities and towns.

Educational opportunities were viewed as a threat to the southern needs because the schools had potential to teach social and political competencies to the freedmen beyond reading, writing, and arithmetic. Furthermore the effects of their influence would be felt throughout all of the southern land as northern teachers influenced labor contracts, the buying and selling of land and crops, the control of stores to sell material items to the freedmen and the negotiation of taxes on these objects. While the women helped to create a different system than slavery, they did not use their positions to create fair and equitable exchanges between the freedmen and owners. The economic influence of the 19th century teacher was created by the inclusion of the teacher within the daily lives of the freedmen and does not correspond to today's educational systems. Regardless of the time period, throughout a northern teacher's time in the southern society, the woman always remained a Yankee. "Regional affiliation was never forgotten in Beaufort in the years following the Civil War, and its division was sometimes sharper than race" (Tetzlaff, 2002, pp. 42-43). The conflict over their sense of place was never able to be overcome despite the teachers' living and working within southern society.

In today's schools, the knowledge and position of the female teacher is questioned by district level leadership, parents, students, and community members. Although surveys or information is gathered through district level meetings, there is little effect on the directives issued that take into account the teachers' perspective. Many times, teachers

have commented to me that once someone leaves the classroom, they forget what it means to be a teacher. What is meant by this statement is that expectations are set for teachers from the position that the teachers themselves cannot make curricular or instructional decisions on their own. Also, other directives are given that stretch the teacher's responsibility to include documenting every facet of the instructional day and communication with other teachers and school personnel, meeting requirements of paperwork related to teaching, assessment, interventions, and plans, and expecting visitors at all times with plans and data readily available. The teacher is removed from the planning of instruction and curriculum to meet district requirements of observation and surveillance. The teacher is made to fear these systems, and by internalizing the fear one loses control over one's position. This system continues to deskill teachers and keep them in a suppressed role within educational systems. Furthermore, as districts or counties make detailed curriculum maps that include all materials, assessments, and time frames, both students and teachers are expected to fit a normalized perspective of education. There is no room for student interest or questioning; both students and teachers are silenced. In this manner, the knowledge and capacity of the teacher is questioned and the teacher is again placed in a position by society that devalues her role and competence in the classroom.

Although these actions are within the structure of the educational system, I have found that parents and community members also question my professional ability in the classroom. Every year at open house, I have at least one or two parents question my qualifications to teach. Although I am sure the parents are looking to provide the best opportunities for their child, the manner in which the question is asked and the assertion

of authority over my own position is not necessary. In each of these cases, what response I give is irrelevant as the tone for the year's communication has already been set between the parent and me. Although this is but one example, it highlights a power asserted by parents that questions my role in the classroom. This is perceived by the child and then internalized through further experiences.

Discourses of North and South Persist

Southern and northern communities share a geographical, political, and economic bonds as both places are located within the United States of America. Despite this shared nationality, some still consider the two geographical locations to be separate entities within that nation as some in the South continue to regain the cultural significance of pre-Civil War times. It was recently commented to me that some regard the Civil War to be the "War of Northern Aggression" which to me symbolizes a lack of forward progress from our nation's history. This memory includes the dominant portrayal of history and includes alternate perceptions of events. Furthermore, as southern society is united through family bonds that include a network of family and close friends, new citizens are often unable to gain entry into those networks. This is especially true for Yankees who carry a stigma of distrust and skepticism regarding intentions and personal reasons for being in the southern states. **As the 19th century female teachers were mistrusted by southerners, Yankees today face unfriendly encounters and are perceived with mistrust when they enter society and schools in the South.**

The arrival of northern teachers in southern communities caused a tension between members of white society for several economic and political reasons. Northern women entered southern society to transform freedmen into civilized and obedient workers and consumers of northern economic systems. The archives explored in this research have shown that this economic intention, along with religious instruction, was one of the primary expectations for the Freedmen's Bureau schools. In fact, southern whites did not completely oppose education for the freedmen. "Throughout the Reconstruction there was an influential class of white southerners who gave their support to the idea of teaching Negro children at least to read and write" (Bentley, 1955, p. 178). Despite some support from whites southerners to develop some educational opportunities, historical memory asserts that southerners perceived the northern teachers' ability to educate the freedmen as a threat because teachers had the opportunity to help the freedmen assert their equality within society and to fight for equal representation in southern society. Conway (1966) describes this position as:

Objections to Negro education (especially if kept at a rudimentary level) were not primarily against education as such for him, but against instruction by Northerners who might encourage social aspirations and dangerous ideas of social equality. If instruction were kept in the hands of white Georgians then care would be taken to ensure the acceptance by Negroes of the social mores demanded of them by whites. (p. 86)

Southern white society was trying to reconstruct their own economic institutions after the former slaves were freed from the bonds of slavery and this required continued control over labor contracts with the freedmen. Southern whites feared the interference of white

teachers to continue this system for fair pay and work hours. Despite this being the contextual perspective that was feared by the southern whites, the archives researched show that this in no way was found in the southern schools controlled by northern teachers. Freedmen were not granted equity in society or economical realms nor were they taught messages of equity between whites and blacks through the Freedmen's Bureau schools.

There is no separating the female teachers from the economic and political conflicts between the two geographic places because many teachers played pivotal roles in delivering messages to the freedmen. The intentions of the women, though, were misunderstood or unknown to the southern whites and therefore the women were regarded as a threat. Conflict arose also between southern blacks and northern white over the intentions for education. Freedmen themselves regarded the women's intentions with skepticism and sought to provide educational opportunities for their own children (Jones, 1980/1992, p. 65; Fairclough, 2007, p. 39). This was due in part for two reasons. First, freedmen were responsible for providing financially for the school building, supplies, or through tuition yet they were not allowed to have a voice in what was taught within the school. Financially the freedmen were responsible for the schools, but intellectually they were considered unfit for teaching positions (Foner, 1988, p. 101). In addition, the southern blacks regarded the position of the white teachers with skepticism and asserted their own teachers or supported schools for black teachers instead of white teachers. In this manner, both southern whites and blacks questioned the intentions of the northern white teachers' purpose in the schools.

The conflict that arose between the white northerners and southerners of both races were a struggle for power. Women asserted the authority over black teachers and helped to disrupt schools run in black communities. The women themselves did not hold religious, moral, or intellectual superiority over the freedmen but used the power of whiteness and cultural capital to gain their positions. Southern whites hoped to regain their culture and both political and economic influence after the Civil War while northern whites attempted to impart their morals, values, and goals on the same people. Jonsberg (2002) describes this position of northerners as:

Their conscious mission in fact was to bring the dominant (Yankee) culture to people who had not before had contact with it. They believed that their Yankee definitions of what was worth knowing and how to shape a life were true and useful; they were offering to the newly free the best they had, a way of thinking and being and doing that would bring “success” in a new life. (p. 76)

The movement of northern men and women into southern society brought different ideas that they felt to be of most importance including work ethic and industry, a value of material goods and participation in the economy, and a more assertive role of women within this environment. The women sought to move the southern community forward from times of slavery and the bonds that crippled the families and communities of African Americans. The women helped to spread the message of the end of ownership of one man by another; in this way teachers helped to end a system that devalued the slaves and placed them at the lowest level within society. This was progress within the southern community. Northern values of worth were measured against consumption and possession of material goods. This contradicted southern values where one’s value was

measured by the bonds formed through families and local communities. More importantly, the arrival of northern influences challenged the task of the southern society to regain the prestige of culture and economics that reigned before the Civil War. The success of southern renewal was dependent upon the influence of the former slaves as laborers; therefore, southerners did not welcome any influence that would challenge the potential for relationships to be built between the former slave owners and the freedmen. “It was held that the importation of persons from outside the region would certainly ‘wide the breach’ between the two races” (Parker, 1954, p. 20). From this perspective, any influence on the southern society and economy would have been unwelcomed. The manner and position of the northern men and women, though, was even more of a challenge as the women’s perspective and goals directly contradicted both southern white society and southern black communities on many levels.

In today’s society, the state dictates the daily curriculum for America’s schools. When a teacher, southern or northern, enters the classroom this aspect of her day is predetermined. Education, though, is limited to a system of conveying knowledge into the open minds of students. There are other messages imbedded within the curriculum and classroom interactions that are impacted by teachers’ perspectives that affect all students each day. The ability of teachers to control this other content of the classroom and the continued perception of Yankees as threats to southern history and culture complicates the position of northern teachers in the classroom. Furthermore, my personal experiences have found that my own cultural way of life is seen as different by colleagues, parents, and students. I once had a student mention to me that I need to be nicer to people that I interact with everyday. She perceived my lack of friendliness with

every person I interacted to be out of the norm. She understood the value placed on southern hospitality and the way in which people perceive one another based on this cultural norm. Within the work environment, my honesty and forthcoming nature has caused me to both be interpreted as rude and disrespectful for speaking about issues in an honest way. As a woman, it is atypical for someone to speak up and voice her opinion regarding problems, and my position is further complicated by my manner of delivery. These cultural ways of life impact the way in which I interact with families, coworkers, and students. While I cannot change the interpretation of cultural difference by others to ignore or dismiss my position and opinion, I must change my manner of delivery and way that I approach other people in order for my perspective to be acknowledged and possibly discussed within these systems. I cannot influence change without being heard.

Both in the 19th century and today, Yankees were seen as threats to the South. The distrust that continues is handed down through experiences and education and by comments that perpetuate that the Civil War was an act of aggression by the North. These comments insinuate a power struggle between the North and South, and that power is a threat to the cultural and history of a people. As some try to claim the grandeur of the past, they cling to nostalgia instead of critically examining the world both past and present. If one cannot critically explore the contextual elements of one's beliefs, one cannot alter his or her perspective. This threat is perceived not just from northerners but by any group that threatens to assert power and significance within society. Instead of being open to change and the ideas and perspectives of another, people shut out difference from their lives.

Freedom is not Equality

Diaries and letters of the 19th century teacher allow researchers to look into the lives of the women and analyze the relationships between the teachers and students. There is no doubt that the teachers did work under the guidance and supervision of the Freedmen's Bureau and relief agencies to stop slavery in southern states. In circumstances where slave owners did not tell the freedmen about changes caused by the Emancipation Proclamation, teachers and other relief workers aided in conveying the message. Slaves were now free from the ownership and degradation of slavery. Similarly, teachers helped to establish schools within the southern communities and did provide rudimentary educational opportunities for the former slaves. These schools conveyed traditional lessons involving reading and writing that was necessary in the southern land. In this way, the teachers can also be credited with beginning the foundations for public education for all students regardless of race. **While the women did assist in securing freedoms granted to the former slaves as humans, the teachers themselves still held different views as to the level of equity that should be inferred in society. From the perspective of the 19th century teacher, former slaves were not granted equity or the same opportunities as whites but were still viewed as a lesser being, much like other ethnic groups in northern society.**

The northern environment from which the 19th century teachers were born and raised supported a system where individuals were ranked and valued by different characteristics. Teachers even used these cultural differences in conversations whereby they compared the freedmen to Irish. Similarly, throughout their extensive times in the southern states, many teachers used language that depicted the freedmen as animal like

and less than themselves. The northern women recreated a system of hierarchy within the southern society that mirrored that of their northern counterparts. In this way, the freedom that was inferred through changes in national law did not grant participation in society on the same level as the white women. Instead, the women sought to care for, guide, and support the transformation of the freedmen to match expectations for behavior, attire, and religion. For example, teachers suggested and supported the marriage of a man and a woman to meet their religious expectation for a family unit. In addition, they attempted to eliminate the religious practices of the freedmen which had continued throughout slavery. The examples focus upon the cultural aspects that could be controlled by the teachers. While the teachers held preconceived notions of race and were unable to alter their own perceptions based on race, they were able to change the existing cultural beliefs and practices of the freedmen. In this way, the teachers acted as cultural imperialists to modify conditions.

In today's schools, mission statements and policy strive to improve the academic success of all students. This goal is measurable through the constant assessment of students through quarterly examinations conducted by outside agencies. Each student is ranked and compared to other students within the county, state, and nation. Meetings are held and plans are made to fix what is wrong with our students. Each student's deficits are identified, explored, and solutions are sought. Educators spend countless hours on finding the problems with schools and students instead of looking at successes and talents of these same students. Educational institutions create deficit models to label students and teachers; no where in this thinking are lists of talents, cultural knowledge, or character traits that make the student valuable in our world. Just as the 19th century teacher sought

to normalize the behaviors and beliefs of the students and community members, today's education system creates systems and supports to align all students against predetermined characteristics and competencies. Success and failure is measured against a number on a scale that is difficult to explain to parents and students.

While the 19th century teacher was able to exert change by becoming involved in the students' communities and families, the position of today's teacher is limited to the hours spent in the classroom. This is both a positive and negative aspect of the teachers' work. Teachers have less time to impact the students and to teach meaningful lessons that are not taught or learned through the students' personal life experiences. On the other hand, by having less time, teachers and institutions must use every moment of each school day to impact lives and teach their lessons including enforcement on the bus, in the hallways, and in the lunch room. Each moment of each day is controlled and measured for effectiveness and value.

While it has been shown that the 19th century teacher carried preconceived notions of race into the classroom, teachers in today's classrooms also have their own perspective based on their own cultural identity. Unfortunately, some teachers openly act against students to limit the potential of students. Racism, sexism, or ableism is embedded in interactions in the classroom between teachers and students. Schools must explore the ways in which they represent cultural elements of students and teachers; schools must evaluate ways in which different behaviors and attitudes are accepted in the classroom. While teachers such as me do not consciously act with negative intentions, I must look for the ways in which I enact the dominant ideology and carry out systems of

power and ordering in the classroom. By doing nothing to problematize unequal opportunities within schools, teachers themselves are part of the perceived problems.

Sharing a Vision

Looking at one's self in a critical manner is a sensitive task for many individuals. Some people are comfortable in their cultural position built on nostalgia of the past and do not want to change for the future. Other individuals are not able to see their own practices or choices in a different manner due to cultural influences and years of deskilling in institutions of higher education. **Authentic reflection allows teachers the time and place to critically explore one's self within the context of time and place, but that undertaking may not be enough to institute change and action in all classrooms. In these cases, it takes informative texts and shared experiences to help a teacher see a circumstance in a different way.**

This topic is a difficult position to negotiate because it would be immoral to place one's own perspective or viewpoint on another—whether student or teacher. One cannot force another to accept one's ideas as Truths. Instead, by instituting practices of reflection, discussion, and analysis of institutional and personal practices within a safe environment, progress may be made. Similarly, there is a fine line between surveillance as a means of control and evaluation and observations as a way to share information and align perspectives with others. Freire (2005) describes value that is possible through evaluative methods as:

The educators responsible for a program of study need to know, at each step of the way, how well they are achieving their objectives. In the end, evaluation is a process through which practice takes us to the concretization of the dream that we are implementing. (p. 13)

This point focused upon the shared goals of a group or an educational institution and not a top down model of directives and requirements. By changing the position and methods of observation techniques, this can be a way to invite conversation and open dialogue about critical elements of the school system. Again, any activity whereby one individual asserts power or influence over another must be done so in an environment of shared purpose and goals and not the devaluing of one's contributions to the whole.

A system that creates open dialogue and reflection supports authentic evaluation of one's own practice and one's responsibilities within a group. Furthermore, this includes the voices and opinions of all stakeholders including students, parents, co-workers, and also administration. Giroux comments that if teachers are assuming the acceptance of the status quo and formulating their perspective to match the desired actions, teachers must problematize their responsibility to the students within that system. Teachers must question the ways in which they support the expected outcomes instead of challenging conditions. Giroux (1996) writes:

If education presupposes a vision of the future and always produces selective narratives and stories, it is crucial for teachers both to clarify and make themselves accountable for how their pedagogical practices contribute to the social consciousness, hopes, and dreams. (pp. 178-179)

The topic of evaluation has engaged heated arguments with recent changes to teacher evaluation methods that include the opinion of students. While I do understand that some students may not effectively evaluate a teacher due to personal conflicts or may hold a grudge related to a past experience, I hope that these instances are the exceptions instead of the norm. Students hold enormous potential to recognize what is of worth in their own lives, and student voices should never be silenced in the classroom. Although I do not feel that a student's opinion should make a break a teacher's career through an evaluation, I do respect and value the contributions that students bring to the classroom. Only by acknowledging and accepting the information gained from such evaluations can teachers engage their students as active members of the classroom and acknowledge the perspective of all constituents within the educational institution.

As we move into a new era of educational evaluation where students and teachers are measured and monitored through various assessments each year, there is potential in the joined efforts to engage with one another to improve the conditions. This is the only way for schools and teachers to successfully navigate increased scrutiny and pressure while being mindful of our students' needs and unique abilities. By entering meaningful dialogue, critique of programs, and plans for the future, teachers, students and other stakeholders can plan for social equity and diversity within the school.

In recent times, some teachers are required to sign contracts that restrict their freedom of speech in regard to the problems and wrongdoings of their school or county. As teachers are not protected by unions in many southern states, vocalizing the faults of the schools has its risks. Furthermore, with fewer opportunities for new positions in neighboring counties or systems due to the economy, one cannot chance the loss of one's

job. I am fortunate in that my county has not yet added such requirements to our contracts, yet I question myself in the text that I write on these pages. Will my words and perspective harm my current teaching position in any way? Although I do not know the answer to this position, I do know that my research and personal reflection has opened my mind to the wrongdoing of our educational systems. I have personally and professionally grown through this process. I will continue to use the platforms I am given at the school and district level to point out the inequity that I see. Although I do not know how my comments are perceived at this level, I will continue to make my remarks and offer suggestions whenever possible.

Concluding Thoughts

My personal transformation has demonstrated that authentic reflection has the ability to educate, inspire, and empower teachers to articulate perceived problems in society. I have grown from a Polish raised teacher who moved to the South to teach. I now can articulate my personal position in the educational system of which I am a part and the ways in which I represent and support existing power structures. This growth is marked by an ability to see, articulate, understand, and respond to the contextual elements in which I work each day. My research has allowed me to see the intersections of race, gender, and power that are intertwined in our nation's classrooms. Regardless of the school or the teaching position, each teacher engages particular problems within these cultural perspectives in a unique way. From this position, there is no one solution to the

nation's problems and situations. Instead, each teacher must navigate his or her own personal culture and perspective in the face of that of the students' and parents' positions.

From this work, I take away two comments to guide and inspire my future days. Freire (2005) writes, "It is impossible to teach without the courage to love, without the courage to try a thousand times before giving up" (p. 5). Each day has battles and struggles, and it is those challenges which will make me a better teacher and recognize the value of my students within humanity. Ayers (2004) similarly suggests "We begin by standing with, not above, our students. We share their predicaments, and we do so in solidarity with them. We look beyond deficits to assets and capacities, strengths and abilities, something solid that we can build upon" (p. 35). Education is a transformative process for both teachers and students. When adults stop learning, they cease living. By meeting students in a united position, the educational potential of the classroom is magnified through shared visions and empowered participants.

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