

385/D302

A HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY
for
Storer College
Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

submitted by

Gloria Gozdzik, Ph.D.
Principal Investigator

Susan Bergeron, Staff Historian
James Jewell, Consulting Historian
Dr. Jack McKivigan, Historian
Sandra Palmer, Editor

Horizon Research Consultants, Inc.
1534 Point Marion Road
Morgantown, WV 26508

submitted to

National Park Service
Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

January 2002

PLEASE RETURN TO:

TECHNICAL INFORMATION CENTER
DENVER SERVICE CENTER
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

B&W Scans

5/12/2005

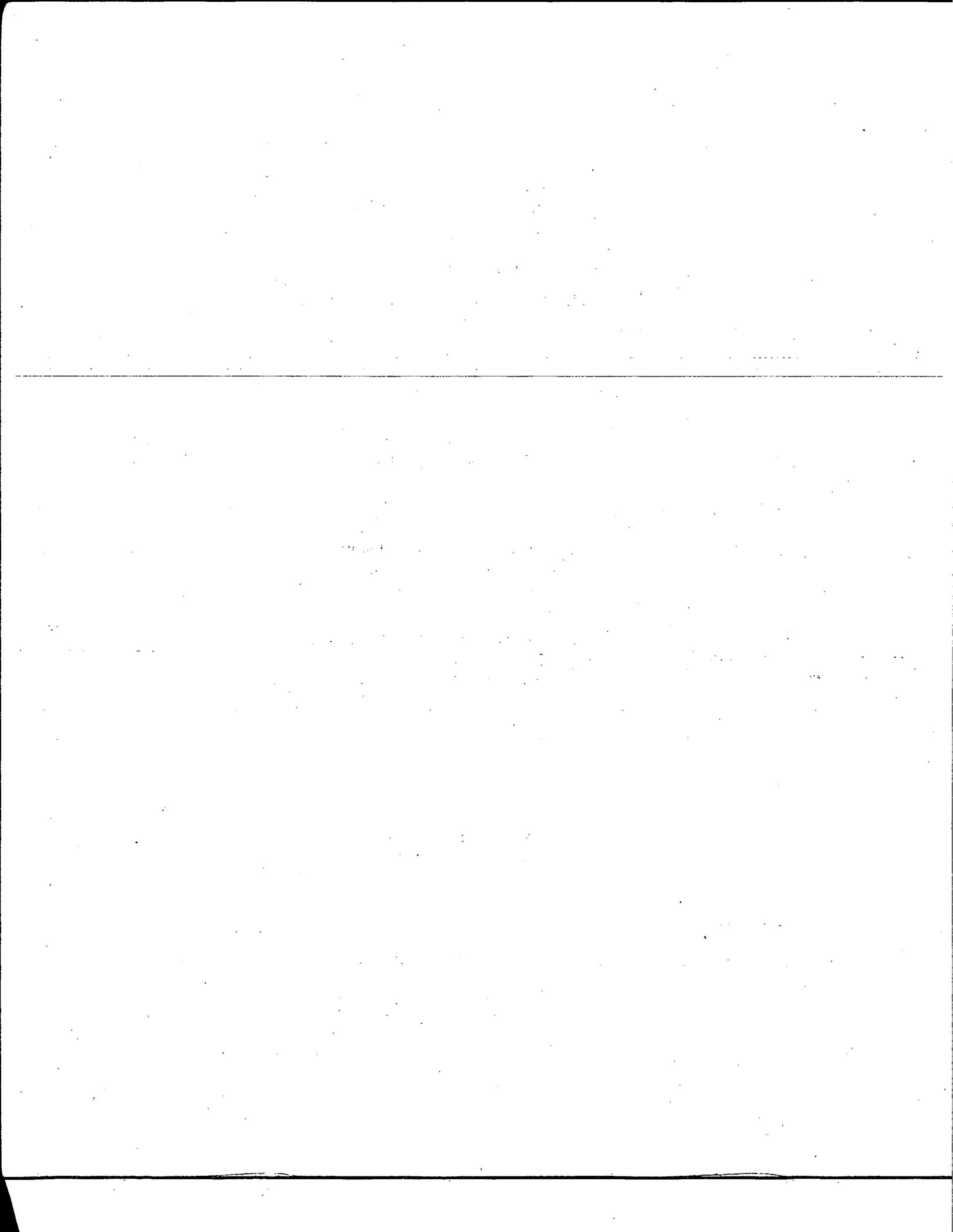


Table of Contents

Chapter I - The Roots of Storer College	1
The religious roots of abolitionism	1
National debate over the issue of slavery	6
John Brown and Harpers Ferry	8
Abraham Lincoln, Civil War, and Emancipation	9
Freewill Baptist missionaries in the Shenandoah Valley	12
Nathan C. Brackett and the Freewill Baptist mission	14
Chapter II - The Freewill Baptists and Harpers Ferry	19
Expansion of the Freewill Baptist mission in the Shenandoah	19
The plan to establish a teacher training school	30
The Smallwood Farm and the Camp Hill property	35
The struggle to secure the Storer gift	36
White opposition to the new school	44
Storer College takes root in Harpers Ferry	48
Chapter III - Storer College becomes a reality	53
Curriculum and student life	58
Storer College and industrial education	62
The end of the Brackett era	67
Chapter IV - Storer College Enters the 20 th Century	73
Campus and property	75
Campus improvements	86
Real estate	88
Student enrollment and demographics	91
Faculty	93
Curriculum	97
Student life	102
Alumni Association	106
Storer College and the State of West Virginia	107
The Niagara Movement and the founding of the NAACP	112
Storer College and John Brown's Fort	114
Chapter V - World War I and the Inter-war Years	119
Storer College and World War I	119
Campus	125
Anthony Memorial Hall fire	135
Curriculum and Mission	138
Faculty	141
Student demographics	143
The Conflict over Storer's Administration - 1919-1929	144

Storer College and the Heyward Shepherd Memorial	163
Chapter VI - Great Depression, World War II, and the end of the McDonald Era ..	171
Storer College in the Depression	171
Curriculum and mission	175
Campus	179
Athletics and student life	183
Faculty	185
Storer College and World War II	186
The end of Henry T. McDonald's tenure	191
Chapter VII - Storer College's Final Years	195
Richard I. McKinney becomes president of Storer College	195
Faculty	196
Student life and academics	199
Trouble for the McKinney Administration	201
The Interim Faculty Committee	209
President L. E. Terrell and Storer's Last Years	214
Conclusion	222
Bibliography	227
Index	233

Chapter I - The Roots of Storer College

The religious roots of abolitionism

The founders of the American nation were not strangers to the concept, or the practice, of slavery. African slaves had lived in the American colonies since the early 17th century, when the first slaves arrived in the Jamestown colony in Virginia. The development of a plantation economy in the southern colonies, and the importation of African slaves from both Africa and the West Indies, had produced a substantial slave population in North America by the mid 18th century. While New England farmers did not rely on slave labor, many shippers acquired their fortunes by participating in the slave trade. In addition, a small number of northerners also owned their own slaves. Consequently, Americans both north and south were slow to consider the moral implications of their economic activities. For nearly two hundred years, opposition to slavery in America remained largely a religious issue. Although most religious denominations still held the idea that some were predestined to labor for the benefit of others, the Quakers voiced their dissent against the practice of owning slaves. Until

about 1780, opposition to the institution of slavery remained very largely confined to their small sect. They believed that slave holding was contrary to religious piety.¹

As the intellectual ferment of the Age of Enlightenment found its way to American shores in the mid 18th century and fueled the ideas of the American Revolution, other groups began to question the rightness of owning slaves. Many Christians began to equate the slaves' right to freedom with the colonial demand for independence from arbitrary rule. Consequently, some churches began to change their doctrines. By 1780, Methodists and Presbyterians had included written prohibitions against slavery in their disciplines and regulations. Another example of the impact of Revolutionary sentiment influencing religious life was the Freewill Baptist faith. This sect was organized in the 1780s as a result of the evangelistic preaching of the Reverend Benjamin Randall, a disciple of George Whitefield, the gifted orator of the First Great Awakening. Randall and his followers denied the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, and argued for the freedom of human moral will. By the 1840s, the new Freewill Baptist denomination claimed sixty thousand communicants, most in New England. Almost from its inception, the new denomination barred slave holders from church membership. In 1827, the Freewill Baptists' General Conference authorized the ordination of blacks as ministers.²

¹Carleton Mabee, *Black Freedom: The Nonviolent Abolitionists from 1830 Through the Civil War* (London, 1970), 217-18; Merton L. Dillon, *The Abolitionists: The Growth of a Dissenting Minority* (DeKalb, IL, 1974), 9-10; Cushing Strout, *The New Heavens and New Earth: Political Religion in America* (New York, 1974), 148.

²John R. McKivigan, *The War Against Proslavery Religion: Abolitionism and the Northern Churches, 1830-1865* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 19.

As a part of the Great Awakening, numerous moral reform societies arose in America in the mid-nineteenth century. These groups manifested themselves with the formation of a great invisible "Benevolent Empire" of devout and committed members, and believed that their mission was to perfect society. New Englanders of many religious persuasions undertook to improve all aspects of their lives through these reform efforts. Although the Freewill Baptists shunned the major benevolent societies, which were dominated by Calvinists, they were active in their own reform societies and in morally oriented political causes.³ They believed it was as much a Christian's duty to vote as to pray.⁴ These religious reformers presumed, as well, to improve the lives of others, bidden or not. Universal public education, sobriety, peace, women's rights, and utopian experiments occupied the focus of these devout Christians. By the 1830's, however, the abolition movement towered above all the other causes in terms of its importance to these reforming northerners, and their struggle to end the institution of slavery began in earnest. America's major religious denominations came to terms with slavery in the early nineteenth century. Although some northern churchmen still spoke out against slavery, most hoped to use moral influence to encourage southern Christians to free their slaves voluntarily and supported the American Colonization

³"Freewill Baptist Connection," Eighth General Conference (Byron, NY, 1835), 7; "American Anti-Slavery Society," Fifth Annual Report (New York, NY, 1838), 49-50; Norman A. Baxter, *A History of the Freewill Baptists: A Study in New England Separatism* (Rochester, NY: American Baptist Historical Society, 1957), 94-95, 99, 101.

⁴Barbara Rasmussen, "Sixty Four Edited Letters of the Founders of Storer College" (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University, 1986), 10.

Society that was organized in 1816 to return former slaves to Africa.⁵ The revival movement greatly affected church attitudes toward slavery. Many Christians now believed social evils, such as slavery, were a product of sin. Inspired by the success of the emancipation movement in Britain in 1832, the new generation of American abolitionists sought to use the influence of American churches in their crusade against slavery. They asked the denominations to affirm that slave owning was a sin requiring immediate and complete repentance in the form of emancipation.

In addition, many abolitionists also decried racial discrimination as practiced in the churches, and sought to bring racial equality to Christian worship in America. This spirit of militancy was embodied in the American Anti-Slavery Society (A.A.S.) which was founded in 1833. This new national abolition organization concentrated upon convincing the churches to support abolition and focused their message upon the un-Christian practice of holding other human beings in bondage. Abolitionist propaganda accused American churches of sanctioning slavery by practicing discrimination in their own congregations. These radical abolitionists hoped that the denominations could convince slave holders to free their slaves with threats of church discipline. Early abolitionists believed that once the churches were enlisted in the anti-slavery movement, southern slave masters would capitulate in the face of superior moral power.⁶

⁵Philip J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1961), 48-58; Lawrence Jacob Friedman, *Gregarious Saints: Self and Community in American Abolitionism, 1830-1870* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 14-25; George M. Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and The New School Presbyterian Experience; A Case Study of Thought and Theology in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1970), 92.

⁶Gilbert H. Barnes, *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844* (New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1933), 33, 44, 55-56; James B. Stewart, *Holy Warriors: The Abolitionists and*

Unfortunately, most of the established churches were indifferent, or even openly hostile, to the immediate emancipation program of the American Anti-Slavery Society. This lack of support compelled abolitionists to become even more militant in their attitude toward the mainstream religious denominations. They focused a renewed energy upon saving the churches from divine retribution by rousing them from their toleration of the sin of slave holding. The militant abolitionists accused these institutions of thwarting God's will, not promoting it.⁷

The American Anti-Slavery Society, however, had few complaints about the Freewill Baptists' enthusiasm for the cause of abolition. Unlike most larger denominations, the Freewill Baptists did not have a significant southern constituency to deal with over the issue. Although their congregational policy made it impossible to establish a uniform rule barring slave owning members, the Freewill Baptists found other ways to make clear their sentiments. In 1834, *The Morning Star*, the denominational newspaper, began to campaign for immediate emancipation. The General Conference of the Freewill Baptists declared slavery a sin in 1835, and in 1837 they endorsed the methods and philosophies of the A.A.S.⁸ Still not satisfied, the Freewill Baptists formed their own anti-slavery society in 1842.⁹

American Slavery (New York, NY, 1976), 78-81; Dillon, *The Abolitionists: The Growth of a Dissenting Minority*, 35-46, 52-58.

⁷McKivigan, *The War Against Proslavery Religion*, 56-64.

⁸"Freewill Baptist Connection," 7; , "American Anti-Slavery Society," 49-50; Baxter, *A History of the Freewill Baptists: A Study in New England Separatism*, 94-95.

⁹Rasmussen, "Sixty Four Edited Letters of the Founders of Storer College," 9.

The mission of their society was to convert every member of the Freewill Baptist denomination to the cause of immediate emancipation. Denominational ministers signed public petitions against slavery and against governmental policies supporting it. Freewill Baptist members also helped fugitive slaves in Canada, and actively disseminated propaganda against religious fellowship with slave holders. These early missions to free blacks would prove to be important precedents for the Freewill Baptists' post Civil War work at Storer College.¹⁰

National debate over the issue of slavery

The Freewill Baptists, like other abolitionist reformers, were completely committed to their idealistic vision, and gave little thought to the political and social implications of their efforts to end slavery. As the various abolitionist movements gained momentum in the north during the 1840's, southerners were constantly being called upon to defend the morality of the institution, and became increasingly defensive. Debate on the slavery issue grew sharper and more bitter. Even the U.S. government, which had tried to remain aloof from the controversy over slavery, was forced into the conflict by the rapid settlement of the western territories.

¹⁰"Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society," Seventeenth Annual Report (Boston, MA, 1849), 65; *Freewill Baptist Quarterly*, October 1853, 415; *Freewill Baptist Quarterly*, January 1854, 44-45; "American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," Eighth Annual Report (1848), 142-43; "Freewill Baptist Anti-Slavery Society," Third Annual Report 1849 (Dover, NH, 1854), 18; Baxter, *A History of the Freewill Baptists: A Study in New England Separatism*, 98-100; Jason H. Silverman, "Unwelcome Guests: American Fugitive Slaves in Canada, 1830-1860" (University of Kentucky, 1981), 104.

Since the debate over Missouri's statehood in 1820, Congress had carefully balanced the ranks of the Senate to protect the interests of each side in the debate. California's petition for statehood in 1850, however, resulted in a compromise where California entered the Union as a free state, thereby tilting the Senate to the North. As a concession, the South won passage of the harsh Fugitive Slave Act. Northern disregard for the requirements of that law inflamed the South, just as the perceived arrogance of slave holders offended the moral perspectives of the northern reformers. The nation was becoming increasingly divided by the bitter debate over slavery.

By the mid-1850's, sectional strife intensified in Kansas Territory. In order to try to avoid an open conflict over the issue of whether slavery would be legal in Kansas, the government decided to try a policy of popular sovereignty, whereby the settlers would decide themselves whether to be a slave or free state. New Englanders rushed to settle the state as a free-soil haven, and southerners hastened with equal fervor to establish slaveholding enclaves there. Confrontations between the two factions quickly escalated into a guerilla war. The violence and bloodshed which marked the battle over the Kansas territory was a foreshadowing of the national conflict to come.

In 1857, the Dred Scott case further intensified the debate over the issue of slavery. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled against the slave Dred Scott, who had argued for his freedom because his master took him to a northern state. In an opinion issued by Chief Justice Roger Taney, the Supreme Court ruled that slaves were property, not persons, and were denied the protection of the Constitution. Consequently, a slave owner could take the slave anywhere, regardless of what other legislation may have

been passed. The decision also struck down distinctions between slave and free states, and in effect nullified the previous compromises regarding slavery.

John Brown and Harpers Ferry

The Dred Scott decision sparked a wave of anger and bitterness among northern abolitionists, and the struggle for emancipation turned violent in 1859. In October of that year, John Brown, a radical abolitionist and former free-state fighter from Kansas, led a raid on the U.S. Armory in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia to seize weapons and ammunition to arm slaves and start an insurrection against white slave owners. The raid was the culmination of two years of recruiting and fund raising to establish a base in the southern Appalachian Mountains from which to raid plantations and free slaves. Financing for the venture came from free blacks in Canada and the North, and six wealthy New England businessmen, dubbed the "Secret Six." However, the 'army' that John Brown led into Harper's Ferry on the night of October 16, 1859 consisted of only 21 men, including three of his sons and five blacks.¹¹

Brown's raid ended quickly, however. The alarm was quickly raised and, while some white citizens were taken hostage, only about twelve slaves were liberated.

Ironically, the first casualty in Harpers Ferry on that October night was Heyward Shepherd, a free black railroad porter working in the town. Brown and his followers were forced to barricade themselves into a small engine house near the railroad. By the

¹¹Stephen B. Oates, *To Purge This Land With Blood: A Biography of John Brown* (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1970), 30-33, 41-44, 65-67, 177, 181-95, 199-201, 203, 211-13, 233-38; Oswald Garrison Villard, *John Brown, 1800-1859: A Biography Fifty Years After* (Boston, MA: P. Smith, 1910), 25-26, 43, 71-74, 269-74, 291-92, 346-400.

second day of Brown's occupation, the local militia had sealed off his escape route. On October 18th, a detachment of U. S. marines, commanded by Brevet Colonel Robert E. Lee, overran the engine house in which Brown held his captives. In the two days' fighting, Brown's insurgents killed five people, including one marine, while losing ten men, among them Brown's sons, Oliver and Watson.¹²

John Brown and his captured compatriots were imprisoned, and swiftly tried and convicted in a trial which drew national attention. Brown himself was hanged on

December 2, 1859. Four of his followers, John E. Cook, Edwin Coppoc, Shields Green, and Aaron Stephens soon followed their leader to the gallows.¹³ Only five of the 21 raiders had survived the encounter, escaping into the countryside in the heat of battle. Although even Northerners were appalled by Brown's actions, his calm, stoic behavior at his trial more than anything else made him a martyr for the abolitionist cause. Many Southerners now believed that most Northerners were sympathetic to Brown's militant abolitionism, even though in reality, his radical view was shared by very few abolitionists. Still, Brown's raid galvanized the South in its belief that the Union could never protect its interests, while the government was dominated by Northern abolitionist sympathizers.

Abraham Lincoln, Civil War, and Emancipation

¹²Oates, *To Purge This Land With Blood: A Biography of John Brown*, 288-301.

¹³David Morris Potter, *The Impending Crisis* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1976), p. 374-84.

When Abraham Lincoln was elected president in 1860, it provided the catalyst for the tensions which had been building between the North and the South. Lincoln polled only 40% of the popular vote, and was elected by winning the electoral votes of all of the most populous northern states. Lincoln truly was a Northern president, for in ten Southern states he was not even allowed on the ballot. Consequently, after his victory in the electoral college, radical secessionists in the South now had their excuse to convince their states to withdraw from the Union. South Carolina immediately

seceded, and Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas followed quickly.

Lincoln had vowed that he would not let the Union be dissolved and, by 1861, a civil war was inevitable. In his efforts to preserve the Union, Lincoln fulfilled John Brown's prophecy: the land was purged with blood and the slaves were freed. In 1863, Lincoln emancipated the slaves held in those states that were in rebellion, although the Emancipation Proclamation was as much a tool of war as it was a humanitarian gesture. The following year, Congress freed all slaves in the rest of the Union. Unfortunately, emancipation brought little immediate satisfaction to the former slaves. Most freedmen now experienced a new and terrifying reality. They might be technically free, but most were ill-equipped to survive on their own. In addition, the racism of many whites, especially in the South, could not be eliminated by the simple stroke of a pen. The freedmen would again have to rely on others, and at first, much help was offered by the Northern churches and abolitionist groups that had fought so long for the abolition of slavery. Within months of the Emancipation Proclamation, scores of New England

whites came to the Shenandoah Valley to begin the process of settling the former slaves into some sort of orderly existence.

Anxious to do their part in the great work of aiding the new freedmen, these missionaries flocked to Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, at the head of the Shenandoah Valley. When they arrived, they found the little town in ruins, with little but the railroad tracks, the Episcopal Church, and a few cobblestone streets still serviceable.

Abandoned by many of its residents during the war, the town was now in ruins, and had become a haven for many of the homeless. Both freed slaves and white refugees swarmed to Harpers Ferry in the wake of General Philip Sheridan's sweep through the Valley of Virginia in 1864, hoping to find food, aid, and perhaps even work with the army.¹⁴

By the time Sheridan reached Jefferson County, the condition of the former slaves was dire. Military officials reported that, "large families of Women and Children are being driven from their houses daily, and hundreds of them are now roaming over the Country, begging for support."¹⁵ The commander of the Army of the Shenandoah, Major General F. A. Torbert, beseeched the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and Abandoned Lands to send an agent to the Valley of Virginia because "many persons wish to get rid of the old men & women left on their places and hire white labor."¹⁶ The Freedmen's Bureau, under the leadership of General Oliver Otis Howard responded

¹⁴John Edmund Stealey, III, *The Freedmans Bureau in West Virginia*, *West Virginia History* (39), 1978, 100.

¹⁵Stealey, *The Freedmans Bureau in West Virginia*, 101.

¹⁶Stealey, *The Freedmans Bureau in West Virginia*, 100.

swiftly and sent Major Stover Howe to the Shenandoah Valley to establish military government there. By the fall of 1865, Lieutenant John Olmstead, Captain Lewis Deitz, and Lieutenant Henry E. Smith, detailed from the 193rd New York Volunteers, were stationed in Harpers Ferry to help the Freedmen's Bureau.¹⁷

Freewill Baptist missionaries in the Shenandoah Valley

In addition to aid from the military, Christian missionaries and educators from New England were also arriving in many parts of the war-ravaged South. The American Missionary Association (AMA), a religious abolitionist group, began to establish schools for educating freedmen throughout the region. However, most of the teachers who came south did not stay long. Faced with fierce opposition and ostracization from Southern whites, they soon became disillusioned and, in many cases, fearful for their lives. A few, however, were more resilient.¹⁸ The Freewill Baptist missionaries were one such group. These sectarians had been firm abolitionists since the denomination's founding in the late eighteenth century. When emancipation was finally achieved, the Freewill Baptists were jubilant and were ready to give whatever aid they could to the freed slaves. After Lee's surrender in 1865, the Freewill Baptists provided the American Missionary Association with many of the teachers the AMA sent south to begin the task of educating the freedmen.¹⁹

¹⁷Stealey, *The Freedmen's Bureau in West Virginia*, 102.

¹⁸McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction*, 2nd edition, Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1992, 386-416.

¹⁹McKivigan, *The War Against Proslavery Religion: Abolitionism and the Northern Churches, 1830-1865*.

The Freewill Baptists' previous efforts on behalf of education would be put to good use in their missionary work after the Civil War. As early as 1832, the sect established a parochial school for its children so that they would not be drawn "away from the fold."²⁰ As the Freewill Baptists grew, several more schools were started throughout the northeastern United States. Eventually, the denomination recognized a need to establish church-affiliated colleges to train its ministers and provide general higher education for its members. Although there was some opposition from several

church leaders, Hillsdale College in Michigan, and Bates College in Lewiston, Maine, both commenced operations in 1855. Bates College was founded by Oren B. Cheney who was encouraged by individual members of the denomination, not the body politic.²¹ Cheney and others, notably James Colder who was president of Pennsylvania State College (forerunner of Pennsylvania State University), had valuable experience in establishing colleges, as well as effective fund-raising tactics. Colder was a Freewill Baptist minister of the denomination, as well as president of Hillsdale and of Pennsylvania State.²²

In addition to their experience in education for their own denomination, the Freewill Baptists had also learned valuable, if painful, lessons from their first attempt at founding a mission for freed slaves in South Carolina. In August 1863, while the Civil War still raged, the Free Baptist Home Mission Board appointed Rev. Ebenezer Knowlton of New Hampshire as their missionary to the Freedmen. Knowlton went to

²⁰Baxter, *A History of the Freewill Baptists: A Study in New England Separatism*, 86.

²¹Baxter, *A History of the Freewill Baptists: A Study in New England Separatism*, 138.

²²Baxter, *A History of the Freewill Baptists: A Study in New England Separatism*, 138.

the South to begin his work, and was commissioned by the U.S. government as a General Missionary to the Freedmen. The area in and around Beaufort, South Carolina was under Union control, and here Knowlton started a Freewill Baptist mission for freed slaves right in the heart of the Confederacy.²³

Plagued by lack of funds and other problems, the work in Beaufort lasted only about two years, until the end of 1865. The Freewill Baptist missionaries had managed to build a small wooden meeting house and start two churches, but were never able to

gain the trust of the freedmen in the area. The decision was finally made to abandon the effort and put the meeting house and property up for sale at a considerable loss.

Although it ended in failure, the mission to Beaufort marked the first collaboration between the Freewill Baptist Home Mission Society and the American Missionary Association, the most prominent religious organization engaged in the work of educating freedmen. The experience gained in working with the AMA would prove invaluable to the Freewill Baptist work in the Shenandoah Valley.²⁴

Nathan C. Brackett and the Freewill Baptist mission

Once the Freewill Baptists had committed to doing their part to educate the freedmen in the Shenandoah Valley, they needed to find the right person to organize and oversee their educational mission. The most obvious choice for them was Nathan

²³Mary Ellen McClain, "Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897," Honors Thesis, Linfield College, 1974, 5.

²⁴McClain, 6-8.

C. Brackett, a member of the Freewill Baptist sect who already had experience working in the Shenandoah Valley. Brackett was an ardent abolitionist, but poor health had prevented him from enlisting in the Union Army during the war. Graduating from Dartmouth College in 1864, he joined the United States Christian Commission to provide help and support to soldiers. The forerunner of the modern Red Cross, the commission gave aid without regard to the color of a soldier's uniform.²⁵ Brackett's first assignment for the Christian Commission was as a field agent in Sheridan's army, stationed at Winchester, Virginia. Brackett was next sent to Harpers Ferry, where he was responsible for mailing soldiers' pay home to their families. Quickly recognized as a charitable man with great sympathy for all of those who were suffering, his services were utilized by both Union and Confederate soldiers.²⁶

Brackett returned to Maine in September of 1865, but the Freewill Baptist Home Mission Board sent him back to the Shenandoah Valley at once to supervise arrangements for all of the schools they intended to establish there.²⁷ Brackett was commissioned by the American Missionary Association, the Freedmen's Bureau, and the Freewill Baptists to be the superintendent of freedmen's education in the Shenandoah Valley. His territory encompassed the area between Martinsburg, West Virginia and Lexington, Virginia. Simple elementary schools were started in all the principal towns in the 150-mile long, 30-mile wide strip.²⁸ With Brackett already in the

²⁵McClain, Storer College, 12.

²⁶*Storer College Sentinel* 1909-10, 10.

²⁷McClain, Storer College, 12.

²⁸Carter G. Woodson, *Early Negro Education in West Virginia* (Institute, WV: West Virginia Collegiate Institute, 1921), 17.

field, the Freewill Baptists' long tradition of opposition to slavery transformed itself into massive efforts on behalf of the freed blacks in the South. The denomination made a concerted effort to provide relief, missionaries, and teachers to the freedmen.

Like Brackett, most of the northern teachers who came to the southern states during the early years of Reconstruction were from New England. They were often young, idealistic women who had been raised on the abolitionist rhetoric of their New England home, and wanted to do their part for the great crusade against the evils of slavery and its aftermath. However, these northern teachers had little preparation for the task of educating freed slaves. Strongly religious and narrow in perspective, these northern teachers faced an uphill battle in the campaign to end illiteracy among the freedmen.²⁹

Despite the difficulties, Nathan Brackett agreed to return to the Shenandoah Valley and lead the efforts to establish Freewill Baptist schools. However, he wished to continue his education and accepted his commission from the Baptists for one year only.³⁰

Brackett's fiancée, Louise Cook, agreed to marry him immediately when she learned of his assignment in the South. They had been engaged since they were both college students and were wed on October 16, 1865, the anniversary of John Brown's raid.³¹ Brackett left for Virginia one week later and Louise soon followed him. What

²⁹Robert C. Morris, *Reading, Writing, and Reconstruction, The Education of Freedmen in the South, 1861-1870* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 54-55.

³⁰McClain, "Honors Thesis," 12.

³¹McClain, Storer College, 13.

was supposed to be a year's work became a lifetime of service in the Freewill Baptists' educational efforts for African Americans.

Chapter II - The Freewill Baptists and Harpers Ferry

Expansion of the Freewill Baptist mission in the Shenandoah

Having previously failed in their attempt in South Carolina, the Freewill Baptists were determined to hang onto their mission in the Shenandoah at all costs. However, when Brackett arrived, outright hostility from southern whites made it difficult to find shelter or purchase food.³² Also destitute and suffering, southern whites were loath to share with freedmen or northern teachers. More than 30,000 freedmen were congregated in the Shenandoah Valley by the end of the war. Only a few of them were from area plantations, while most had come north with the Union Army and had no place else to go. The task of educating those wishing to come to school was overwhelming. Some estimates report that as early as January 1865, 750 persons were teaching 75,000 black children in Union-held territory throughout the South. Everywhere, the freed people expressed an "eager, pious desire for learning."³³

³²Henry Lee Swint, *The Northern Teacher in the South* (New York: Octagon Books, 1967), 96.

³³George Bentley, *History of the Freedman's Bureau* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 1955), 171.

Brackett began, like the other teachers, where he could. He appropriated the ruins of the home of the superintendent of the former U. S. Arsenal in Harpers Ferry. Overlooking the majestic convergence of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers, by 1865 the once grand Lockwood House was open to the sky. Forlorn, it stood an empty ruin. On Shenandoah Street below, also still and empty, but intact, stood a fire engine house – John Brown's Fort. The significance of that structure, and the town of Harpers Ferry itself, was not lost on the Freewill Baptists in 1865, but it would grow as the years

unfolded.

The first four teachers to report to Brackett in the Shenandoah Valley arrived barely a month after his own return. From Maine came Sarah Jane Foster, Sabrina L. Gibbs, and Anne S. Dudley. They all traveled aboard the steamship *Chesapeake*, to New York. Anna A. Wright of Montpelier, Vermont, joined them there and they continued together by train to Harpers Ferry. They left New England with about twenty-five dollars each from the Freewill Baptists, to cover their travel expenses. Their salaries were fifteen dollars per month, plus board. However, it was hoped that they would feel free to donate some portion of that salary back to the church's mission. They were expected to keep careful records of their students, and to write to the Freewill Baptist *Morning Star* newspaper with any anecdotes that might prompt donations from the church membership.³⁴

³⁴Mary Ellen McClain, "Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897," Honors Thesis (Linfield College, 1974), 15.

The conditions in the south that confronted the northern teachers were dismal at best. Anne Dudley later recalled what Harpers Ferry looked like, "Only war riddled buildings and ruins everywhere. Not a tree or fence left. Back, or nearby 300 rude soldiers' graves. Freedmen homeless and friendless . . ." ³⁵ To begin their educational mission, Brackett assigned Anna (Kittie) Wright and Sarah Foster to Martinsburg. ³⁶ For the time being, Anne Dudley and Sabrina Gibbs remained at Harpers Ferry. Together with Nathan Brackett, they established the Harpers Ferry mission school in the old

Lockwood House, which they repaired themselves, with some modest help from the Freedmen's Bureau. Early in 1866, Brackett sent Kittie Wright from Martinsburg to nearby Shepherdstown, West Virginia to establish a school there. ³⁷

Not long after Kittie Wright's departure, Brackett sent Anne Dudley to Charles Town. Because the white community there vowed not to accept such a presence, she was escorted by Brackett and the military. On another occasion, Brackett himself was saved from a hostile mob only because a Confederate veteran recognized the minister and remembered that Brackett rescued him from the battle field where he had been left for dead during the war. ³⁸ Unfortunately, diplomacy was not among Anne Dudley's

³⁵"Letter from Anne S. D. Bates to President Henry T. MacDonald of Storer College," A and M 1322, West Virginia and Regional History Collection (West Virginia University Libraries, 8 November 1917), Storer College Archives.

³⁶*Sarah Jane Foster: Teacher of the Freedmen*, ed. Wayne E. Reilly (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 32.

³⁷*Sarah Jane Foster: Teacher of the Freedmen*, 39.

³⁸Mary Brackett Roberston, "Contributions of My Family," A & M 1322, West Virginia and Regional History Collection (West Virginia University Libraries, 26 February 1937), Storer College Archives.

virtues and she openly gloried in the Union victory. She enjoyed how the Army intimidated and antagonized the historic old town where John Brown had been tried and hanged. "I had the honor of marching into town with the Brothers in Blue," she said of their arrival. They rode about town as much as to say, 'you meddle with that school, and we will take a church for it,' and the soldiers remained to protect us" she wrote many years later.³⁹ Little in her memoir expressed any sympathy for the displaced and defeated whites of the region, few of whom had been slave owners.

Dudley lived at first in a crude cabin lent her by "Uncle Chillis" and "Aunt Ellen," a mulatto couple who had been free even before the war. This cabin, with a stone fireplace, was Dudley's schoolroom and dwelling. They put in rough board benches, and close board window shutters "to hinder the chance to shoot at us at night, for we had night school, and strongly barred the doors."⁴⁰ Anne recalled that the cabin was all that was available to her, and she stayed there day and night with crowds of students both young and old. "One man came six miles to night school," she recalled.⁴¹ Her school was within a stone's throw of the old jail where John Brown had been incarcerated, now only a ruin.

³⁹Anne S. D. Bates, "Aunt Ellen's' Stories and Other Incidents: Reminiscences by Mrs. Anne S. D. Bates in *The Missionary Helper*," A and M 2621, West Virginia and Regional History Collection (West Virginia University Libraries, March 1913), 80-82.

⁴⁰Bates, "Aunt Ellen's' Stories and Other Incidents: Reminiscences by Mrs. Anne S. D. Bates in *The Missionary Helper*,".

⁴¹Bates, "Aunt Ellen's' Stories and Other Incidents: Reminiscences by Mrs. Anne S. D. Bates in *The Missionary Helper*,".

Dudley, who was a militant abolitionist, always remembered the abuse heaped upon the white teachers in West Virginia's three eastern panhandle counties.⁴² Before the war, it was a crime to teach a black person to read or write. With few exceptions, no respectable white person would speak to the northern teachers or allow them in their homes or hotels. Chillis and Ellen "were watched, and hedged in, for fear of their influence on others," Dudley wrote. Although she took great pains to conceal it, Ellen herself was literate.⁴³ Thus, her offer of shelter was a way to show support for the education mission of the Freewill Baptists.

Rejection by the white citizens of Charles Town was nearly absolute. "When some of us ventured into a white church, a note was left, asking us not to come again," Dudley remembered.⁴⁴ Some teachers required military escorts to and from their work. "The half can never be told of the toil and sacrifice of the first ten years of work, in the Shenandoah Mission," she later wrote.⁴⁵

By Christmas of 1865, the Freewill teachers had started schools at Harpers Ferry, Charles Town, Shepherdstown, and Martinsburg. Headquarters for their endeavors was at Harpers Ferry, in several war battered U. S. Government buildings on Camp Hill overlooking the Shenandoah River. The largest of these, the Lockwood House, had

⁴²Henry T. McDonald, "Dictation to Files," A & M 2621, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

⁴³Bates, "Aunt Ellen's' Stories and Other Incidents: Reminiscences by Mrs. Anne S. D. Bates in *The Missionary Helper*,".

⁴⁴Bates, "Aunt Ellen's' Stories and Other Incidents: Reminiscences by Mrs. Anne S. D. Bates in *The Missionary Helper*,".

⁴⁵McClain, "Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897," 18.

been used throughout the Civil War to house military commanders, refugees, and even horses. In the winter of 1864-65, before the war was even over, Miss Julia Mann, sister of the educator Horace Mann, had managed to field a makeshift school for a small band of refugees there. Thus, when he arrived in Harpers Ferry in late October 1865, Nathan Brackett concentrated his efforts on continuing the school in the building it already occupied.⁴⁶ That first Christmas, Brackett and his teachers gathered at Lockwood House for the holidays. Louise Wood Brackett arrived in time to observe the holy season with her husband. Space was so cramped that the visiting teachers slept on the tables.⁴⁷

After the holidays, the Freewill Baptists continued to expand their mission in the Shenandoah Valley. Schools began in Winchester, Front Royal, Woodstock, Harrisonburg, Staunton, and Lexington. By early 1866, as his small band of teachers grew ever more burdened, Brackett began to realize that the real need was for a way to educate teachers among the freedmen, so they in turn could help educate the vast numbers of freed slaves who clamored for literacy. He knew that the Freewill Baptists could not possibly supply enough teachers to cope with the task alone.⁴⁸ While continuing the work of managing his small string of freedmen's schools, Brackett also began to outline to the church leadership his broader idea for educating teachers among the ex-slaves themselves. By the end of 1867, he had successfully focused the attention of the denomination on the goal of establishing such a facility in Harpers Ferry.

⁴⁶Roberston, "Contributions of My Family,".

⁴⁷Roberston, "Contributions of My Family,".

⁴⁸McClain, "Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897," 19.

Before long, Anne Dudley left Charles Town and rejoined Brackett in Harpers Ferry. Thus, the first teachers for what would become Storer College were those who had fanned out through West Virginia's eastern panhandle immediately after the war. Improved boarding arrangements in Harpers Ferry, however humble, were allowing students to come from longer distances to get an education. Gradually, the bulk of students came to Harpers Ferry for their education. At first, the students were taught together in classes where the ages ranged from eight to 77. Within a year, the teachers were able to organize their classes more efficiently. Soon, they were teaching children during the day and adults during evening hours. The arrival of more teachers helped as well. Still, the conditions were abysmal. Regular accounts of the work in the South appeared in the *Morning Star*, and denominational interest in the work remained high.

Lockwood House was a bleak beginning for a school, but it was the best available facility. Nearly wrecked by the war, only a few rooms were usable, and they were quickly appropriated. One room was set aside for an office, another for a teachers' sitting room, another for Brackett's bedroom, and another served as kitchen, dining, and sleeping room for two teachers. Brackett's daughter Celeste recalled years later that her parents used to talk about cannon ball holes in the North wall that allowed snow to blow in during the winter. Only one room upstairs in the house was habitable. A sick German-American Union veteran lived in the room with his wife and baby. When the soldier died the following year, the room was used for classes.⁴⁹

The Freewill Baptist teachers were as unwelcome in Harpers Ferry as they were

⁴⁹McClain, "Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897," 20.

everywhere else. In those early missionary days in Harpers Ferry, a young teacher wrote home, "It is unusual to go to the post office without being hooted at, and twice I have been stoned on the streets at noonday."⁵⁰ Military escorts commonly were provided to teachers in the immediate postwar era.⁵¹ Little is known of the teachers who taught in the outlying schools. Rev. E. A. (Edward) Stockman came from teaching in Beaufort, South Carolina, in 1866 before turning his efforts to fund raising for the Harpers Ferry project. Mrs. A. A. Dunn, of Greenwich, Massachusetts, Miss Lizzie A.

Gilmore of Westboro, Massachusetts, and S. E. Gillespie and Ellen A. Leavitt of Hampton, New Hampshire, were assigned to the school in Staunton. Maria R. Mann, and E. Derring taught at Harpers Ferry. Originally stationed in Roanoke, Virginia, Reverend and Mrs. S. S. Nickerson were later sent to Harpers Ferry.⁵²

Shepherdstown's school boasted forty day scholars of various levels. A night school was established soon thereafter. The school at Martinsburg was somewhat larger. There, Sarah Foster taught 80 day students, and another 45 attended at night. By scheduling day and night schools, the teachers were able to cluster children by ages during the day, and to serve working adults in the evenings. Students in day school were generally younger than eighteen, and at night school students ranged in age from 20 to 62. Reading, ciphering, geography, writing, spelling, and simple arithmetic

⁵⁰Kate Anthony, *Storer College, Harper's Ferry: A Brief Historical Sketch* (Boston: Morning Star Press, 1891), 10; Henry Lee Swint, *The Northern Teacher in the South* (New York: Octagon Books, 1967), 94-97.

⁵¹Bates, "Aunt Ellen's Stories and Other Incidents: Reminiscences by Mrs. Anne S. D. Bates" in *The Missionary Helper*.

⁵²McClain, "Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897," 20.

formed the mainstay of the early educational efforts.⁵³ Regardless of their ages, most of the students began at the beginning, learning their letters and numbers.

Reading material was hard to find. Foster met the need by writing to *The Advocate* in February of 1866, asking for old copies of the publication for her students. Between the publisher and northern supporters of the mission to the South, reading materials came swiftly in response to her requests. She dutifully thanked the faithful in her regular letters to the congregations that were supporting her efforts.

Foster's work in Martinsburg was her life.⁵⁴ Her resolve to strive for the betterment of the freed slaves welled from deep within her conscience, and propelled a devotion that was color blind. However, her single-minded commitment to her work with the freedmen caused deep offense among the whites in Martinsburg. White Martinsburg citizens were aghast when the idealistic teacher allowed an African American man to escort her home after dark. No white would help her and, for her own safety, she could not be out without an escort. Rather than abandon her night school, Foster accepted the offer of one of her African American students to accompany her home safely. "I walked through the street all the way with Mr. Hopewell, just to show that I did not mean to be driven off by the roughs. These men are good, why shouldn't I treat them well?"⁵⁵

In her diary, Foster reported that she was advised to remain away from school

⁵³*Sarah Jane Foster: Teacher of the Freedmen*, 35.

⁵⁴*Sarah Jane Foster: Teacher of the Freedmen*, 60.

⁵⁵*Sarah Jane Foster: Teacher of the Freedmen*, 1-2, 50.

the next day because “the roughs are terribly exasperated that I walked with Mr. Hopewell.” Captain McKenzie offered to escort her to and from school for a while after the incident.⁵⁶ She later wrote that Mrs. Hoke “dares not board me” because of the turmoil her conduct had caused. Her account of the incident with Hopewell offers vivid insight into the conditions that confronted these early teachers, and in that regard, the missionary teachers in Harpers Ferry shared many of the experiences that other northern teachers were coping with elsewhere in the South.

Through her letters and diary, Sarah Foster often demonstrated a keen insight into the minds of the freedmen she came to know. She often wrote about their cultural values of strong family ties, loving but strict discipline of children and a sensitivity to ridicule.⁵⁷ She also noted a sort of racial prejudice among them, as well as among the whites. “The colored people have a prejudice of color themselves. They do not know how to be treated as equals.”⁵⁸ Foster became even more deeply committed to helping them achieve a sense of self-worth through education.

Unfortunately, Sarah’s sympathy and insight did not extend to the Martinsburg community as a whole. Her zealous belief that “education must and should follow freedom,” was founded in her strong religious sense.⁵⁹ But, blinded by this same conviction, Sarah Jane Foster was not equipped to accommodate the racial politics of

⁵⁶*Sarah Jane Foster: Teacher of the Freedmen*, 50.

⁵⁷*Sarah Jane Foster: Teacher of the Freedmen*, 98.

⁵⁸*Sarah Jane Foster: Teacher of the Freedmen*, 98.

⁵⁹*Sarah Jane Foster: Teacher of the Freedmen*, 37.

the culture of Martinsburg. She did not think twice about accepting the offer of help from a black man. As the white community in Martinsburg lashed out at her, she felt the full weight of the cultural clash, and Brackett was forced to reassign her to Harpers Ferry.

Foster was a reluctant addition to the Harpers Ferry faculty and did not stay long. Despite her keen disappointment at being removed from her school, she had only praise for Brackett. Her diary recounted her belief that a better superintendent could not

be found.⁶⁰ She ached to return to Martinsburg, but the church elders saw her conduct in a very serious light. Although he sympathized with her fervent wish to return to her school and her work, Brackett resolved that Foster must leave the Shenandoah Valley lest she imperil the whole mission. He wrote to Silas Curtis, church treasurer in New Hampshire, to recommend her for a new assignment. "She was unfortunate in not understanding the prejudices of the people, and in her zeal to do a great deal, exposed herself to scandal," he wrote. Brackett expressed faith that she could still be of some use to the freedmen in the South. He proposed to Curtis that she be reassigned to "a plantation where [she] would do good work, perhaps anywhere except where she would come too much in contact with the white people."⁶¹

Sarah Foster never saw Martinsburg again. She was reassigned to a remote South Carolina plantation where she taught until she contracted yellow fever. She returned to Gray, Maine to vacation for the summer, and on June 25, 1868 she died of

⁶⁰*Sarah Jane Foster: Teacher of the Freedmen*, 97.

⁶¹*Sarah Jane Foster: Teacher of the Freedmen*, 16.

the "most dread scourge of the missionary teachers," Yellow Fever.⁶² Sarah Jane Foster was only 28 years old at the time of her death. Her diary of her time in the Shenandoah Valley preserves one view of the early Reconstruction years in this place.

The plan to establish a teacher training school

The schools throughout the Shenandoah Valley continued under Brackett's supervision until the Freewill Baptists had placed in motion their larger plan for providing black teachers for black children. To this end, they formed a Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South. The Rev. J. M. Brewster of New England was named chairman of this group.

In May of 1866, U. S. Senator Waitman T. Willey of West Virginia proposed a resolution that the Harpers Ferry buildings used by the Freewill Baptists be permanently granted to them. Brackett continued to operate out of the war-ravaged Lockwood House, while the Senate debated the future of the property. In February of 1867, the Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South expanded its ranks to include Senator William Pitt Fessenden of Maine, General C. H. Howard (the brother of General O. O. Howard who was head of the Freedmen's Bureau), and abolitionist Frederick Douglass. The Baptist Commission decided that their efforts would be focused in Harpers Ferry. Gradually their presence at the other schools in the valley would be phased out. They voted on October 1, 1867 to establish a permanent college in the South.

⁶²*Sarah Jane Foster: Teacher of the Freedmen, 23.*

Although he did not know it yet, Nathan Brackett had found his life's work.⁶³ He temporarily set aside his own plans for graduate study, and accepted the appointment as president of the school.⁶⁴ The Rev. E. A. Stockman was asked to seek release from his association with the Freewill Baptist Home Mission Society so that he could devote all of his efforts to advancing the Harpers Ferry school. "The nation's weal or woe depends in no slight degree upon the success or failure of just such efforts as this, and the solution to many a vexed question betwixt North and South lies here."

The Morning Star reported to the Freewill Baptist membership.⁶⁵

The Baptists worked tirelessly to obtain funding for their educational projects, focusing especially on their plans for a college. The Commission proposed a staff of three for the new college: a president, a male teacher, and a female teacher. Believing that their effort was on behalf of the Republic as well as the freed slaves, the Freewill Baptists worked diligently to raise the funds they would need for their school. They envisioned a place like Oberlin College in Ohio, the first school of higher education that was opened to students regardless of race.⁶⁶

In the midst of this new initiative, Brackett was overwhelmed with work. He supervised all the schools in the Shenandoah Valley, taught at Harpers Ferry, and began

⁶³Minutes of the Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South, A & M 2621, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

⁶⁴Minutes of the Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South, A & M 2621.

⁶⁵*The Morning Star*, 27 February 1867.

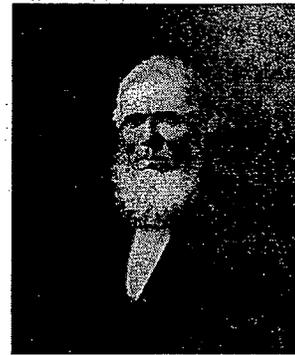
⁶⁶Barbara Rasmussen, *Sixty Four Edited Letters of the Founders of Storer College*, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University, 1986), 18.

his own family. Other members of the denomination were fanning out across New England to find the funds the Freewill Baptists needed for their work in the South. With a target date of opening the school in September 1868, they had to work quickly.

Through it all, Silas Curtis carried accounts of the work in the South in *The Morning Star*. In Sanford, Maine, one devout Freewill Baptist read that paper diligently. As part of her duties as a housekeeper, Mary Bachelder also read it to her aged and failing employer, John Storer. Storer was not a Freewill Baptist, but a Congregationalist who

held strong anti-slavery sentiments and had a reputation of generously supporting charitable and religious organizations. Successful in business, he approached the end of his life with considerable funds at his disposal.⁶⁷

Thus, Oren B. Cheney, soliciting funds on behalf of Bates College in Maine, had high hopes when he called upon Mr. Storer seeking a bequest or contribution. Storer gave \$1000 to Bates College, but he also told Cheney he was planning to endow a school in the south for the education of the freedmen.⁶⁸ Storer planned to give his money to the American Missionary Association, who would accept his proposal in 90 days and open a college within a year.⁶⁹



John Storer

⁶⁷McClain, "Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897," 21.

⁶⁸*The Morning Star*; McClain, "Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897," 21-22.

⁶⁹Anthony, *Storer College, Harper's Ferry: A Brief Historical Sketch*, 4.

Sensing a unique opportunity, Cheney begged for the chance to make the same proposal to the Freewill Baptist Home Mission Board before Storer acted, and the old man agreed. He was initially reluctant to give the funds to the Baptists because he was afraid they would not succeed in time for him to see the school in operation.⁷⁰ Storer and Cheney drew up a complicated agreement whereby Storer placed ten thousand dollars worth of municipal bonds in the hands of a third party with the stipulation that the Freewillers raise matching funds.⁷¹

Some members of the denomination were skeptical about the proposition, calling it "a railroad to the moon," but they supported it nevertheless.⁷² One church member, James Colder, mused that a school designed to exclude whites was as bad as one designed to exclude blacks. "Away with all caste! I fear this is a snare for us which the devil has moved a Congregationalist to tempt us with" he wrote.⁷³ Curtis, never a true friend of higher education, was skeptical as well.⁷⁴

Cheney's energy on behalf of the project was not diminished by his own efforts to endow Bates. He was the son of a conductor on the Underground Railroad and a close acquaintance of Frederick Douglass, who visited often in the Cheney home. Politically skilled, Cheney was also a true believer in denominational education and

⁷⁰*The Morning Star*.

⁷¹Rasmussen, "Sixty Four Edited Letters of the Founders of Storer College," 17.

⁷²McClain, "Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897," 23.

⁷³"Letter from James Colder to N. C. Brackett," A & M 1322, West Virginia and Regional History Collection (West Virginia University Libraries, 18 March 1867), Storer College Archives.

⁷⁴McClain, "Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897," 24.

black rights.⁷⁵ He was an ardent foe of slavery, and declared himself "ready to die for freedom." Rather than take up arms during the war, however, Cheney had served as a chaplain with the Christian Commission in Washington, D.C. Largely through his policies, Bates College, after 1864, has always included blacks in its student body.⁷⁶

Politically well connected, Cheney had even called on President Lincoln on behalf of the chaplaincy during the war. He carried the message of the Freewill Baptists' plans for a school to Senator Fessenden, Congressman James A. Garfield, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, and General O. O. Howard of the Freedman's Bureau. He was determined to get the school opened in 1867, and was indefatigable in pursuit of that goal. He told the Baptists' Home Mission Board that fund-raising would be more successful if the school was in operation quickly. He advised them that the school would probably not be under their control, although he fervently needed the board's assistance. Financial support from the Peabody Fund was dependent upon their ability to establish a normal school quickly.⁷⁷ Although he had first suggested Richmond, Virginia as a site for the school, Cheney later agreed that Harpers Ferry was the best locale. Assuring Nathan Brackett of his sincerity, Cheney suggested that ultimately a university, "Stanton University" could be built in association with the

⁷⁵McClain, "Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897," 26.

⁷⁶McClain, "Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897," 27.

⁷⁷Oren B. Cheney, "Letter to N. C. Brackett," A and M 1322, West Virginia and Regional History Collection (West Virginia University Libraries, 27 April 1867), Storer College Archives.

normal school.⁷⁸ With that vision, he went to work.

The Smallwood Farm and the Camp Hill property

As preparations for the opening of the Freewill Baptists' new freedmen's school continued, word came that the federal government was preparing to sell the Camp Hill property they were occupying. The Freewill Baptists petitioned the U. S. Congress to give them the Harpers Ferry property because, "if the buildings are sold, the school will be turned out of doors."⁷⁹ Debate on the matter took two more years. The proposal was gradually endorsed by increasing numbers of the Senators, although debate and comment was, from time to time, bitter. Cheney arranged for the Freewill Baptists to acquire land in Harpers Ferry with his financial assistance, and he began lobbying the Freedman's Bureau for funds. Then, he increased the pressure upon Congress concerning the four former Armory buildings on Camp Hill that Brackett wanted for the school. Cheney put up his own money to help buy the 150-acre Smallwood farm on Bolivar Heights that overlooked the river front portion of the town. If the federal property acquisition fell through, this land would serve as an alternative location for the new school.⁸⁰ His lobbying efforts for that aspect of the project produced concerns about the title to the land. While he worked in Washington to convince the lawmakers

⁷⁸Oren B. Cheney, "Letter to N. C. Brackett," A and M 1322, West Virginia and Regional History Collection (25 April, 1867), Storer College Archives.

⁷⁹Petition by the Trustees and Stockholders of Storer to the "Honorable Senate and House of Representatives," A & M 2621, West Virginia History and Regional Collection.

⁸⁰McClain, "Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897," 31.

to release the property, Cheney directed Brackett to appeal to the Freedman's Bureau for a grant. Future financial strategies also included appealing to Governor Arthur Boreman of West Virginia for a state appropriation of \$50,000.⁸¹ While the efforts to secure the land and buildings for the Harpers Ferry school continued, a formal agreement for the \$10,000 fund was reached with John Storer in May

The struggle to secure the Storer gift

In their negotiations with John Storer for the \$10,000 gift, the Freewill Baptists were required to deal with a "third party," Senator Fessenden. He was to hold the bonds until a commission composed of Cheney and fellow Freewill Baptists Silas Curtis, Ebenezer Knowlton, George T. Day, J. M. Brewster, N. C. Brackett and George Goodwin managed to raise a matching ten thousand dollars. Fessenden proved to be a diligent custodian, holding the Baptists to the very letter of the agreement with the Storer bequest.⁸² John Storer reserved the right to appoint nine of the trustees of the school.

After receiving the Storer gift, the Baptist board was required to keep the funds together and invested until the sum of forty thousand dollars was reached. Then an "institution of learning for the education of the colored people shall be chartered and located in Virginia, W. Virginia, or in one of the southern or middle states."⁸³

⁸¹Cheney, "Letter to N. C. Brackett," 1867.

⁸²Rasmussen, "Sixty Four Edited Letters of the Founders of Storer College," 19.

⁸³*The Morning Star*.

Although Storer stipulated the school be chartered as a college, he agreed that it could operate as a lesser institution for a time. Several years would pass before there were freedmen prepared for college level work, and the preparatory school would give students the preparation they needed.

Until an endowment of \$100,000 and a student enrollment of 50 were reached, the institution could operate as a normal school or seminary and college. In its final form, the school would evolve into a college alone. The benefactor hoped that the full endowment could be raised in ten years. Storer College was easily able to meet the enrollment figures that the benefactor stipulated, but the endowment remained elusive throughout the life of the school. Storer left an additional thousand dollars to the school. These funds were placed in trust to provide annual gifts of publications from the American Tract Society.⁸⁴ Classes began in 1867, before the details of the arrangement with Storer were completed. The first day, nineteen pupils enrolled under the tutelage of Mrs. Martha Smith of Maine. She had transferred from the Butler School in Hampton, Virginia.⁸⁵

In addition to this project, Brackett still supervised twelve teachers scattered out over the Shenandoah Valley. His other duties included managing the school farm, selling lots for a profit, keeping accounts for the education commission and the Home Mission board, creating a board of trustees, lobbying for the land from the U. S.

⁸⁴McClain, "Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897," 25.

⁸⁵McClain, "Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897," 41.

Congress, and securing a charter from the State of West Virginia.⁸⁶ Brackett's burdens were eased somewhat when his childhood mentor Alexander Morrell arrived in Harpers Ferry to help him. There, the Morrell family was assigned to a building that later was named for them. They shared its eleven rooms with twelve to twenty-seven female students until a women's dormitory was built in 1879. Except for a period of convalescence in New Hampshire, Morrell served at Storer until his death in December 1885.

The commissioners for education became the Storer College Board of Trustees. John Storer submitted nine names: Oren B. Cheney of Maine; Ebenezer Knowlton of Maine; Silas Curtis of New Hampshire; George H. Ball of New York; James Colder of Pennsylvania; and Nathan Brackett. The Baptists added Fessenden, O. O. Howard of Washington, D.C.; Frederick Douglass of New York; E. B. Fairfield of Michigan; A. D. Williams of Ohio; Daniel Young of West Virginia; Daniel Ames of West Virginia; William Still of Pennsylvania; E. A. Stockman of Maine; J. S. Burgess of Pennsylvania; J. O'Donnel of New York, and B. J. Cole and I. D. Steward of New Hampshire. Trustees were appointed for life, and the Board of Trustees elected the principal of the school. Vacancies on the Board were filled by a committee of Trustees, with the approval of the Freewill Baptist Home Mission Society.⁸⁷

The Board retained the authority to locate or relocate the school. Once the sum of \$40,000 was raised, the contract said, the first commission of seven was to be

⁸⁶McClain, "Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897," 41.

⁸⁷"Minutes of the Commission," A & M 2621, West Virginia and Regional History Collection (West Virginia University Libraries, 6 June 1867), Storer College Archives.

dissolved and all business transferred to the Board of Trustees and President of the College, who would oversee the raising of the \$100,000 permanent endowment. The school was set to open officially in September 1868. Storer insisted the school be opened to members of both sexes, without regard to race.⁸⁸

Both Storer and the Freewill Baptists were concerned that the work would continue even if Storer himself should die. They agreed that if he died, Senator Fessenden would oversee the finalization of the bequest. The provisions of the document obligated Fessenden to return the funds to Storer's heirs if the denomination was unsuccessful in its campaign to raise a matching \$10,000. The deadline for the Freewill Baptists was January 1, 1868.⁸⁹ Unfortunately, John Storer did die on October 23, 1867, three weeks after Storer College unofficially opened, but before the required funds had been raised to secure the endowment. The Storer children were at first unsympathetic to the mission their father had funded, and when he died, they pressured Senator Fessenden to return the bequest to them. According to the letters among the Baptists, the senator resisted their entreaties, but closely watched the Baptists' progress.⁹⁰

On December 6, 1867, Rev. I. D. Stewart wrote to Brackett with the news of Fessenden's determination. "Senator Fessenden writes me that he has no discretion to vary in the least from the letter of The Storer proposition . . . the Storer heirs are on his

⁸⁸*The Morning Star*.

⁸⁹*Morning Star*, 17 February 1867.

⁹⁰Rasmussen, "Sixty Four Edited Letters of the Founders of Storer College," 19.

back . . . we are liable to lose all."⁹¹ Fessenden told Stewart that the treasurer had better provide evidence that ten thousand dollars were raised and invested. He insisted the match comprise actual dollars, not pledges or notes.⁹² "He will require the statement to be sworn to," Stewart wrote.⁹³

"Black Wednesday," January 1, 1868, was the day the Baptists nearly saw the Storer endowment revert to his heirs. A renewed round of fund-raising ensued, with many of the trustees signing personal notes to provide the cash. Even though the Baptists met Storer's terms in finding matching funds, the effort was replete with anxiety. Storer also had stipulated that the donor of the largest gift to the school should be honored by naming the school after him.⁹⁴ Storer made several other provisions about the nature of the college, some of which showed a remarkable sensitivity to the dignity of the freedmen and faith in their ability to attain full participation in the institution. He required that the school allow "colored persons of suitable character" to be representatives "at the proper time" on the board of instruction.⁹⁵ Interpreting the phrases, "suitable character" and "proper time" would prove troublesome for the denomination in the years ahead, as they struggled with the issue of African American representation on Storer College's faculty.

Storer also expressed the desire that the "colored people, men, women and

⁹¹Rasmussen, "Sixty Four Edited Letters of the Founders of Storer College," 110.

⁹²Anthony, *Storer College, Harper's Ferry: A Brief Historical Sketch*, 8.

⁹³Rasmussen, "Sixty Four Edited Letters of the Founders of Storer College," 110.

⁹⁴*The Morning Star*.

⁹⁵*The Morning Star*.

children, will take upon themselves the burden of raising the remainder of the endowment."⁹⁶ Storer believed that every ex-slave should contribute one dollar to the school. Cheney explained in *The Morning Star* that Storer believed by contributing a dollar each, the freedmen would demonstrate their gratitude for efforts on their behalf, and prove that they were deserving of the help from "their friends." Every former slave who donated the dollar would receive a "certificate with some suitable device upon it."⁹⁷

This criterion was an unrealistic one, although it provides insight into the perspectives of New Englanders in this era. Clearly, Storer had but little perception of the full magnitude of the poverty and wretchedness that prevailed in the South. In 1867, one dollar from every freed slave was impossible. Just out of bondage, few if any freedmen could respond to Storer's requirement that they help fund their own college. "They are poor . . . They are unused to skilled labor. They are only just learning self-reliance under a hard but perhaps wholesome discipline. The white population around them are not generally disposed to help but to hinder their progress," *The Morning Star* reported.⁹⁸

In that same issue, *The Morning Star* announced that the matching funds were in hand. Almost \$30,000 had been raised. Not surprisingly, the formal announcement identified Harpers Ferry as the site of Storer's school. Convinced of the Freewill

⁹⁶Rasmussen, "Sixty Four Edited Letters of the Founders of Storer College," 20.

⁹⁷*The Morning Star*, 26 August 1868.

⁹⁸*The Morning Star*, 26 August 1868.

Baptists' success, Fessenden released the gift of municipal bonds of the City of Biddeford, Maine. The match included the Smallwood farm of Cheney's. Other monies came as donations that were solicited in New Hampshire, Vermont, and Canada by Freewill Baptist ministers Stockman and Nickerson. Reverend J. L. Roberts canvassed Massachusetts and Rhode Island raising money for Storer College. George H. Ball and J. W. Dunjee solicited donations in New York and Pennsylvania.⁹⁹ Citizens in New York gave especially generously to the school. There were donations from other entities; the U.S. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands gave the Freewill Baptists an initial \$6500.¹⁰⁰

A few months prior the Freewill Baptists had seen the U. S. Senate approve legislation awarding them possession of the four old houses on Camp Hill where the arsenal officials once lived. The sect was confident that the House of Representatives would follow suit. Shepherding their special interest legislation through the Senate was Fessenden himself, who was by then Chairman of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction. Congressman James A. Garfield, touched by fond memories of his Freewill Baptist alma mater, Geauga Seminary, supported the cause. He helped guide the measure through the House of Representatives. The campus thus included the federal buildings and a 152-acre farm that Cheney purchased and sold back to the Freewill Baptists.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹*The Morning Star.*

¹⁰⁰*The Morning Star.*

¹⁰¹Rasmussen, "Sixty Four Edited Letters of the Founders of Storer College," 21.

Sentiment in Harpers Ferry was hostile to the college, and the press covered the congressional debates over the future of the controversial property. *The Virginia Free Press* remarked upon the "baseness, but not the courage" of John Brown, that was displayed in the comments of Minnesota Senator Ramsey, who suggested that the armory headquarters more properly should be given to the heirs of old "Ossawatimie" Brown.¹⁰² Despite the rancorous two years of debate within the Senate, the bill to sell the old armory headquarters ultimately had been amended to donate the arsenal land to the "religious societies" that were occupying it.

After the Freedman's Bureau's initial contribution of \$6,500, General O. O. Howard, its head, donated about \$12,000 in additional funds to meet operating expenses and to construct a men's dormitory.¹⁰³ A total federal contribution of \$18,000 in funds plus the donation of the Camp Hill property that was valued at \$30,000 at the time, actually made the federal government the largest financial contributor to the establishment of Storer College.¹⁰⁴

In addition to his \$10,000 gift and his bequest for publications from the American Tract Society, John Storer had also provided the beginnings of a library. Storer's heirs, his son and executor H. P. Storer, Esquire, and his daughter, Mrs. M. M. Britton, apparently acquiesced to their father's will and cooperated with the school. They honored the aging Storer's verbal wish to "do more" and gave an extra \$1000

¹⁰²*Virginia Free Press*, 5 March 1868, p2c4.

¹⁰³Anthony, *Storer College, Harper's Ferry: A Brief Historical Sketch*, 7.

¹⁰⁴Rasmussen, "Sixty Four Edited Letters of the Founders of Storer College," 22.

from the estate to lay the foundation for a library.¹⁰⁵ In 1909, Storer descendants dedicated a park to John Storer's memory in his hometown of Sanford, Maine. At the corner of Storer Street and Grant Avenue, the small area contains a plaque on a boulder that reads: "In honor of John Storer, founder of Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1796-1867."¹⁰⁶

While reporting to the faithful on the success of establishing a college for the freedmen, the trustees also worried that the crush of eager students would strain the school's resources. The Freewill Baptists' newspaper praised the former slaves. "Eager to learn and competent to be useful, they yet hardly know how to lay down the implements of manual labor by which they earn their daily bread, long enough to master more than the mere rudiments of an education."¹⁰⁷ During these early postwar years, the Freewill Baptists cooperated with the American Missionary Association but, unlike the other AMA-supported colleges, Storer College kept its sectarian identity.

White opposition to the new school

While money was a constant worry for the school, Storer College also had to overcome racially charged resistance from within the local community and beyond. Commenting on it all, the *Virginia Free Press* was harshly critical. The paper apparently failed to see any benefit of having the school in Harpers Ferry, and noted the

¹⁰⁵*The Morning Star*.

¹⁰⁶McClain, "Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897," 53.

¹⁰⁷*The Morning Star*.

Wager and Harper family heirs to the property "got nothing."¹⁰⁸ A week later, *The Spirit of Jefferson* reported Senator Fessenden's comments to the Senate on the founding of the college, noting that the Baptists "began first by establishing a school and were permitted to occupy certain lots and certain buildings which they improved for this purpose."¹⁰⁹

The West Virginia Legislature also expressed considerable opposition to the idea of chartering a school for students regardless of race or sex. During the lengthy debate, the Senate Education Committee recommended passage "with an amendment striking out . . . the words 'without distinction of race or color'" but Senator Joseph T. Hoke of West Virginia, who had introduced the bill, managed to get the amendment tabled.¹¹⁰

Hoke, a native of Martinsburg, was a Freewill Baptist and a member of Storer's Board of Trustees. A graduate of the denomination's Hillsdale College in Michigan, he also attended Oberlin College in Ohio, another school with a strong abolitionist tradition. Admitted to the Berkeley County Bar in 1864, Hoke served as county prosecutor and publisher of the *Berkeley Union*, a weekly newspaper. The Republican politician served as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee during his second term in the state senate and was later appointed Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit. Unsuccessful in his quest for a congressional seat, Hoke was later elected a Circuit Judge of the Third

¹⁰⁸*Virginia Free Press*, p2c4.

¹⁰⁹*Spirit of Jefferson*, 12 March 1868, p2c4,5.

¹¹⁰*Journal of the Senate for the Sixth Session*, West Virginia State Legislature (Wheeling, WV, 1868), 102.

Judicial Circuit.¹¹¹ From the bench, he was able to protect Storer from some types of attack. A lifelong supporter of the college, Hoke served several terms as president of the board.¹¹²

When the college was chartered, the community opposition grew vocal and sometimes violent. The local newspapers covered events at Storer, rarely missing an opportunity to express contempt for the project. *The Virginia Free Press* reported in some detail the December-23, 1869 dedication of Storer: "the colored element of the county had quite a jollification at Harpers Ferry, the occasion being the dedication of 'Storer College' as an institution established at that place for the education of their people." Speaking that day were several church dignitaries, including the Rev. Dr. Ball, and Republican Congressman Morrill, of Maine. "The speaking was well spoken of by those who heard it," the newspaper sneered. The ceremony was followed by a meal prepared by "the resident colored folks" and "the afternoon and evening were spent in general glorification."¹¹³ The newspaper noted further that both races attended the event at the college that was now serving approximately one hundred students. Four months later, a celebration was held upon ratification of the fifteenth amendment to the U. S. Constitution. The paper reported that, "the meeting was quite crowded and it is unnecessary to say, quite enthusiastic."¹¹⁴

¹¹¹Jim Comstock, ed. *The West Virginia Heritage Encyclopedia*, (Richwood, WV, 1976), 2334.

¹¹²McClain, "Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897," 53.

¹¹³*The Virginia Free Press*, 3 January 1870, p3c1.

¹¹⁴*The Virginia Free Press*, 11 April 1870, p3c1.

When whites failed to block Storer's charter in the State Legislature, a drive was begun to rescind it the following year. Prior to the 1870 session, mass meetings were held and strong efforts put forth to annul the charter.¹¹⁵ Joseph Barry, writing under the pseudonym "Josephus," said, "great dissatisfaction is felt and expressed among the citizens in regard to the subject . . . The people held a meeting some time ago and petitioned the State Legislature to revoke the charter . . ." ¹¹⁶

Hoke, however, fielded the school's case in the legislature and annulment attempts failed. The continued intensity of local opposition to Storer College prompted the federal government to send an agent to investigate requests that the government property donated to the college be reclaimed. Hostility was so heightened that both students and teachers carried arms.¹¹⁷ The Ku Klux Klan directed its wrath at Storer, too, but the community finally tired of its campaign. Freewill Baptist writer Kate Anthony penned, "Even after fear of personal danger had passed, [the teachers] were yet looked upon as pariahs and outcasts."¹¹⁸ But Josephus said otherwise: "The Rev. Mr. Brackett who is in charge of the black schools and is connected with the 'Storer College' enterprise, is a courteous gentleman and is highly respected by the people generally. Whatever the cause of the prejudice against the college or its administration

¹¹⁵Anthony, *Storer College, Harper's Ferry: A Brief Historical Sketch*, 11.

¹¹⁶Josephus, Jr. [Joseph Barry], *The Annals of Harpers Ferry, from the Establishment of the National Armory in 1794, to the Present Time, 1869, with Anecdotes of Harpers Ferrians* (Hagerstown, MD: Dechert and Co. Printers, 1869), 57.

¹¹⁷Anthony, *Storer College, Harper's Ferry: A Brief Historical Sketch*, 11.

¹¹⁸Anthony, *Storer College, Harper's Ferry: A Brief Historical Sketch*, 11.

of its affairs may be, it does not appear to affect Mr. Brackett's personal popularity."¹¹⁹

Renewed community outrage spilled out from the columns of the *Spirit of Jefferson* in October 1870. The local school board voted to appropriate \$350 to Storer, but the Bolivar Township levy was voted down, with citizens charging that the board had misappropriated its power. "The Board has transcended its duty and outraged taxpayers," the paper said.¹²⁰

In 1871, both local newspapers reported on political activities at Storer College.

The Spirit of Jefferson negatively commented on a "radical convention of about nineteen whites and 40 to 50 'colored' that met "somewhere near" Storer College "Saturday last."¹²¹ *The Virginia Free Press* four days later reported "a radical convention" there. "Storer College held a "black and tan" convention of forty or more of the "15th Amendment class" and twenty whites. "If the secretary of the convention will furnish us with names and color of members composing this 'sweet scented' conclave, we will publish the proceedings without money and without price."¹²²

Storer College takes root in Harpers Ferry

Despite all of the hurdles and hostility, the Freewill Baptists began to see the fruits of their efforts in Harpers Ferry. When the state of West Virginia took over the

¹¹⁹Josephus, *The Annals of Harpers Ferry, from the Establishment of the National Armory in 1794, to the Present Time, 1869, with Anecdotes of Harpers Ferrians*, 57.

¹²⁰*The Spirit of Jefferson*, 11 October 1870, p2c2.

¹²¹*The Spirit of Jefferson*, 10 October 1871, p2c1.

¹²²*The Virginia Free Press*, 14 October 1871, p2c2.

local freedmen's schools started by the denomination, many of the teachers who were placed in the public primary schools were recent graduates of Storer College. Brackett was patient with the press, and diligently informed them of the school's activities, ignoring some of the uglier racial aspersions that regularly appeared in the regional newspapers. He mailed copies of the college catalogue to the newspapers and announced enrollment statistics on a regular basis. In 1872, the press reported an enrollment of 233 at Storer College, always adding, (for "colored" people). This

parenthetic comment effectively served to segregate the school, although it was chartered without regard to race. A few white students did attend, including the children of Nathan Brackett, though after awhile they were sent to schools in New England.

Storer College by then had a library of twelve hundred volumes and 80 rooms for boarders.¹²³ Graduation exercises quickly became an important annual spring event at the school. Visitors came by train from the east, sometimes in numbers sufficient to require that the railroad add an extra car. The Baltimore and Ohio gladly accommodated the travelers, and even provided special rates for Storer's visitors. One year, the car was added to the rear of the train, and the students were offended by the Jim Crow insinuations of its location. The paper scorned the students for complaining about the railroad's sincerity. "Ebo-shin gents and brown-skin ladies . . . do not know rights when they have them. They don't know whether they come tied up in a paper or

¹²³*The Virginia Free Press*, 15 June 1872, p3c2.

are kept in a jug," the editors wrote.¹²⁴

Racial hostilities continued to create difficulties for those trying to educate the freedmen. Anne Dudley's moralistic judgments of the South and slavery kept sentiments stirred up. During her tenure as a teacher, she traveled throughout the Shenandoah Valley, speaking and encouraging the former slaves to embrace the twin goals of education and religious commitment. Outraged by her forceful accusations about slavery, *The Spirit of Jefferson* printed her allegation that prior to Emancipation, slaves in Harpers Ferry "ploughed all day in yokes made of three iron bars one and one-half inches thick, and were whipped with chains." The press carried a reprint of a Lynchburg, Virginia, editorial that railed against her "monstrous falsehood," and branded her a "reckless calumniator."¹²⁵ Mocking the Freewill Baptists' baptismal practices, the editor further scorned, "Would it not be well to give Miss Dudley (we have no idea she's married) another dip and hold her under the water a little longer this time?"¹²⁶

Gradually, however, the Harpers Ferry newspapers began to soften their invective. In 1876, *The Virginia Free Press* carried an item from *The Keyser Mountain Echo* noting that Storer was flourishing, and praising Brackett. "Prof. N. C. Brackett deserves credit. Discipline is good and the education is thorough. [Storer] is now looked upon with favor by the majority of people of Jefferson County and West

¹²⁴*The Virginia Free Press*, 13 June 1874, p3c2.

¹²⁵*The Spirit of Jefferson*, 29 April 1873, p2c2.

¹²⁶*The Spirit of Jefferson*, p2c2.

Virginia.”¹²⁷

Brackett understood the sentiments of the southern whites. Accepting them as natural and inevitable given the outcome of the war, he simply ignored the rancor and continued to build the school. His steady increase in enrollments swelled the campus facilities quickly. Some who enrolled came from as faraway as the Carribean and Africa. Others returned to build a new life. By now Jared Arter was twenty-three, and farm work was wearing thin. The desire for education had not diminished in the years

since his return

He entered

where he

himself to

black man to

Pennsylvania

University.

for Storer,

bring him back

many times

long life.



Storer

The Portal

from New York.

Storer in 1873

prepared

become the first

attend

State

Arter's affection

however, would

to Harpers Ferry

during his very

College was the

only school for African American higher education in West Virginia in the first two decades after the Civil War. By the 1880's, industrialization throughout the state

¹²⁷*The Virginia Free Press*, 10 June 1876, p2c4.

increased the population of African Americans and thus, the enrollment pressure upon Storer increased. Making this argument to the legislature, the Baptists were hopeful of state support for their efforts, but the West Virginia Legislature preferred instead to create publicly owned schools for West Virginia's black students. Lawmakers defeated a bill proposing an annual \$3,000 appropriation for Storer.¹²⁸ Ultimately Storer would achieve a modest amount of state funding, but its status as a religious institution combined with the widespread racial animosities of the time to create a crippling financial climate that endured for the life of the school.

¹²⁸Anthony, *Storer College, Harper's Ferry: A Brief Historical Sketch*, 15.

Chapter III - Storer College becomes a reality

By the early 1880's, Storer College had been educating freedmen for over a decade. What had begun with nineteen students and a single dilapidated house in Harpers Ferry had now become a chartered educational institution with nearly 300 students at its peak in 1884.¹²⁹ In 1881, at a ceremony to commemorate the fourteenth anniversary of the establishment of Storer College, the renowned abolitionist Frederick Douglass, a trustee of Storer College, delivered a stirring speech on the legacy of John Brown and his raid on the Harpers Ferry armory nearly twenty-two years earlier. The very fact that Douglass could stand on a public stage and praise Brown as a heroic crusader for the end of slavery perhaps best illustrates the progress that had been made toward the acceptance of emancipation and the assimilation of freedmen into mainstream American society.

Douglass stated in his address that his goal was to recount his role in the John Brown raid and also to recognize what Brown had accomplished in the fight against

¹²⁹Storer College, Biennial Catalogue 1882-4, A&M 2621, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

slavery, but "Not to fan the flame of sectional animosity now happily in the process of rapid and I hope permanent extinction; ...not to recount the long list of wrongs, inflicted on my race during more than two hundred years of merciless bondage . . . , but to pay a just debt long due, to vindicate in some degree a great historical character, of our own time and country . . . "130 As Douglass recounted later in his last autobiography, the *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, the reception he received in Harpers Ferry was to him a surprising testament to the growing acceptance of emancipation among the white

population: "...The people of Harper's Ferry have made wondrous progress in their ideas of freedom, of thought and speech. The abolition of slavery has not merely emancipated the Negro, but liberated the whites."131

Frederick Douglass' encouraging words notwithstanding, the growing acceptance of African American emancipation and assimilation following the end of Reconstruction actually created more problems for educational institutions like Storer College due to the decline in financial contributions and other support from Northern religious and abolitionist groups. In the decade following the end of the Civil War, the focus of the former abolitionists turned to freedmen's aid, but it soon became clear that fervor for the cause of the newly-emancipated African Americans was waning in the old abolitionist strongholds in New England and upstate New York. In addition, many of the Northern

¹³⁰John Reuben Sheeler, ed., *Frederick Douglass, John Brown and Harpers Ferry*, Occasional Papers, No. 1, Dept. of History, West Virginia State College Bulletin Series 40, No. 6, West Virginia State College, Institute, WV, 1953.

¹³¹Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, excerpted in William L. Andrew, ed., *The Oxford Frederick Douglass Reader*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1996, 308.

abolitionist leaders began to retire from public life or died in the decades following the Civil War and the remaining few, such as Frederick Douglass, turned to other less inspiring issues relating to the plight of African Americans.¹³²

The end of the abolition movement was not the only change that would have a profound impact on Storer College in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Since its inception in 1869, Storer College had relied most heavily on the support of the Freewill Baptist congregations and organizations that had founded and still maintained the school. However, by the late 1880's and early 1890's, the Freewill Baptist denomination itself was in the midst of a crisis that would ultimately result in its reunion with the mainstream Baptists in the early twentieth century. This crisis was the result of both doctrinal changes in Baptist ideology, which caused some members to return to mainstream congregations, and the loss of members in the traditional Freewill Baptist stronghold in New England.¹³³

In the face of waning support from former abolitionists and even the Freewill Baptists themselves, Storer College's administrators sought desperately to meet the increasing needs of the school's students without going into debt. One of the earliest needs that had been recognized was the lack of a dormitory for female students and, by 1873, efforts were already underway to raise the money for the new building. A leader in the drive to get the women's dormitory built was Mrs. Frances Stewart Mosher, a

¹³²James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality*, 386-416; Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*.

¹³³Norman Allen Baxter, *History of the Freewill Baptists: a study in New England separatism*, Rochester, NY, American Baptist Historical Society, 1957, 153-82.



The Harpers Ferry Singers

strident young Freewill Baptist woman who believed strongly in the Storer College mission. She would later serve as a prominent member of the Storer Board of Trustees, and it was largely through her influence that Henry T. McDonald would become principal of Storer College in 1899.

A tour of upstate New York by a group of Storer College singers helped to raise enough money for the badly-needed girls' dormitory. In the summer of 1873, teachers Anne Dudley and Martha J. Stowers took Storer's own Union Chorus (the name was later changed to the Harpers Ferry Singers) to the northern states in search of money for the project. The eight student vocalists performed *a capella* for audiences throughout the North. Against the trend of the times, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher yielded the pulpit of his church to Dudley for her entreaties.¹³⁴ Veteran abolitionist Gerrit Smith contributed a total of \$2,000, while the entire tour raised a total of \$4,000. This was enough money to lay the foundation of the new building, but further construction had to be halted until 1877. A renewed effort was made to complete the building, including \$600 raised by the Centennial Jubilee Singers and \$1000 from the Freewill Baptist

¹³⁴Rasmussen, "Sixty Four Edited Letters of the Founders of Storer College," 28.

Women's Missionary Society. The most touching donations were those from numerous Freewill Baptist Sunday school classes and, to honor these generous children, the new girls' dormitory was named Myrtle Hall after the Freewill Baptist youth newspaper, "The Myrtle."¹³⁵

The determined effort to secure the funding for Myrtle Hall was only one example of the ever-present financial pressure under which Storer College operated throughout its existence. Pleas for donations were often heard in Freewill Baptist congregations all through the Northeast, and Storer's yearly college catalogue contained numerous requests for contributions to the library, various departments, and appeals for bequests.¹³⁶ A large proportion of the existing correspondence and trustees' minutes deal with this all-important issue, and no stone was left unturned in the attempts by Storer's administration and staff to keep the school financially solvent.¹³⁷ In addition, Nathan Brackett and other members of the Board of Trustees, as well as other Freewill Baptists, worked tirelessly to try to secure money wherever possible. In spite of the hardship, however, the faculty, administrators, students, and friends of Storer College were determined that the school remain open to provide African Americans with the education they desperately wanted and needed.

¹³⁵Anthony, Storer College, Harper's Ferry, W. Va. Brief Historical Sketch, 9; John Barker and Mary Johnson, Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121, National Park Service/University of Maryland, 1991, 36-7.

¹³⁶*Storer College Catalogue*, 1882-84, 1889-91, 1897-98, 1898-99, 1899-1900.

¹³⁷Storer College Book of Trustee Minutes 1898-1912, A & M 2621, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

Curriculum and student life

In the early 1880's, the educational program at Storer College consisted of three basic divisions, the Academic, State Normal, and Preparatory Departments. The Academic Department listed 59 students, while the State Normal Department totaled 211, and the Preparatory Department 166.¹³⁸ The main focus of the school was still the training of teachers and is reflected in the fact that the State Normal Department had the highest enrollment. The Preparatory Department offered elementary classes to prepare students for upper level courses, and also showed a fairly high enrollment. The smallest enrollment was in the Academic Department, which was "designed to fit students for the first-class colleges and in connection with the Normal to furnish a good Seminary course."¹³⁹

Although the Academic Department did not have as many students as the other departments at Storer College, it represented the core of what Storer's founders and administration hoped the school would become - a respected college for African Americans that could offer courses of the caliber of a traditional liberal arts education. Consequently, the curriculum of the Academic Department was centered on the reading and study of classical literature, as well as the study of Latin Grammar beginning in the first year. Students were required to read Caesar, Ovid, Cicero and Virgil, and study the history of Greece and Rome. By the third year, they were being taught Greek Grammar, as well as studying either German or French. In addition to studying classical literature

¹³⁸*Biennial Catalogue of Storer College 1882-84.*

¹³⁹*Biennial Catalogue of Storer College 1882-84.*

and languages, students in the Academic Department at Storer were also taught other high school level subjects such as arithmetic, algebra, geology, botany, and astronomy. In the third and fourth years, students also studied Shakespeare and English literature, as well as rhetoric and logic.¹⁴⁰

The only courses in the Academic curriculum at Storer College that may have reflected an attempt by white faculty to inculcate African American students with a white-dominated racial ideology were Political Economy and Moral Science. These classes were seen as essential by white educators at other African American colleges such as Hampton Institute, and were geared toward instilling young black students with the ideals of hard work and good moral character, and teaching them their "true" place as manual laborers in the new industrial economy.¹⁴¹

Life for students at Storer College in the 1880's was austere, with a heavy daily class and recitation schedule, and mandatory devotional exercises daily at 9:00 A.M.. In addition, students were required to attend a Wednesday evening prayer meeting and two church services on Sunday.¹⁴² Storer College students also had to adhere to a strict code of conduct, carefully laid out in each year's catalogue. Students were forbidden to leave the campus during school without the permission of the principal, and could not

¹⁴⁰*Biennial Catalogue of Storer College 1882-84*, 21-22; McClain.

¹⁴¹James D. Anderson, "The Hampton Model of Normal School Education, 1868-1900," in Vincent P. Franklin and James D. Anderson, ed., *New Perspectives on Black Educational History*, G. K. Hall & Co., Boston, MA, 1978, 72.

¹⁴²*Biennial Catalogue of Storer College 1882-84*.

attend parties or other gatherings in town.¹⁴³ Alcohol and tobacco were also strictly prohibited, as befitted a school with such a strong Baptist connection.

Male and female students were segregated as much as possible, and were not allowed to "visit or receive persons of opposite sex in their rooms."¹⁴⁴ In particular, the conduct of female students was closely monitored. Girls were not allowed to be out after dark, could not be seen alone in the company of a man, and were not even permitted to go to the railway station without a chaperone. In addition, there were rules against showy or provocative clothing for female students, and even suggestions in the college catalogue as to the most appropriate and practical school dresses for female students.¹⁴⁵

Although finances were always tight at Storer, the goal of the administration was still to make sure that students could afford to get an education. Monthly expenses for the years 1882-84 were estimated at \$7.25-10.00, although students could save \$2-3 per month if they boarded themselves, and female students could save another \$1.00 by doing their own washing each month. Although these fees seem incredibly low by modern standards, it was still difficult for struggling African American families to keep up with these expenses. Consequently, Storer did not raise its fees throughout the 1880s and 1890s, and instead continued to try to make ends meet with outside donations and

¹⁴³*Biennial Catalogue of Storer College 1882-84.*

¹⁴⁴*Biennial Catalogue of Storer College 1882-84.*

¹⁴⁵*Storer College Catalogues 1882-84, 1889-91, 1897-98, 1898-99, 1899-1900.*

funding.¹⁴⁶

By 1884, Storer's college catalogue boasted that 112 students had completed the Normal Course for teachers and almost 400 teachers educating freedmen in West Virginia and surrounding states had attended Storer for at least some time.¹⁴⁷ By the end of the 1880's, a Freewill Baptist publication noted that the number of teachers trained at Storer had grown to nearly 500.¹⁴⁸ In addition, Storer had also produced several ministers, doctors, lawyers, editors, and businessmen.¹⁴⁹ J. R. Clifford, a Civil War

veteran who graduated in 1875, was the first African American admitted to the Bar in West Virginia. In 1892, the graduating class of the Howard Medical School included three Storer graduates: Harry Jones (1883), George W. Holly (1882), and Solomon H. Thompson (1886).¹⁵⁰ The school newspaper, the *Storer Record*, later reported that Dr. Harry Jones was practicing medicine in Wheeling, West Virginia.

In 1901, Dr. Solomon H. Thompson wrote to the *Storer Record* about his experience after he moved to Kansas City, Missouri in October 1892 to set up his practice:

I landed here October 3, 1892 with a trunk, box and \$13.75 in my pocket, - a total stranger, but having learned what hardship and self-denial were early in life. I did not feel discouraged, but hunted an office, and began work. Three days afterward, two hours after

¹⁴⁶*Storer College Catalogue* 1882-84, 1889-91, 1897-98, 1898-99, 1899-1900.

¹⁴⁷*Biennial Catalogue of Storer College* 1882-84.

¹⁴⁸Rev. G. A. Burgess and Rev. J. T. Ward, *Free Baptist Cyclopedia - Historical and Biographical*, Boston, Free Baptist Cyclopedia Co., 1889, 627.

¹⁴⁹Burgess and Ward, *Free Baptist Cyclopedia*, 627.

¹⁵⁰*Storer Record*, Winter Term 1892, "Alumni Notes"

having thrown open my doors for the admission of victims, an old lady walked in and asked for the doctor, who promptly appeared. She showed me her finger, and I diagnosed the case as necrosis of the first phalanx of the index finger, and informed her that amputation would be necessary. She consented, and I set her up in a chair (not having a table), and chloroformed her, after which I amputated the finger, and received my first two dollars for work in Kansas City. And I love that old lady to-day, and will do anything for her. Since that time my growth has not been of the mushroom variety, but steady, and I now feel that I have a firm foothold.¹⁵¹

Thompson also noted that the difficulties he had faced in trying to win the acceptance of his white neighbors had forced him to the realization that he could not recommend his life to other ambitious and educated young African Americans.

Storer College and industrial education

As the retrenchment against Reconstruction reached its height in the mid-1890's, African-Americans, especially in the South, saw the rights given to them after the Civil War disappear one after another. Blacks were disfranchised, and segregation was increasingly being supported by law. In 1896, the landmark U. S. Supreme Court case *Plessy v. Ferguson* essentially made segregation legal throughout the United States by arguing that the notion of "separate but equal" was a viable concept and, in effect, nullified the Fourteenth Amendment. Several subsequent cases only served to support the "separate but equal" idea.¹⁵² These events only served to heighten the debate over the

¹⁵¹ *Storer Record* 16(2) March 1901.

¹⁵² James M. McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy: from Reconstruction to the NAACP*, Princeton UP, Princeton, New Jersey, 1975, 299-303.

place of African-Americans in society that had begun at the end of the Civil War.

Liberal northern whites, many of them descendants of abolitionists, argued along with the small but growing class of educated blacks that the two races were equal, and blacks should be allowed the same rights and privileges as their fellow white citizens.

Most southerners, and indeed many other white Americans, felt that the white race was superior and blacks should occupy a subordinate role in American society as manual

laborers.¹⁵³ The issue of educating African-Americans was a key theme in the debate

over the "Negro Problem," and centered around the two opposing philosophies of Negro education, the Hampton model and the Fisk model.

Hampton Institute, largely because of the educational philosophy of its principal Samuel Chapman Armstrong, became the model for the industrial education movement in African American schools throughout the South. Hampton's mission as a normal school was to train a corps of black teachers who would be instilled with good manual work habits, Christian morality, and an understanding of the subordinate role that Armstrong felt African Americans should play in the new Southern economy. Consequently, there was little emphasis on classical education at Hampton. The focus was on basic reading, writing, and arithmetic skills. Officials at Hampton were sometimes compelled to expel a student with great academic promise who was not diligent in the area of manual labor.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³Anderson, "Hampton Model," 63-6.

¹⁵⁴Anderson, "Hampton Model," 71-8.

Because the Hampton model of industrial education emphasized the importance of manual labor and stressed the subordinate role blacks were to play in American society, the school and others that followed its lead became increasingly popular recipients of funding from public and philanthropic sources. Organized funds started by wealthy industrialists, such as the

Peabody and Slater Funds, strongly favored the Hampton model, which would

theoretically provide industry with a whole class of well-conditioned manual laborers to work in America's rapidly expanding industrial system. Consequently, by the



Storer College Graduating Class of 1893

1890's, most schools for African Americans, even the missionary schools like Storer College, had added at least some form of industrial education to their curricula in order to appeal for funding to the new industrialists that now represented one of the main sources of philanthropy in the United States.¹⁵⁵

In September 1895, the industrial education movement reached its height when Booker T. Washington, Hampton's most famous graduate and the leading black spokesman for its ideals, gave an address at the Atlanta Exposition. Known as the "Atlanta Compromise," Washington's speech told blacks that they should be prepared to work long and hard to achieve their own place in society, and argued that there was no need to try to force political and social equality with whites: "In all things that are

¹⁵⁵ Anderson, 84-91; McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy*, 299-353.

purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.”¹⁵⁶ By publicly lending legitimacy to the legalized segregation that had spread throughout the South and stressing a gradualist approach to achieving rights for African Americans, Washington was applauded by many Southern whites and sparked a sharp backlash within the black intellectual community. The leading voice of this opposition was W. E. B. DuBois, a Fisk University graduate who had been trained in the classic liberal arts style.

Fisk University, in Nashville, Tennessee, had been founded by the American Missionary Association in 1866, and was considered the leading model of classical education for freedmen. The educational philosophy of Fisk was one of the more than a hundred black colleges founded by northern missionary groups during the Reconstruction era to educate a new African American elite who would then be able to educate and lead their own people toward racial equality. These missionary educators came out of the abolitionist movement, and most believed in the goal of equal rights for blacks.¹⁵⁷ Although one of the smallest groups engaged in the education of the freedmen, the Freewill Baptists started Storer College in the true missionary education ideal, and their curriculum always included classical subjects like Latin, Greek and History. In this sense, Storer remained true to the Fisk model of missionary liberal education, and through its Normal and Academic Courses sought to train a corps of good Christian teachers who could go out and educate their people and help them earn

¹⁵⁶Booker T. Washington, “Text of the Atlanta Compromise,” *Encyclopedia Britannica Online Guide to Black History*, <http://blackhistory.eb.com>, 1999.

¹⁵⁷James D. Anderson, “Northern Philanthropy and the Training of the Black Leadership: Fisk University, a Case Study, 1915-1930,” in Franklin and Anderson, 97-109.

their equal rights.

Although the school did offer industrial courses, and considered them essential, it was more as a way of teaching good work habits and Christian morals. The State Normal Department was still the largest of Storer College's departments throughout the 1880's, but by 1889 the school had begun to revise its curriculum and include more "practical" industrial courses for both male and female students. The college's catalogue for 1889-91 praised the new Industrial Department and noted that each girl was now receiving instruction in sewing and cutting, and boys were now able to learn carpentry as well as printing. The catalogue stressed the need to enlarge the industrial training program and asked for donations to help Storer reach this goal.¹⁵⁸

The new emphasis on industrial classes for both male and female students at Storer College in the 1890's was largely the result of the increasing popularity of the Hampton model of industrial education for African Americans. By 1897, the Industrial Department at Storer College was listed as a separate division along with the Academic, Normal, and Preparatory Departments. The Industrial Department now had the largest enrollment with 137 students, compared to 82 for the Normal Department, 71 for the Preparatory Department, and only nine for the Academic.¹⁵⁹ Thanks to a generous donation of \$2000 by Mary P. DeWolf in honor of her late husband Alvan, the Industrial Department received its own building when the DeWolf Industrial Building was constructed in 1891.¹⁶⁰ In addition, the Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society

¹⁵⁸*Biennial Catalogue of Storer College 1889-91.*

¹⁵⁹*Storer College Catalogue 1897-98.*

¹⁶⁰Barker and Johnson, *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*, 38.

had further aided the expansion of industrial training for female students at Storer, with the funding of the Domestic Science Department. This new program offered courses not only in sewing and cutting, but also cooking and housekeeping.¹⁶¹

The end of the Brackett era

By 1896, Nathan C. Brackett was 63 years old and had been principal of Storer College for more than thirty years. Although honored and respected for his tireless work in the education of freedmen, there were clearly those among Storer College's students, alumni, and administration who felt that perhaps Rev. Brackett should retire. A controversy over the continued use of Lincoln Hall for summer boarding for African American visitors was brought before the Storer College Board of Trustees, who decided that the boarding operation run by the students was losing money and should be discontinued. However, summer boarding for white visitors was allowed to continue, even though these operations were also not profitable.¹⁶²

A subsequent meeting of Storer "Alumni and friends" in August 1896 criticized not only the decision on summer boarding at Lincoln Hall, but also other aspects of Brackett's administration.¹⁶³ This meeting demonstrated that there was strong opposition to Brackett's administration at Storer College, although few actually voted for any of the resolutions against him. The leading voice of the opposition was J. R. Clifford, a Storer College alumnus and the editor of the Pioneer Press, a newspaper

¹⁶¹*Storer College Catalogue 1897-98.*

¹⁶²*Pioneer Press*, V. XXI, No. 12, May 24, 1902.

¹⁶³Mary L. Johnson, *Package 119 Draft Report*, National Park Service, 1994, 47.

published in Martinsburg, West Virginia. Clifford used the paper as a vehicle for his criticism of the discriminatory nature of the summer boarding operation and of Brackett's administration at Storer in general. His allegations finally prompted Brackett to resign as principal of the school in 1898. He remained as treasurer of Storer and a member of the Board of Trustees until his death in 1910. Brackett's resignation did not settle the issue, however, and in May 1899 Brackett formally requested that the trustees investigate Clifford's claims.¹⁶⁴ The trustees' investigation ultimately vindicated

Brackett, but the incident demonstrated that Storer's students and alumni were beginning to express their own views on the administration of the school.¹⁶⁵

Storer College's catalogue for the academic year 1897-98 listed the Reverend Ernest Earle Osgood as the new Principal of Storer College. Dr. Osgood was also a senior faculty member teaching Biblical Literature, Physical Culture, and Oratory.¹⁶⁶ Prior to becoming Principal, Osgood had served as professor of the Biblical Literature Department during the 1896-97 school year.¹⁶⁷ Interestingly, Osgood did not sit on the Board of Trustees as Nathan Brackett did, and may have been only a temporary replacement. The minutes of the Board of Trustees' annual meeting in May 1899 suggest that there was some controversy between Osgood and the Board, as "it was noted that Mr. E. E. Osgood be informed that the Board finds itself unable to accept the

¹⁶⁴Johnson, *Package 119 Draft Report*, 48; Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 25, 1899, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 24

¹⁶⁵Johnson, *Package 119 Draft Report*, 48; Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 26, 1900, Storer College Trustees Minute Book, 1898-1912, 28.

¹⁶⁶*Catalogue of Storer College 1897-98*, A&M 2621, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

¹⁶⁷*Catalogue of Storer College 1897-98*.

conditions contained in his request for reelection."¹⁶⁸ The Board of Trustees subsequently accepted Rev. Osgood's resignation. In any event, the following year's catalogue, 1898-99, listed yet another new Principal, Henry T. McDonald, the man who would lead Storer College for the next four decades.¹⁶⁹

Although a native of the Midwest, McDonald was descended, through his mother, from one of New England's oldest families and was raised a Freewill Baptist. He remained proud of this New England heritage throughout his life, and was a member of the Society of Mayflower Descendants and the Descendants of Colonial Clergy.¹⁷⁰ He attended the Freewill Baptists' Hillsdale College in Michigan beginning in 1892.

McDonald completed his bachelor's degree from Hillsdale in 1897, and his master's degree in 1898. He then served as principal of the North Adams, Michigan schools for the 1897-98 and 1898-99 school years. In April 1899, McDonald was elected principal of the Hillsdale City Schools, at a salary of \$700 per year. His appointment ran from the remainder of the 1898-99 school year through the end of the 1899-1900 academic year.¹⁷¹

While a student at Hillsdale College, McDonald had begun courting Elizabeth S. Mosher, the daughter of Storer College trustee Frances Mosher. The relationship continued after both Henry and Elizabeth graduated from Hillsdale, and they became engaged. After E. E. Osgood's resignation as principal, the Storer College

¹⁶⁸Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 24, 1899, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 22.

¹⁶⁹*Catalogue of Storer College 1898-99.*

¹⁷⁰Henry T. McDonald, Typescript Autobiographical Notes, A&M 2621, Box 16, FF11; West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

¹⁷¹F. H. Stone of Hilldale City Schools to H.T. McDonald, April 28, 1899, Storer College Collection, A&M 2621, West Virginia University Archives, Box 36, FF1.

Board of Trustees was looking for a permanent replacement, and Mrs. Mosher apparently played a significant role in promoting her future son-in-law.¹⁷² In a series of letters to his mother, written in the spring of 1899, McDonald discusses the Storer College position and his chances of securing the job: "President and Mrs. M[osher], as you know, are very much interested in helping me in any way and not long ago Mrs. M. wrote me that Storer College at Harpers Ferry was apt to be without a head and that there was a chance of my securing the position . . . It would be quite an honor if I could get the place and if it is right I hope I may succeed."¹⁷³

Although he already had a secure and well-paying job as principal of Hillsdale schools, McDonald felt that the presidency of a college would carry even more prestige and a higher salary of \$900 per year and eagerly pursued the position.¹⁷⁴ In early April he wrote his mother that he had not heard anything from Storer yet but was still hopeful. By mid-April 1899, McDonald had solicited recommendations in support of his candidacy for the Storer position. These included letters from Joseph Marion Weaver, a college friend and principal of the Harrow School in Cumberland Gap, Tennessee and from W. H. French, superintendent of schools in North Adams, Michigan.¹⁷⁵ On June 20, 1899, McDonald wrote his mother that he had received a visit from Reverend H. M.

¹⁷²Storer College Collection, A&M 2621, West Virginia University Archives, Morgantown, WV.

¹⁷³Henry T. McDonald to Sarah McDonald, March 19, 1899, Storer College Collection, A&M 2621, Box 36, FF1.

¹⁷⁴Henry T. McDonald, typescript autobiographical notes, Storer College Collection, A&M 2621, West Virginia University Archives, Morgantown, WV.

¹⁷⁵Letter of recommendation from Joseph Marion Weaver, April 18, 1899, Storer College Collection, A&M 2621, Box 36, FF 1; letter of recommendation from W. H. French, April 18, 1899, Storer College Collection, A&M 2621, Box 36, FF1.

Ford, general secretary of the Freewill Baptist denomination, informing him that he was the choice for principal or president of Storer College. An official offer did not come until July 31, 1899, when a vote of the Board of Trustees elected McDonald principal of Storer College.¹⁷⁶

McDonald's decision to accept the presidency of Storer College likely reflected a mix of professional ambitions and personal aspirations. As an idealistic young man raised a Freewill Baptist and educated at a Freewill Baptist college, McDonald believed firmly in the Christian mission of educating African Americans. In addition, the abolitionist tradition of his New England roots probably made him acutely aware of his family's legacy in the fight to end slavery and provide aid to the African American people. Indeed, in a letter dated October 12, 1899, McDonald wrote his mother that he "thought that there is something fitting in my being here in this work. Father fought and worked for the physical freedom of the colored people and I'm in a way carrying on the work he was engaged in by working for their intellectual freedom."¹⁷⁷ Finally, his personal connection to Elizabeth Mosher certainly played a crucial role in McDonald's decision to come to Harpers Ferry and Storer College.

Having accepted the position as president of Storer College, McDonald was not exactly pleased with the condition of the school when he arrived in Harpers Ferry. As he noted in later years in a brief memorandum about his first impressions of Storer, there were serious problems and future prospects seemed somewhat bleak. There were

¹⁷⁶N. C. Brackett to Mrs. Frances Mosher, Storer College Collection, A & M 2621, Box 36.

¹⁷⁷Henry T. McDonald to Sarah McDonald, October 12, 1899, Storer College Collection, A&M 2621, Box 36, FF 2.

only seven faculty members and four part-time instructors, courses were still at the high school level only, and enrollment had been dropping significantly in recent years.¹⁷⁸ In addition, there were no science laboratories or equipment, no athletic facilities, and, although the library contained some 6000 volumes, many were out-of-date and there were deficiencies in many areas such as history and biography. If Storer College was ever going to achieve the goals of its founders and become a true college, there was certainly a long way to go.

¹⁷⁸Storer College Collection, Box 16; Catalogue of Storer College 1898-99

Chapter IV - Storer College Enters the 20th Century

By 1900, Storer College was celebrating its 33rd anniversary and had come a long way from its humble beginnings with nineteen students huddled in the ruins of the Lockwood House. While the school had endured numerous hardships, the future was still far from certain. Storer now had a new and untried young president in Henry T. McDonald; its funding sources were dwindling, its buildings and grounds were in desperate need of repair, and enrollment was on the decline. In a report given to the Storer College Board of Trustees in 1914, President McDonald recalled the hardships of his early years at the school. He noted that, with no money for repairs, Lincoln Hall was practically devoid of paint, Anthony Memorial Hall and Myrtle Hall were badly weathered, and “in fact all of the school buildings wore an air of approaching impoverishment.”¹⁷⁹

Not only were the school’s buildings in disrepair on the outside, but, as McDonald remembered, “the conditions within were no better, when I recall the barren rooms with splintered floors, heated by smoky stoves or sooty furnaces; the days of self-

¹⁷⁹Henry T. McDonald, President’s Report to the Storer College Board of Trustees, May 25, 1914, Storer College Trustee Minute Book 1914-1933, Storer College Collection. West Virginia University Archives, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

boarding everywhere with the attendant hungry students; the evident terror lest in some midnight moment a dormitory should be found afire from student carelessness.”¹⁸¹ The school grounds were also badly neglected, according to Mc Donald, who recalled the “absence of needed walks on the campus and the treachery on wet days of those in evidence.”¹⁸² The trees and brush surrounding the buildings were so dense that little light could get into the windows of the buildings, and there were several “close standing hen crops and pens.”¹⁸³

Although McDonald could look back with some nostalgia to his early years of hardship at Storer College, he had taken a leading role in improving the campus and grounds, expanding the faculty, upgrading the curriculum, and creating better living conditions for the students. By 1906, Storer College listed eight buildings in its catalog, including the Curtis Memorial Church. In addition, the catalog also listed the College Barn and other outbuildings that housed equipment for the Gardening and Husbandry classes.¹⁸⁴ By 1914, the number of college buildings had risen to at least thirteen, not including the various outbuildings and sheds.¹⁸⁵ In her Treasurer’s Report given to the Storer College Board of Trustees on May 6, 1913, Mrs. Lura B. Lightner listed the estimated value of the school’s buildings and campus at \$80,000. In addition, the

¹⁸¹Henry T. McDonald, President’s Report, May 25, 1914, Storer College Trustee Minute Book 1914-1933.

¹⁸²Henry T. McDonald, President’s Report, May 25, 1914, Storer College Trustee Minute Book 1914-1933.

¹⁸³Henry T. McDonald, President’s Report, May 15, 1914, Storer College Trustee Minute Book 1914-1933.

¹⁸⁴*Storer College Catalogue*, 1906-1907.

¹⁸⁵*Storer College Catalogue*, 1914-1915.

Treasurer's Report listed an estimated \$46,771 invested in stocks, mortgages, and bonds. Consequently, the total value of Storer College's assets in 1913 was approximately \$158,379, and the school was still debt-free.¹⁸⁶

Campus and property

The center of activity at Storer College continued to be Anthony Memorial Hall, built in 1881, which was the main recitation hall. Anthony Hall was also used as a dining hall, and housed Storer's main library collection, the Roger Williams Library. In addition, the building also housed a chapel, the Bowen Lecture Room, several music rooms, a modest museum, the janitor's room, and the president's office and apartment.¹⁸⁷ By 1914, the president had moved into his own home, and Anthony Hall had added a chemical laboratory and the Treasurer's Office.¹⁸⁸ In the early years of the twentieth century, the basement of Anthony Hall was used as the place for the boarding students and teachers to have their meals, and they ate in the chemical supply room of the laboratory.¹⁸⁹

The other two instructional buildings on the Storer College campus were both devoted to industrial education, the three-story DeWolf Industrial Building built in 1891 and the new Lewis W. Anthony Industrial Building completed in 1905. The 1906-1907

¹⁸⁶Mrs. Lura B. Lightner, Treasurer's Report, May 6, 1913, Storer College Trustee Minute Book 1914-1933.

¹⁸⁷*Storer College Catalogue*, 1906-1907.

¹⁸⁸*Storer College Catalogue*, 1914-1915.

¹⁸⁹Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, June 2, 1925, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944.

catalog reported that the DeWolf Industrial Building housed the general kitchen, the demonstration kitchen, several pantries, and the college laboratory. The Lewis W. Anthony Building, built in 1903, contained the blacksmith shop, the carpentry shop, an office, and a storeroom. In addition, the College Barn, slaughterhouse, and various outbuildings were also used in support of the school's Gardening and Husbandry classes.¹⁹⁰

Lincoln Hall, built in 1870, continued to be used as a boys' dormitory and also

housed the H. F. Wood Library, named for the Reverend Harry F. Wood of Maine. On April 12, 1909, the original wooden Lincoln Hall burned down, and was quickly replaced by a four-story, gray stone building completed in 1910. This new Lincoln Hall contained accommodations for 100 students and a Superintendent's flat.¹⁹¹ In addition, the new dormitory also contained the Y.M.C.A. Room, which was furnished through a donation by Mrs. Emily C. Jenness in memory of her husband.¹⁹²

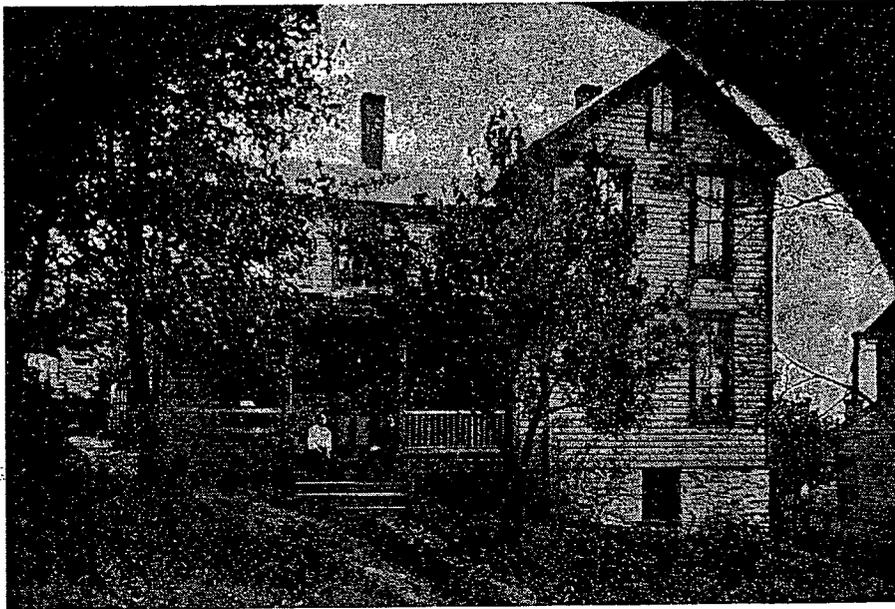
The main girls' dormitory was still Myrtle Hall, a four-story brick building completed in 1878, which also contained a laundry for the female students in the basement. Myrtle Hall contained accommodations for 60 female students and at least two faculty members, and its reading room housed the Dexter Library named in honor of Reverend Lewis Dexter of New Hampshire.¹⁹³ Extensive renovations were completed

¹⁹⁰*Storer College Catalogue*, 1906-1907, 1914-1915.

¹⁹¹*Storer College Catalogue*, 1914-1915.

¹⁹²Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, June 6, 1911, *Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912*, 135.

¹⁹³*Storer College Catalogue*, 1906-1907, 1914-1915; List of Faculty Salaries, *Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1933*.



Sinclair Cottage

on the building in
the first decade of
the twentieth
century, and by
1914 Myrtle Hall
could boast new
floors, new single
iron bedsteads, a
hand laundry in

the basement, new steam heating, and modern plumbing.¹⁹⁴ In addition, the basement of Myrtle Hall was also fitted with dining facilities for the girls' boarding club.¹⁹⁵

In addition to Myrtle Hall, female students were also housed in two other school-owned properties, Sinclair Cottage and Franklin Cottage. Sinclair Cottage was named in memory of Reverend and Mrs. J. L. Sinclair, longtime benefactors of Storer College. The house was described as a two-story frame building with accommodations for 15 women. Additional accommodations for girls who wanted to board themselves were located in the basement. The *Storer College Catalogue* for 1906-1907 also noted that an addition was planned for Sinclair Cottage for the sewing and dressmaking classes. In 1914, Miss Eliza Sims, a full-time faculty member, was listed as the Supervisor of

¹⁹⁴Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 15, 1914. Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1933, 9-11.

¹⁹⁵Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 4, 1909, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 114.

Sinclair Cottage and presumably lived there with the students.¹⁹⁶ An entry in the Trustees minutes for April 1911 also indicates that the house was rented out for summer boarding, at least in 1910 and 1911.¹⁹⁷

Little information is available for Franklin Cottage, another house used for female students. The 1906-1907 catalog states that it could accommodate 15 women students, and was located a short distance from campus.¹⁹⁸ If the school owned the house then it would also have had at least one female faculty member as a chaperone.

However, an entry from the Trustees minutes for 1903 concerning real estate transactions indicates that a Mrs. Franklin owned property adjacent to some of Storer's holdings, and it is possible that Franklin Cottage belonged to her.¹⁹⁹ There is another entry in the minutes of another Executive Committee meeting that refers to the release of a mortgage on the property of Mrs. Franklin, and gives its location as Lot 1, Block FF, which would place it on the corner of Fillmore and Columbia Streets, across from the Morrell House.²⁰⁰

Although previous research suggested that Jackson Cottage, a two-story brick house, was built in 1912²⁰¹ and indeed this date is given in several school catalogs, there

¹⁹⁶*Storer College Catalogue*, 1906-1907, 1914-1915.

¹⁹⁷Minutes of Trustees meeting, April 6, 1911, 134.

¹⁹⁸*Storer College Catalogue*, 1906-1907.

¹⁹⁹Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, March 26, 1903, *Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912*, 177.

²⁰⁰Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, August 27, 1910, *Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912*, 190; "Storer College Property Map," Barker and Johnson, *Package 121*, 76.

²⁰¹Barker and Johnson, *Package 121*, 43.

is a mention of Jackson Cottage in the Storer Trustees minutes in 1911 in connection with summer boarding. On April 6, 1911, the Board voted that "Sinclair and Jackson Cottages be rented as last year."²⁰² In the report of the committee in charge of installing the water system, it was noted that the cess pool for the sewer system was located in a field below the college barn and outbuildings, and the committee noted that the nearest home, Jackson Cottage, was nearly 200 yards away.²⁰³ Jackson Cottage is not mentioned in the Trustees minutes again, but by 1914, the house was also apparently being used to

house female students. The 1914-1915 catalog noted that the building could accommodate ten students who would board themselves, and was "named in honor of Silon Jackson, of New Hampshire, who willed certain funds to Storer."²⁰⁴ Although not mentioned by name, at least one female faculty member would likely have lived in the house as a supervisor or chaperone for the girls.

Until at least 1900, the Lockwood House had been used for boarding and was run by a private Harpers Ferry family but, by the 1907-1908 school year, it was being listed in the catalog as a dormitory for younger boys.²⁰⁵ In his President's Report for 1908, McDonald noted that the Lockwood House, along with Sinclair Cottage and Brackett House, "have each had a goodly number of occupants."²⁰⁶ In the 1914-1915

²⁰²Minutes of Trustees meeting, April 6, 1911, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 134.

²⁰³Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 31, 1912, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 156.

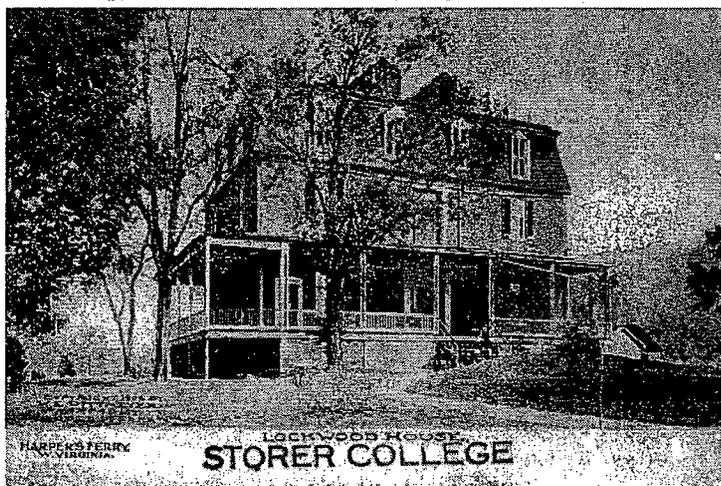
²⁰⁴*Storer College Catalogue*, 1914-1915.

²⁰⁵John Barker and Mary John, *Package 121*, 14-15; *Storer College Catalogue*, 1907-1908.

²⁰⁶Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, June 2, 1908, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 88.

catalog, Lockwood House is described as “a fine old brick mansion of commanding proportions and sightly location. It is three stories in height above a very large and well-appointed basement story . . . It is used as a dormitory for the young women and will accommodate about fifty students.”²⁰⁷ In 1912, Harriett D. Church was hired to teach Latin and serve as superintendent of the Lockwood House, and likely stayed there for only two years, as the Trustees minutes and school catalog for 1914 listed Miss Marion Green, a new faculty member, as the new Supervisor of Lockwood House.²⁰⁸

Although little information is available on the Brackett House in the early



Postcard showing Lockwood House

twentieth century, previous research suggests that Nathan Brackett and his wife were living in the house prior to his death in 1910. However, in his President’s Report for the 1907-1908 school year, McDonald noted that Brackett House had

also been used for student housing by the school.²⁰⁹ After Brackett’s death, it is likely that the house was then used by Brackett’s son-in-law, John C. Newcomer and his wife

²⁰⁷Minutes of Trustees’ meeting, October 1912, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912; Minutes of Trustees’ meeting, May 28, 1914, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1933; *Storer College Catalog*, 1914-1915..

²⁰⁸*Storer College Catalogue*, 1914-1915.

²⁰⁹Henry T. McDonald, President’s Report, June 2, 1908, Storer College Trustee Minute Book 1898-1912.

Celeste Brackett Newcomer, according to oral interviews conducted in 1991 with the Newcomers' children.²¹⁰ This is certainly possible, since part of the salary for John C. Newcomer included a home, and McDonald mentioned in his 1914 President's Report that the Brackett House had been "given over to school use."²¹¹ However, there is no mention of the Newcomers sharing the home with any students.

The only other building of the original Camp Hill properties, Morrell House, was not used by Storer College in the early twentieth century, and was instead rented out as a boarding house or hotel. A note in the Trustees minutes for June 1910 confirms this, as Nathan Brackett was authorized to rent the Morrell House "on such terms and to such parties as he thinks best."²¹² During most of this time, the property was known as the Sparrows Inn, and was leased by a family named Showen, and a note in the Trustees' minutes for October 1912 shows that the Trustees voted to rent Sparrow's Inn to Miss Showen until April 1, 1913 for \$225.²¹³

Apparently the arrangement was satisfactory, although the Trustees' minutes mention several discussions about the future of Morrell House. In his annual report given to the Board of Trustees on May 28, 1907, President McDonald recommended fitting Morrell House as a dormitory with space for approximately 40 women.

McDonald noted, though, that such a plan would have to wait, since the current lease of

²¹⁰Barker and Johnson, *Package 121*, 18.

²¹¹Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 25, 1914, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1933.

²¹²Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 8, 1910, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912.

²¹³Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, October 1912, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912; Barker and Johnson, *Package 121*, 22-23.

the building prevented its immediate use by the school.²¹⁴ The Executive Committee voted on May 4, 1912 to request that Miss Showen vacate Sparrows Inn by April 1, 1913, and McDonald repeated his recommendation to turn Morrell House into a dormitory in his annual report to the Board. At the same meeting, the Board voted that the Executive Committee should take steps to repair Morrell House "as seems feasible" when the lease with Miss Showen expired.²¹⁵ However, Miss Showen must have rented the Morrell House again, possible on a four-year lease, as the Executive Committee

minutes for December 1, 1917 show a vote to give Mis Shawen notice to turn over Sparrow's Inn by April 1, 1918, but also give her first preference on a new lease.²¹⁶

As early as 1906, the need for separate living quarters for the president and his family was becoming a pressing issue for the Board of Trustees. McDonald and his wife had an apartment in Anthony Hall, and the space was desperately needed for school use. The Trustees voted that "in order to provide for this necessity a house for the president must be erected as soon as funds are in hand so that his present quarters can be used for recitation rooms and laboratory."²¹⁷ At their annual meeting in 1908, the Board voted to request approximately \$4000 from the Woman's Missionary Society

²¹⁴Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 28, 1907 and May 31, 1912, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912.

²¹⁵Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 31, 1912, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 168.

²¹⁶Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, December 1, 1917, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 63.

²¹⁷Minutes of Trustees' meeting, May 29, 1906, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 69.

for construction of a President's House.²¹⁸ In 1909, a local contractor was hired to build a two-story frame house at the corner of Jackson and Fillmore Streets near the entrance to Storer College, which was to be used as a home for the school's president and his family.²¹⁹ The building was completed sometime before the end of the following school year and was occupied by President and Mrs. McDonald. In 1914 or 1915, a cement side walk was laid along the President's House lot on Jackson Street.²²⁰ It is possible that the house was used for other school purposes, however, as McDonald remarked in his Presidents' Report for 1914 that "the Brackett House and the President's House have been given over to school use."²²¹

In 1913 another property was added to Storer College's holdings, when the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees voted to buy the "McDaniel" property at the "best price possible," and in September of that year offered Robert McDaniel \$1200 for the property. This transaction may have come about as the result of an unpaid mortgage, as the Executive Committee minutes for 1912 indicate that the McDaniel property was discussed, and the minutes for March 1912 indicate that Robert McDaniel made a "proposition" to the Committee concerning the property.²²² Although the meeting minutes did not specifically mention a house being on the property, it is very

²¹⁸Minutes of Trustees' meeting, June 2, 1908, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 95.

²¹⁹Barker and Johnson, *Package 121*, 40; Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, March 1, 1909, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 186;

²²⁰Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 1, 1915, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 22.

²²¹*Storer College Catalogue; 1914-1915; Barker and Johnson, Package 121, 40.*

²²²Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, March 16, 1912, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 160.

likely that this was the lot that contained the McDaniel Cottage, which was mentioned by McDonald in his 1914 President's Report as having been "added to our immediate school buildings."²²³

The McDowell House was another building owned by Storer College for which little information exists. However, it is possible that the school came into possession of the property as the result of a foreclosure on an unpaid mortgage. In the Executive Committee minutes for January 1899, it was noted that the Committee voted that the "McDowell" property should not be released until the money due was paid.²²⁴ No mention was made of a house, but in July of that year, the minutes mention that electric lights were installed in the college buildings and Lockwood and McDowell Houses.²²⁵ This indicates that the house belonged to the school at that time.

The McDowell House is mentioned sporadically in the Trustees' minutes during the first decade of the twentieth century, but does not seem to have been used by the school unless faculty members lived there. In fact, attempts were apparently made to sell the property. In October 1901, a meeting of the Executive Committee was called to discuss the McDowell House, and N. C. Brackett reported that he had a conditional offer of \$5000 for the property.²²⁶ However, the sale apparently did not take place, as

²²³Executive Committee Minutes, June 18 and September 20, 1913, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1933; Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1933.

²²⁴Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, January 6, 1899, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 176.

²²⁵Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, July 10, 1899, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 200.

²²⁶Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, October 11, 1901, 204.

the Board authorized the Treasurer in 1904 to let the McDowell House for summer boarders if possible.²²⁷ The McDowell House was also listed on a 1906 list of insured Storer College properties, but not on the list of property and values entered into the Trustees minutes for May 1915.²²⁸

Storer College's property holdings and buildings increased significantly in the early twentieth century, as the Board of Trustees made a concerted effort to buy as much property as possible adjoining their existing holdings in order to create a single campus, instead of several unconnected clusters of buildings and properties. This effort is reflected in the Trustees' authorization to the Executive Committee to purchase "at their discretion, real estate adjoining our property which may come upon the market."²²⁹ One property they had especially been interested in purchasing was the Robinson property along Fillmore and McDowell Streets, which Storer finally bought in 1915 for \$1475. As McDonald noted in his annual report to the Trustees, "In accordance with the wishes of the Board, we carefully watched the sale of the Robinson property, which has been wanted for years, and purchased the house and barn and lots on which each stands."²³⁰

At the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees in May 1915, the Board voted to form a committee to list the school's property and buildings and assign them values.

²²⁷Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, January 4, 1904, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 180.

²²⁸Barker and Johnson, *Package 121*, 44; Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 1, 1915, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 29.

²²⁹Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 2, 1908, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 101; this authorization was renewed at nearly every annual meeting.

²³⁰Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 1, 1915, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 22.

The following list was entered into the minutes later in the meeting:

Campus	\$18,000
Anthony Memorial Hall	25,000
Myrtle Hall	15,000
Lincoln Hall	25,000
Sinclair Cottage	1,500
DeWolf Industrial Building	1,500
McDaniel home	1,200
President's home	5,000
John Brown's Fort	1,800
Jackson Cottage	1,000
Lockwood House	10,000
Industrial Building	4,000
Church	5,000
Brackett House	5,000
Morrell House	10,000
Shenandoah Cottage	1,500
Stable, etc.	2,000
Personal property	10,000
Farm land	5,000
Robinson house, etc.	2,000 ²³¹
TOTAL	\$149,500

Although only rough estimates compiled by members of the Board of Trustees, the above list gives a fairly good picture of the size and value of Storer College's campus by 1915. The school owned at least 17 buildings and associated real estate at a value of nearly \$150,000. The school may have been suffering from declining enrollment and funding, but Storer still had valuable assets that would allow the school to expand its operations.

Campus improvements

²³¹Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 1, 1915, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 29.

Not only was the size of Storer College's campus increasing in the early years of the twentieth century, but the buildings and grounds were also being modernized. Electric lights were added to the main college buildings in 1899, including the Lockwood and McDowell Houses. Central steam heating was installed in Myrtle Hall, and in the new Lincoln Hall by 1914.²³² The biggest improvement, however, was the installation of a water and sewer system for the campus in 1911. The need for such a system had been a regular part of Trustees' discussion since at least 1900, and was made possible by a gift of \$2500 from W. S. Alger of Iowa, who had visited the campus and wanted to make a donation. He stipulated that his pledge must be matched by an equal amount from other sources, so that the total amount available for installing the water system was \$5000 when fund raising was completed in 1911.²³³

At the 1912 annual meeting of the Board of Trustees, McDonald reported with pleasure on the successful installation of the water and sewer system during the previous year, and called it "one of the very greatest blessings we have ever had."²³⁴ When finished, the water system included a 100 ft. deep well sunk at the rear of the north end of Anthony Memorial Hall about 20 ft. from the building. Tests done when the well was drilled showed a minimum flow of nine gallons per minute, that was expected to increase. A twelve-foot-square concrete pump house with a pump and a four-

²³²Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, March 27, 1909, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 187; Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 25, 1914, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1933; *Storer College Catalogue* 1914-1915, 21.

²³³Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 6, 1911, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 136.

²³⁴Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 31, 1912, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 159.

horsepower gasoline engine was built, and a 6000-gallon storage tank was erected. The exact location of the original storage tank was not recorded, but by 1915 it had been replaced with a water tower.²³⁵

The pump and pipe system had a maximum pressure of 120 lb. per square inch, with a separate fire hose system that could pump at a rate of 160 lb. per square inch.

Consequently, not only did Storer now have an adequate water supply, they also had an internal fire fighting system. The minutes do not record where the fire lines were

installed, but most likely there were lines in Anthony Memorial Hall, Lincoln Hall, and Myrtle Hall. The accompanying sewer system included 1500 yards of pipe that led to a cess pool "located near the center of the east boundary line of the block of land below the one in which are situated the barn and other buildings of a similar nature." Once completed, the new system provided water and sewer to the President's House, Myrtle Hall, Sinclair Cottage, Anthony Memorial Hall, and Lincoln Hall.²³⁶ The system worked so well that, by 1913, the Board was considering laying additional pipe, and offering water for sale.²³⁷

Real estate

Information from the Trustees' minute books and other sources indicates that the

²³⁵Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 31, 1912, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 153-6.

²³⁶Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 31, 1912, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 153-156.

²³⁷Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 6, 1913, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1933.

Storer administration and Trustees were active in buying and selling real estate, and trying to utilize their property assets as much as possible. In order to help the African American community in Harpers Ferry, as well as to further the interest of the school, Storer had deeded numerous lots, especially in the nearby town of Bolivar, to local African American families. The original deeds were fee simple, and gave the property rights to the new owners. However, a number of those families had since mortgaged their properties to Storer, which also provided a source of income and investment for the school. In the February 1897 issue of the *Storer Record*, a brief article discusses the real estate transactions of Storer College and the local black community. Among the names listed as people to whom N. C. Brackett had deeded property were a number of names that are connected to Storer or whose properties became part of the school, including McDowell, Sims, Blackburn, McDaniel, and Robinson.²³⁸

In addition to trying to foster land ownership among the black community that lived near Storer College, the school was also trying to maximize its own real estate holdings. As early as 1900, the Board of Trustees had authorized the Executive Committee to “dispose of the Lockwood, Morrell, and old Hilltop houses, the Bell, and stable property.”²³⁹ The following year, 1901, the treasurer was again authorized to sell the Lockwood House, and also the McDowell House.²⁴⁰ In 1902, the Board authorized the secretary to sell the “cottage situated upon what was formerly a part of the Morrell

²³⁸*Storer Record*, v. 14, No. 3, February 1897, 2.

²³⁹Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 26, 1900, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 21.

²⁴⁰Minutes of Trustees meeting, September 5, 1901, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 33.

House grounds, and so much of the adjoining lot as may suit purchasers.”²⁴¹ Upkeep on the old Armory Buildings was fairly high, and the Trustees probably hoped to cut expenses and generate funds for the school from their sale. In any event, the buildings were not sold, and focus shifted to putting these buildings back to use for the school.

At the same time that the Storer Board of Trustees was trying to divest itself of some of its high-maintenance older buildings, they were also trying to increase the property holdings of the school. The Trustees Minute Books contain numerous examples of real estate transactions involving property in and around the campus. For example, in 1907, the Board approved the purchased of a lot on Shenandoah Street for \$250, and in 1909 the Treasurer was authorized to purchase the “Blackburn” property for a price not to exceed \$1000. The Trustees’ minutes do not state where the funds for these purchases were obtained, but it is likely that they came from the sale of other property. McDonald noted that Storer College had sold its farm some time prior to 1914, and “in place thereof we have bought several acres of ground nearer by, which have added materially to our capacity for doing efficient gardening.”²⁴²

In addition to its campus and grounds, Storer College apparently owned several rental properties, and held the mortgages on a number of additional properties. At the October 24, 1913 meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, the committee voted to release the mortgage on the “John Stewart property” and discussed the interest due on the “Fleming Property.” Just over two months later, at the January 3,

²⁴¹Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 2, 1902, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 43.

²⁴²Henry T. McDonald, President’s Report, May 25, 1914, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1933.

1914 Executive Committee meeting, the members voted to foreclose the mortgages on the Fleming property, as well as the "Brady" and "Rowe" properties. In addition, they also voted at this meeting to take over the "Alstadt property" of L. W. Lightner. It is apparent from these and other examples that Storer College had considerable financial interests in the Harpers Ferry area.

Storer College's real estate holdings even extended to other states, as indicated by the transactions recorded in the Trustees' minutes. In January 6, 1899, the Executive Committee voted to sell a house in Kansas received under a mortgage, and, at the annual meeting in May 1899, the Board recognized the gift of a farm from Mrs. Mary J. Smith of Nebraska.²⁴³ Several notes were also made in the minutes concerning a farm property in Oceana County, Michigan, that was finally sold in 1908 for \$700.²⁴⁴

Student enrollment and demographics

Although the physical plant of Storer College was expanding in the early years of the twentieth century, its overall enrollment was on the decline. For the 1899-1900 academic year, the first of Henry T. McDonald's tenure, the *Storer College Catalogue* listed the total enrollment as 146, a drop from its high of 237 in 1883-84. Enrollment continued to drop until, by the 1904-1905 school year, it was at a low of 80.²⁴⁵ The following year enrollment began to rebound, as the 1905-1906 catalogue gave a figure

²⁴³Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, January 6, 1899, 176; Minutes of Trustees meeting, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 25.

²⁴⁴Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, March 23, 1908, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 185.

²⁴⁵*Storer College Catalogue*, 1899-1900, 1901-1902, 1903-1904, 1904-1905.

of 106. By 1907-1908, enrollment had increased substantially to 189, but this trend was short-lived as the number of students dropped back down to 124 by the 1914-1915 school year.²⁴⁶ It should be noted that these figures are taken from the student lists printed in the school catalogues, and other sources, such as the President's Report to the Trustees at times cited different enrollment totals.²⁴⁷

An analysis of the school catalogues' lists of students and their hometowns indicates that Storer College continued to draw nearly all of its students from the geographic region surrounding Harpers Ferry. Enrollment figures listed in the eight available school catalogs from the 1899-1900 school year to the 1914-1915 school year indicate that an average of 94.5% of Storer's student body was drawn from the states of West Virginia, Virginia, Maryland and from the District of Columbia.²⁴⁸ However, there is a general decline in the proportion of students from the region from 99% in 1899-1900 to 90% in 1914-1915.²⁴⁹ The percentage of students from the state of West Virginia remained fairly constant from 1899-1900 to 1914-1915, with an average of 54%.

During the early years of the twentieth century, when enrollment was at its lowest, Storer College decided to try a new approach to attracting students to come to the school. For a number of years, it had been the policy for the principal and other faculty members to canvass for students during the summer months. In Henry

²⁴⁶*Storer College Catalogue*, 1905-1906, 1907-1908, 1908-1909, 1914-1915.

²⁴⁷*Storer College Trustees Minute Book* 1898-1912, 1914-1944.

²⁴⁸*Storer College Catalogue*, 1899-1900, 1901-1902, 1903-1904, 1904-1905, 1905-1906, 1907-1908, 1908-1909, 1914-1915.

²⁴⁹*Storer College Catalogue*, 1899-1900 to 1914-1915.

McDonald's early years at Storer, he was also instructed by the Board of Trustees to spend part of his summer vacation canvassing for new students.²⁵⁰ However, it appears that his other duties, such as fund-raising during the summer months, did not allow McDonald enough time to properly canvass for students as well. Consequently, McDonald and Dr. Alfred Williams Anthony, the new president of the Board of Trustees, convinced the Board to hire a local man and former Storer student, R. R. Thompson to canvass for students, and the Board authorized \$100 for this purpose.²⁵¹

Faculty

During the early years of the twentieth century, Storer College's faculty also began to expand and change to reflect the changing climate in African-American education. Although Storer still provided only a basic primary and secondary education for its students, the Board of Trustees decided in 1902 that their administrative head should have a title more befitting of an institution of higher education. Consequently, at their annual meeting in May, the Board of Trustees voted to change Bylaws No. 11 and 12 of Storer College "so as to substitute the word president for principal." In addition, the Board appointed a committee to draft an amendment to the bylaw defining the duties of the president of the institution.²⁵²

²⁵⁰Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 27, 1903, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 45;

²⁵¹Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 28, 1907, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 72.

²⁵²Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 28, 1902, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 38.

When Henry McDonald became principal of the school, the school had only seven full-time faculty members and two part-time instructors.²⁵³ Of these, Ella V. Smith, M. Jennie Baker, Stella James, and James T. Hughey were all African-American teachers who had attended Storer as students.²⁵⁴ The remainder of the faculty included McDonald, Nathan Brackett and his wife and daughter, Claire Sands, and Emma F. Johnson. In a letter to his mother written in January 1900, McDonald described the relationship between the Bracketts and the white faculty: "They are like parents to the



1909 Graduating Class, with Nathan Brackett and Staff

teachers who are mostly from the north. And I may add that they are mostly from New England or else are like myself descended straight from New England stock."²⁵⁵

By 1910, Storer College had increased its faculty to eighteen members, with eight African-American faculty members, all eight of

²⁵³*Storer College Catalogue*, 1899-1900.

²⁵⁴*Storer Sentinel*, volume II, 1909-1910, p. 14; *Storer College Catalogue*, 1914-1915, Alumni Association list, pp. 45-64.

²⁵⁵Henry T. McDonald to Sarah McDonald, Jan 25, 1900, Storer Collection, West Virginia University Archives, Box 36, FF 2.

whom had attended Storer as students.²⁵⁶ Two more faculty positions were added by the 1914-1915 school year, bringing the total number to twenty.²⁵⁷ Of the seventeen faculty members whose race can be determined, ten were white and seven were African-American, all former Storer College students. No information is available on the remaining three female faculty members, other than the courses they were teaching.²⁵⁸ Decisions on faculty and staff hiring were usually made by the Board of Trustees, and their minute books offer one of the only sources of information on faculty matters during the early years of the twentieth century. Interestingly, however, the race of faculty members was not recorded in the minutes. Although not conclusive, photographs, alumni lists and other indirect sources provide some suggestion of the race of faculty members. In addition, several sources, such as the Storer catalogues and the *Storer Sentinel*, also provided information on the educational background of the faculty. A number of the faculty were graduates of Storer College itself or other African American schools, such as Lincoln University, and it was possible to infer their race from this information. Based on such indirect evidence, it appears that the ratio of white to black teachers remained fairly constant from 1900-1914, at around 41% black and 59% white. However, it is unclear whether this was the result of a conscious effort on the part of the Trustees to maintain a certain ratio or simply a case of filling teaching slots with any qualified people that could be found.

²⁵⁶*Storer Sentinel*, 1909-1910, pp. 10-16.

²⁵⁷*Storer College Catalogue*, 1914-1915; Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1933.

²⁵⁸*Storer College Catalogue*, 1914-1915.

One of the main problems in securing teachers for the faculty at Storer College was the tight financial situation, which limited the budget for salaries. For the majority of the faculty members, salaries were quite low, but they were usually given room, board, light, and heat or some other additional compensation. In his President's Report for 1914, McDonald gave the Trustees a summary of the faculty and staff annual salaries:

H. T. McDonald	\$1400 (increase of \$200)
Mrs. L. B. Lightner	700 (increase of \$100)
Mrs. L. W. Brackett	250 (increase of \$50)
Ella V. Smith	400 (board, room, light, heat) (increase of \$25)
Mrs. Elizabeth McDonald	400
Miss Elizabeth Brady	325
Mr. William Peregoy	50 per month
Miss Eliza Sims	375 (increase of \$30)
H. H. Winters	50 per month (home, light, heat) (increase of \$10 per month)
W. A. Saunders	500 (board, room, light, heat)
Miss Emily C. Jenness	275 (increase of \$25)
J. W. McKinney	40 [per month?]
Miss Mary K. Peyton	350 (light and heat) (increase of \$25)
Rev. J. C. Newcomer	900 (home) (increase of \$100)
Mrs. Newcomer	250 (increase of \$50)
Sarah A. Benedict	450 (room, light, heat)
Miss Mabel S. Young	350 (room, light, heat)
Miss Harriett D. Church	450 (room, light, heat) ²⁵⁹

This list shows that a significant part of Storer's compensation to its faculty and staff was in the form of board, lodging, and free utilities. Consequently, by 1914, Storer owned and maintained at least three houses for a faculty and their families (the

²⁵⁹Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 6, 1913, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 2.

McDonalds, the Newcomers, and H. H. Winters), and provided additional space in the dormitories or student houses for at least six other faculty members.

Curriculum

Just as the campus and faculty were changing to reflect new standards in education, the curriculum at Storer College also expanded rapidly in the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1900, the school had three main departments: the Preparatory, Normal, and Industrial. Although Storer still maintained an Academic Department, it was offered only to Normal students who had completed the first two years of the Normal Course, and consisted of a three-year course of study that concentrated on Greek and Latin, classical literature, and history, with some science and mathematics. There was some overlap in class work between the Junior and Senior years of the Normal Course, which allowed students to fulfill some requirements for both courses concurrently.²⁶⁰

Although the ultimate goal was to make Storer a true college, the necessity for basic classes in reading, grammar, writing, and arithmetic still remained, and the school maintained a two-year Preparatory Course. Many African-American students who wanted to study at Storer did not have even the most rudimentary reading, writing, and arithmetic skills needed for upper-level training, and the school's Preparatory classes offered a rare opportunity to get the necessary basic education. In fact, Preparatory

²⁶⁰*Storer College Catalog, 1899-1900.*

students represented 31% of the student body in 1900, or 44 out of 142.²⁶¹

Consequently, in order to ensure that students were prepared for the more demanding Normal course work, and possibly to keep enrollment from dropping precipitously, the Trustees continued to offer lower-level courses.

The main focus of Storer's curriculum, the Normal Course, consisted of a four-year program, with the first three years devoted to general education classes in subjects such as history, English grammar and literature, composition, mathematics, geography, and natural sciences. In their senior year, Normal students also studied subjects related to education and teaching, such as School Management, History of Education, Pedagogy, and Practice in Teaching. Normal students represented 69% of the Storer student body in 1900, and included all students who were not enrolled in the Preparatory Department.²⁶²

The third main department in the Storer curriculum was its Industrial Department and all students, both male and female, were required to take industrial courses. For the girls, the Domestic Science Department, funded by the Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society, offered instruction in sewing and cutting, and in cooking and the "whole art of housekeeping." Printing and carpentry were the main industrial offerings for the boys, and consisted of the most basic skills, since the school had a limited range of tools and machines available.²⁶³ Industrial education was seen as an essential part of the student's overall education and even the school catalog stated that "No person is

²⁶¹*Storer College Catalog, 1899-1900.*

²⁶²*Storer College Catalog, 1899-1900.*

²⁶³*Storer College Catalog, 1899-1900.*

liberally educated unless he can skillfully use his hands as well as his brain.

Industrialism is the watchword of the age."²⁶⁴

In addition to its main departments, Storer College also offered a two-year Biblical Literature course that was open to advanced Normal and Academic students, and was probably intended to train candidates for the ministry or missionary work. Admission requirements to the department were strict, as each candidate was "examined as to character, experience, and adaptation for the Christian work contemplated, and must present letters of approval from the church of which he is a member."²⁶⁵ Work in the Biblical Literature Department could be pursued in addition to a student's regular course of study, and did not lead to a separate diploma.²⁶⁶

Although the Course of Study for the Preparatory, Academic, and Normal Departments remained essentially the same in the early years of the twentieth century, the course offerings in other areas were significantly expanded, especially in the Industrial and Domestic Science Departments. At their annual meeting in May 1903, the Trustees voted to continue the Domestic Science Department and employ a sewing and dressmaking teacher. They also voted to continue the carpentry classes, and to have the teacher employed also handle routine repairs "in and about the corporation buildings." In addition, the Trustees also voted to establish several new courses, including Black smithing and Market Gardening.²⁶⁷ In 1905, the Trustees voted to

²⁶⁴*Storer College Catalog*, 1899-1900, 20.

²⁶⁵*Storer College Catalog*, 1899-1900, 17.

²⁶⁶*Storer College Catalog*, 1899-1900, 18.

²⁶⁷Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 29, 1905, *Storer College Trustees Minute Book* 1898-1912.

recommend that "no girls be graduated who have not completed the prescribed course in sewing and cooking and that all boys be required to take the full course in the Industrial Department."²⁶⁸

By the 1905-1906 school year, required classes in drawing and music were being offered, and the course offerings in the natural sciences had also increased. The drawing class was taught by Mrs. Louise W. Brackett, Nathan Brackett's wife, and was considered a part of the Industrial Department. Every student in the Normal Department

was required to take one drawing lesson each week, although students who displayed special skill or interest could take a second lesson. In the course description for Drawing, the school catalog stated that the object was not to develop artists, but rather to provide an additional skill for good workers and homemakers:

In fact, the work in drawing is intended to help in nature study, and to be supplementary to both the carpentry and sewing, adding materially to the capacity for homemaking and beautifying, for building a fence, and for fashioning family garments.²⁶⁹

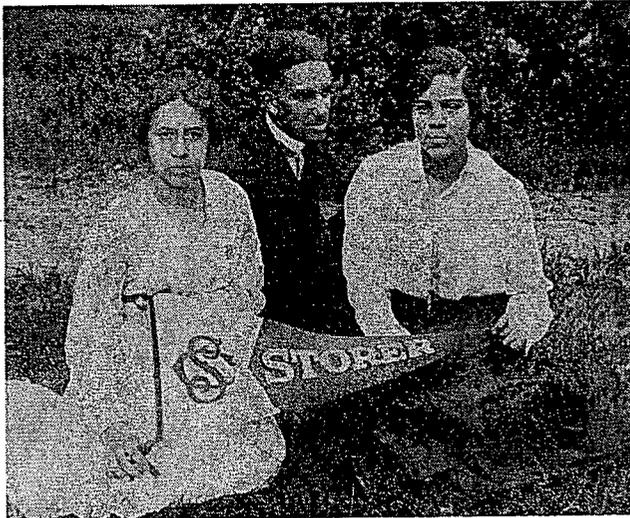
Consequently, the course of study including mechanical drawing, painting in color, and work using flowers as subjects.

In addition to drawing, Storer College had also established a Musical Department by the 1905-1906 school year, which included piano and organ lessons, taught by Emma F. Johnston and vocal music, taught by Rev. J. R. Wood. All students

²⁶⁸Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 29, 1905, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 58-59.

²⁶⁹*Storer College Catalogue*, 1905-1906, 37.

were required to participate as a chorus in a general weekly vocal lesson, which was free. Students could also take additional lessons in smaller private classes, for which a fee was charged.²⁷⁰ The instrumental lessons were offered to students at a fee of \$6 per



Trio of Students with Storer College Pennant,
1917

quarter, with \$3 paid at the beginning and the other \$3 due when half the lessons had been completed. At first, students were given free use of

practice pianos, most likely located in Anthony Hall, but by 1914-1915 they were required to pay a \$1 fee per term.²⁷¹ In addition, John W.

McKinney was hired as bandmaster in

1906, and by 1914 Storer was offering instruction in band music, orchestra, and several glee clubs.²⁷² One of the leading Jazz composers and musicians of the 1920s and 1930s, Don Redman, was a member of the Storer College band before graduating in 1920.²⁷³

By the 1914-1915 academic year, the school's catalog indicates that Storer's Courses of Study had been revised considerably. The Preparatory Department remained, but the course of study simply listed the subjects taught. A Secondary Course, the basic high school curriculum, had been introduced and consisted of a four-

²⁷⁰*Storer College Catalogue* 1905-1906, 26.

²⁷¹*Storer College Catalogue* 1905-1906, 26; 1914-1915, 38.

²⁷²*Storer College Catalogue* 1914-1915, 15.

²⁷³*Visions of Jazz*, (1998)

year program that included basic subjects as well as vocal music and industrial courses:

The Normal Course was shortened to two years and focused on topics related to education and school management, while continuing the required vocal music and industrial courses. The Academic Course was listed as a four-year program, with the first three years corresponding to the Sophomore-Senior years of the Secondary Course. An additional Senior Year of courses completed the Academic Course. Again, students were required to take vocal music and industrial courses each year.²⁷⁴

Student life

In addition to the changes in the campus, faculty, and curriculum, the first decade of the twentieth century also marked a turning point in the campus life of students at Storer College. Once Henry McDonald took over as president and began to play a more influential role in the administration of Storer, he began in earnest to make improvements in the living conditions for Storer's students. One of the first improvements was the establishment of Cooperative Clubs to help students provide for their board. First mentioned in the 1903-1904 catalog, the Co-Operative Club was established as a way of cutting board expenses and improving the health of students by allowing them to eat better. It is likely that President McDonald played a significant role in the establishment of the club, as he deplored the practice of self-boarding. By 1914, he was able to report to the Trustees that "self boarding with its attendant ill health, irregularity in school attendance, to mention no more evils, has practically

²⁷⁴ *Storer College Catalogue 1914-1915, 24-26.*

disappeared, never to return."²⁷⁵

The Cooperative Club was well-established by the 1905-1906 school year, and its rules were listed in the school catalog. All students who joined the Club had to deposit \$10, with \$5 going toward the first month's board, and \$5 kept on deposit to cover any unpaid bill. Each month the student was required to pay an additional \$5 into the Club fund and, if any balance remained at the end of the year, the money was refunded to the student. These expenses were less than the regular monthly board because the students who performed one hour's work each day were only required to pay their proportionate share of the cost of the food. Those who did not work had to pay \$7 per month.²⁷⁶

Because the food supplies for the Club were purchased in bulk, they could be obtained for lower prices than individuals could get, which allowed students to get more food for their money. The members of the Club used the Bowen Lecture Room in Anthony Memorial Hall as their dining room, which gave them a chance to eat regular meals in a comfortable atmosphere. Indeed, the 1905-1906 school catalog noted that "Club life has proved a great improvement over self-boarding, not only because students are required to be prompt at meals, which are served regularly, but also because of the culture and refinement which such association inevitably brings."²⁷⁷ By 1914-1915, the Cooperative Club idea had become the preferred boarding method for most students,

²⁷⁵Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 25, 1914, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1933, 9.

²⁷⁶*Storer College Catalogue*, 1905-1906, 47.

²⁷⁷*Storer College Catalogue*, 1905-1906, 47.

and Storer now had both Boys' and Girls' Clubs . The terms of club membership had changed slightly, and reflected the school's strong support of the club idea:

Board in the College Clubs may be obtained by those who do the equivalent of an hour's work daily at \$1.75 per week, payable in advance every four weeks. Thus the school assists every student.

For those who do not do the hour's work the charge for each boarder will be \$2.25 per week.

The young men should bring overalls or old clothing in which to work.

The young women should bring work aprons and dresses suitable for wear while working.²⁷⁸

The catalog further stated that while it would be cheaper for the school to collect full board and hire skilled workers, the economic and educational benefits of daily work for the students was too important because "As a preparation for life there is no better all round training for the hand and brain than is found in assisting in performing the duties of a cooperative club."²⁷⁹

The 1905-1906 catalog does not give the number of students who were members of the Co-operative Club, but it is possible that for a time membership was restricted to male students. Although the 1905-1906 catalog does not refer directly to male students, all pronouns used are male and, the 1914-1915 catalog refers to "clubs," and lists separate superintendents for the Boys' and Girls' Clubs.²⁸⁰ It is possible, however, that the original Cooperative Club was co-ed and simply grew too big to manage, and was then broken down into two separate clubs.

²⁷⁸*Storer College Catalogue, 1914-1915.*

²⁷⁹*Storer College Catalogue, 1914-1915.*

²⁸⁰*Storer College Catalogue, 1905-1906, 1914-1915.*

In addition to improvements in meeting students' essential needs, Storer College also provided opportunities for participation in extracurricular activities. The Lincoln Debating Society and the Women's League held regular meetings and members gave public addresses. The school stressed the importance of these societies, and required all students above the Preparatory level to join. Throughout the year, Storer also invited outside speakers to give lectures, but again attendance was mandatory. Although not required, students could also join one of the college bands, the orchestra, or a glee club.²⁸¹

Although not well documented in existing Storer College records, athletics was already a significant part of student life in the early 1890's. The *Storer Record* for the Spring Term 1893 lists members of the Storer baseball club and reported on their season.²⁸² In addition, a tennis court had already been in existence on the Storer campus for some time before 1901, when the *Storer Record* reported that the court had been renovated and widened, and a group of maple trees that bothered players had been transplanted. However, the exact location of the tennis court was not mentioned.²⁸³

By December 1901, the *Record* was also reporting on the fortunes of Storer's football team, who lost to Morgan College of Baltimore in a game played at Frederick, Maryland.²⁸⁴ In March 1902, the *Record* reported on a game against the West Virginia Colored Institute, where President McDonald served as referee. McDonald had a lifelong love of sports, especially football, which he played during his years at Hillsdale

²⁸¹*Storer College Catalogue* 1914-1915, 14-15.

²⁸²*Storer Record*, Spring Term 1893, Storer College Collection, West Virginia University.

²⁸³*Storer Record*, 16 (7) 1901.

²⁸⁴*Storer Record*, 16 (9) 1901.

College, and was active in the athletics program at Storer. He is seen in several early team photographs, and was manager of the baseball and football teams during his early years at the school. In addition, the *Storer College Catalog* for 1914-1915 lists McDonald as a member of the Athletics Committee, along with H. H. Winters, and Miss Young.²⁸⁵

Alumni Association

During the early years of the twentieth century, Storer College's alumni began to organize and become a part of the school's identity. They formed an Alumni Association, and alumni lists began to appear in the school's annual catalog.²⁸⁶ The alumni's voice had first been heard in the 1890's scandal involving summer boarding and the Board of Trustees continued to ask their opinion on this matter as late as 1902. The Trustees minutes also suggest that the Alumni Association was holding annual meetings by this time.²⁸⁷ During the discussions regarding the expansion of the Industrial Department and the construction of an industrial building, the alumni requested that a representative be allowed to attend the Trustees meeting, and the request was granted in 1902.²⁸⁸ In 1907, the *Storer Record* reported the resolution of the Alumni Association to start a \$500 Alumni Scholarship Fund.²⁸⁹ The alumni also

²⁸⁵*Storer College Catalogue* 1914-1915.

²⁸⁶*Storer College Catalogue* 1914-1915.

²⁸⁷Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 2, 1902, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 42.

²⁸⁸Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 30, 1902, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 38.

²⁸⁹*Storer Record*, Vol. XXI, No. 1, March 1907.

became involved in events on campus, and began to host an annual banquet during the 1910-1911 school year.²⁹⁰ In 1911, the Alumni Association provided the inscription for a marble tablet commemorating the life and work of Nathan C. Brackett.²⁹¹

Storer College and the State of West Virginia

The passage of the Second Morrill Act in 1890 had a significant impact on Storer College. In 1862, the original Morrill Act had authorized the establishment of land grant colleges for agricultural and mechanical education in each state. The Second Morrill Act stipulated that funds would be allocated to states only if they provided the same educational opportunities for African-American students as were available to white students.²⁹² Consequently, the State of West Virginia would be required to establish a separate land grant institution for black students in order to receive its Morrill Act funds.

Faced with the possibility of another educational institution to compete with Storer College for the meager state funds available, the Trustees of the school appear to have made an effort to have Storer named as West Virginia's land grant institution for black students. In December 1890, they voted to establish both an agricultural and

²⁹⁰Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 7, 1910, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 119.

²⁹¹Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 6, 1911, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 146.

²⁹²McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy*, 210, 215; William F. Jackamelt, "A Short History of Negro Public Higher Education in West Virginia, 1890-1965," *West Virginia History*, 37 (4) 1976, 309.

mechanical department at Storer.²⁹³ The effort proved futile, however. Although the West Virginia legislature approved the provisions of the Second Morrill Act in March 1891, they voted to establish a new land grant institution in Kanawha County rather than give the money to an existing school. The new West Virginia Colored Institute near the state capital of Charleston offered agricultural courses in order to receive its annual federal subsidy, but functioned mainly as a normal school. This proved to be a harsh financial blow to Storer College. Not only did Storer see much of its annual state appropriation for the Normal Course given instead to the West Virginia Colored Institute, but the establishment of a second normal school for blacks in West Virginia also contributed to a decline in normal school enrollment after 1891.²⁹⁴

Just four years after the establishment of the West Virginia Colored Institute, Storer College was dealt another blow with the founding of Bluefield Colored Institute in Mercer County in southern West Virginia. The expanding coal industry in the region brought a rapid increase in the African-American population, and created a need for trained teachers for the children of black coal miners. Consequently, in 1895, a sympathetic Republican state legislature authorized the establishment of the Bluefield Colored Institute as a second state-run normal school for African-Americans. Now, students from southern West Virginia who might have gone to Storer's normal school could stay closer to home. Ironically, one of Storer College's black teachers, William A. Saunders, resigned his position at the school to become principal of Bluefield

²⁹³ McClain, 78.

²⁹⁴ Jackamelt, 310.

Institute, although he later returned to Storer.²⁹⁵

Until the establishment of the West Virginia Colored Institute in 1891 and Bluefield Colored Institute in 1895, Storer College had been the only normal school in West Virginia that trained colored teachers for colored schools. Consequently, since 1881, the school had received a subsidy from the state for its Normal Department.²⁹⁶ In addition, the state also offered approximately 18 scholarships annually for students in the normal school. The establishment of Bluefield as a new teacher's training school had a strong negative impact on enrollment in Storer College's Normal Department. In the 1889-91 Storer College Catalogue, enrollment in the Normal Department was reported as 186 students out of a total enrollment for the college of 265, or 70%. By 1897-98, just six years after the founding of the West Virginia Colored Institute and two years after the founding of Bluefield, enrollment in Storer's Normal Department had dropped to 82 out of 165 total students, or only 50%.²⁹⁷

As enrollment declined sharply in the first years of the twentieth century and contributions from longtime supporters dwindled, the Storer College administration and the Board of Trustees avidly sought other sources of financial support to keep the school open. It was often the practice for the president and other faculty members to spend at least part of their summer vacation and other free time soliciting money for the school, especially among Freewill Baptist congregations in New England.²⁹⁸ In a letter to his

²⁹⁵*Storer Sentinel* 1909-1910, 13.

²⁹⁶Jackamelt, 310; Ambler, *History of Education in West Virginia*, 244-5.

²⁹⁷Storer College Catalogue 1889-91, 1897-98.

²⁹⁸Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 2, 1902, June 16, 1905, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 43, 63.

mother in August 1900, Henry McDonald described "Storer Day," an event held at various Free Baptist congregations that summer to make the churches aware of Storer College and its work, and to solicit donations.²⁹⁹

Other Trustees and faculty members also worked tirelessly to keep money flowing into the school. Since it had always been the policy of the Trustees to keep tuition and expenses as low as possible to allow poorer students to attend, Storer College could not bring in nearly enough money from students to cover its operating expenses. The school still received some funding from the state for its normal school students from West Virginia, as well as an annual appropriation for the industrial department.³⁰⁰ In 1913, the Treasurer's annual report listed the amount of funds received from the State Board of Control as \$2708.33.³⁰¹

In addition to its small state appropriation, Storer received annual funding of approximately \$2500 from the Free Baptist General Conference (after 1911 this appropriation came from the American Baptist Home Mission Society), and the Baptist Woman's Missionary Society also gave money to support the Domestic Science Department, and contributed to other needs for female students. In 1913, the combined American Baptist Home Mission Society and the Women's Missionary Society funding

²⁹⁹Henry T. McDonald to Sarah McDonald, August 29, 1900, Storer College Collection, A&M 2621, Box 36, FF 2

³⁰⁰Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, numerous entries from 1899-1912 discuss the requisition of these state funds from the State Auditor.

³⁰¹Treasurers' Report, May 6, 1913, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1933, 6-7.

for Storer College totaled \$5618.75.³⁰² These small funds were sometimes supplemented by contributions from the denomination for specific purposes, as in the case of renovations and new buildings.

Storer College also continued to receive contributions from members of the Board of Trustees, faculty, and private citizens, which helped to fund many of its renovation and building projects. Mrs. Alice Metcalf, a teacher at Storer, a member of the Board of Trustees and their agent to the Woman's Missionary Society was

especially active in fund-raising efforts, and was thanked several times by the Trustees.

At their annual meeting in May 1906, the Trustees thanked Mrs. Metcalf for her efforts during the previous winter to raise \$700 to refurnish the dormitories. She was also responsible for securing \$100 in 1911 for new floors for the corridors in Myrtle Hall.³⁰³

Mrs. Metcalf and the Metcalf family also founded the Metcalf Scholarship in 1911, in memory of Franklin Metcalf.³⁰⁴

Even with the generous gifts from friends and supporters, Storer College continued to struggle financially in the early years of the twentieth century, especially when faced with the needs to expand its campus facilities and curriculum in order to keep up with current educational standards and attract students. As it became clear that there was little chance of increased support from either the State of West Virginia or the

³⁰²Treasurers' Report, May 6, 1913, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, p. 6-7.

³⁰³Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 28, 1906 and June 6, 1911, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 63, 141

³⁰⁴Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 6, 1911, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 138.

Baptist denomination, the Trustees began to explore other options to solicit funding. Like many other black schools, Storer College turned to the wealthy industrialists who had become the prime source for educational philanthropy by the early twentieth century. A committee was formed in May 1907 "to try to secure appropriation from the General Education fund, the Hall fund, the Slater fund, and such other funds as are designed for purposes similar to the work of this institution."³⁰⁵ By 1908, they were forced to report to the Board that they had had no luck. A similar attempt to approach Andrew Carnegie apparently also failed, as it was not mentioned again.³⁰⁶

The Niagara Movement and the founding of the NAACP

Following Booker T. Washington's "Atlanta Compromise" speech in 1895, many leading black intellectuals began an opposition movement to Washington's seeming acceptance of segregation and racial injustice. One of their strongest voices was W. E. B. DuBois, a classically educated graduate of Fisk University and the first African American PhD. from Harvard University, who not only argued that African Americans should have equal rights but also that they should be willing to fight for them. His agitation against legalized segregation, lynching, and other acts of racial injustice led to an open rift with Booker T. Washington, the leading black spokesman for a gradualist approach to achieving equal rights.

In the summer of 1905, a secret meeting was held in Niagara Falls, Ontario,

³⁰⁵Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 28, 1907, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 74.

³⁰⁶Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 31, 1905 and June 2, 1908, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944.

Canada, and attended by 29 prominent black leaders, including W.E.B. DuBois. The new group issued a declaration calling for equal rights, the restoration of voting rights for blacks, equal educational opportunities, and social equality. The following year, in 1906, the Niagara Movement held its second meeting in Harpers Ferry, and made a pilgrimage to the farm where the John Brown Fort was then located. The delegates walked the one-mile distance from Anthony Memorial Hall to the site where John Brown's Fort had been reconstructed on the Alexander Murphy farm.³⁰⁷

Once they had arrived at the site of John Brown's Fort, the delegates heard a prayer, and then a speech by Richard T. Greener, the first African American graduate of Harvard University and the former dean of Howard University Law School. After Greener's speech, the entire group marched around the building single file, singing, and then went inside. After completing their pilgrimage, the convention participants returned to the Storer College campus, where the afternoon meeting of the conference was held in Anthony Memorial Hall.³⁰⁸

Although DuBois and the other members of the Niagara Movement spent much of their time in Harpers Ferry at Storer College, the event was never publicized. Thirty years later, in 1938, Henry McDonald wrote a memo in reference to a recent speech by DuBois, and mentioned DuBois' snub of the school: "Storer College was host to the Niagara Movement. Just why DuBois did not call the College by name and give us the publicity we merited, he will be able to tell. My belief is that this omission was

³⁰⁷Benjamin Quarles, *Allies for Freedom: blacks and John Brown*, New York, Oxford UP, 1974.

³⁰⁸Quarles, *Allies for Freedom*, 4.

predetermined."³⁰⁹

The Niagara Movement quickly grew into an organization with 30 branches in most major American cities. However, a lack of unity between the branches, an inability to raise enough funds, and infighting between DuBois and the radical William Trotter would eventually lead to the demise of the Niagara Movement in 1910. Before it disappeared, however, it was superseded by another attempt to organize the struggle for African American equality, the National Association for the Advancement of

Colored People. The NAACP grew out of the outrage felt by blacks and white supporters of racial equality following the violent Springfield Race Riot in 1908. This atrocity led to a joint meeting in 1909 between the leading members of the Niagara Movement and a group of white neo-abolitionists led by Oswald Garrison Villard, the grandson of William Lloyd Garrison. The organization formed by the union of these two groups became the NAACP, and, by 1910, had absorbed the Niagara Movement.

Again, the leading voice was W. E. B. DuBois, who also served as the editor of the NAACP's journal, the *Crisis*.³¹⁰

Storer College and John Brown's Fort

In 1909, the Trustees of Storer College added significantly to the historical character of the campus when they decided to purchase John Brown's Fort, the brick fine engine house in which Brown made his final stand in October 1859. Even before

³⁰⁹Henry T. McDonald, memo note regarding W.E.B. DuBois, A & M 2621, Box 16, FF 7, Storer College Collection, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University.

³¹⁰McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy*, 368-93; .

coming into Storer's ownership, the 50-year-old building had already had quite a colorful past. It stood on its original location in Harpers Ferry for more than 35 years, until its owner, the B & O Railroad Company, had it dismantled in 1893 to allow improvements on its Harpers Ferry tracks and property. A group of businessmen, sensing a financial opportunity, bought the building and shipped it brick-by-brick to Chicago, where it was reassemble and exhibited at the 1894 World's Fair.³¹¹

The venture proved to be a failure, however, and the old engine house was in danger of being demolished and its bricks sold off, when Miss Kate Field stepped in. Miss Field was a noted actress and journalist and, after becoming interested in the strange story of John Brown's Fort, she began a successful campaign to buy the structure and return it to Harpers Ferry. After a determined and exhausting effort, she was able to bring the engine house back to West Virginia and rebuild it on an abandoned farm only three miles from Harpers Ferry. The little building's new home was on a site overlooking the Shenandoah River, and Miss Field hoped John Brown's Fort would become part of a National Park she wanted to help establish along the Shenandoah. Sadly, Kate Field died before her dream of a Shenandoah National Park could be realized, and the property where John Brown's Fort was located eventually had to be sold for back taxes. The new owner, a local farmer named Alexander Murphy, used the building for storage, and it gradually fell into a state of disrepair³¹².

As early as 1907, the Storer College Board of Trustees began to consider the

³¹¹Undated letter to "Friends of Storer College", Alfred Wms. Anthony Collection, American Baptist Society, Rochester, NY..

³¹²Quarles, *Allies of Freedom*, 180; Barker and Johnson, *Package 121*, 41.

possibility of hosting a celebration to commemorate the 50th anniversary of John Brown's Raid, and established a committee to investigate the feasibility of a John Brown Memorial Day. It appears from the Trustees' minutes that Henry McDonald was responsible for the John Brown Memorial Day idea. He wanted the celebration to take place at Storer, and envisioned an event of national interest.³¹³ During their annual meeting in June 1908, the Trustees of Storer College decided to purchase John Brown's Fort with the aim of rebuilding it on the campus and using it as a museum.³¹⁴ The

Trustees were successful in buying John Brown's Fort for \$900 in 1909. However, the terms of the purchase stipulated that it had to be moved within a year, and the Trustees were quickly faced with the dilemma of how to pay for moving the building and re-erecting it on the Storer campus.³¹⁵

Although the B & O Railroad apparently made an effort to buy the engine house back, in 1910 the Storer Trustees went ahead with their plans to rebuild the fort on the school campus.³¹⁶ The Board voted to locate the Fort "opposite North and South of the brick walk so that the center of the building shall be opposite the center of the walk."³¹⁷ Apparently the re-erection of the building on the Storer campus had already generated

³¹³Minutes of Trustees' meeting, June 2, 1908, Storer College Trustee Minute Book 1898-1912, 90.

³¹⁴Minutes of Trustees' meeting, June 2, 1908, Storer College Trustee Minute Book 1898-1912, 101.

³¹⁵Undated letter to "Friends of Storer College", Alfred Wms. Anthony Collection, American Baptist Society, Rochester, NY.

³¹⁶Alfred W. Anthony to Henry T. McDonald, Oct. 14, 1910, A&M 2621, Box 16, FF 12, Storer College Collection, West Virginia University Archives, Morgantown, WV.

³¹⁷Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 4, 1909, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 112.

some interest, as McDonald reported to the annual meeting of the Board in June 1911. He recommended that the Trustees push ahead with their plans to complete the building by fitting it up as a museum. The committee appointed to recommend uses for John Brown's Fort gave their report at the same meeting, and also recommended its use as a museum that would house relics from John Brown's Raid and the Civil War, geological and flora specimens, and "Any miscellaneous curios which would be helpful to students and interesting to tourists who might visit the Fort."³¹⁸ The committee further

recommended that cabinets be installed for preserving specimens and exhibits, and envisioned a gallery "which would extend around three sides of the building, which would contain books pertaining to the history of the Civil War - and also books valuable for their antiquity."³¹⁹

By 1913, new floors were being installed in the building, and the Fort was being fitted with glass cases and a gallery. Although it is unclear when the work on the interior of John Brown's Fort was completed, it was listed as a museum in the 1914-1915 *Storer College Catalogue*.³²⁰ Its collection included documents pertaining to John Brown, Civil War artifacts and memorabilia such as bullets, various weapons, and a mineral collection donated by Nathan Brackett and Rev. Paul Curtis.³²¹ The little building did serve as a museum for many years, and the guest registers where visitors

³¹⁸Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 6, 1911, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 150.

³¹⁹Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 6, 1911, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912, 151.

³²⁰

Barker and Johnson, *Package 121*, 41-42; *Storer College Catalogue 1914-1915*, 22.

³²¹*Catalogue of John Brown Museum (1912-1913)*, April 25, 1913, 7.

signed their names are preserved in the Newcomer Collection at the West Virginia History and Regional Collection at West Virginia University.³²²

³²²A&M 1322, Boxes 158-159, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

Chapter V - World War I and the Inter-war Years

Storer College and World War I

When the United States finally entered World War I in 1917, young men all over the country rushed to enlist, including thousands of African-Americans. As an inducement to get blacks into the armed forces, U.S. government officials had promised African American leaders that they would help improve social conditions when the war was over. Consequently, the leaders of the African American intellectual community exhorted young black men to enlist in the armed forces. One of the most vocal of these leaders was W. E. B. DuBois, who used the pages of the *Crisis* to rally black support for the war effort. Many of these young men looked at service in the military as a chance to prove that their loyalty, bravery, and patriotism was equal to that of white Americans.³²³

The U.S. government soon found that voluntary enlistments would not provide enough recruits, and Congress passed the Selective Service Act in May 1917, which required all men between the ages of 21 and 31, including blacks, to register for the

³²³Keith Krawczynski, "World War I," in Steven D. Smith and James A. Zeidler, *A Historic Context for the African American Military Experience*, Cultural Resources Research Center, U.S. Army Construction Engineering Research Laboratories (USACERL), Champaign, IL, 1998.

draft. Of the 24,234,021 American men who passed draft board review, 2,290,527 were African American.³²⁴ The draft board members themselves were almost exclusively white, and blacks were inducted separately from whites. In addition, racial discrimination in the draft review process, especially in the South, gave exemptions to many more whites than blacks.³²⁵

Even though all of the branches of the U.S. military were segregated at this time, the Army still provided some opportunity by letting African American soldiers serve in almost every type of duty except as pilots in the aviation corps. The Navy and Coast Guard discouraged enlistment by blacks, and only used them as coal passers, mess men, and water tenders. The Marine Corps excluded African Americans completely. As a result, the vast majority of African Americans who served in World War I were in the U.S. Army, which offered the chance for at least some blacks to fight in combat.³²⁶

While the Army did offer African Americans the chance to serve in combat, most black soldiers still ended up in labor battalions. Military leaders felt that a small number of blacks could be found with the physical capabilities and intelligence required for combat, but believed the vast majority lacked the basic physical, mental and moral capacity for combat duty. Consequently, 160,000 of the 200,000 African Americans who served in World War I were assigned to labor battalions. The remaining black troops who were deemed fit for combat were formed into two infantry divisions, the 92nd and the 93rd, with the 92nd having the distinction of being led predominantly by an

³²⁴Krawczynski, "World War I."

³²⁵Krawczynski, "World War I."

³²⁶Krawczynski, "World War I."

African American officer corps.³²⁷

Protest in the African American community over the treatment of blacks in the military, as well as a series of race riots in the summer of 1917, prompted the U.S. government to try to soothe racial tensions by appointing an African American as special assistant to the Secretary of War. Emmet J. Scott, appointed in October 1917, was a prominent African American and Secretary of Tuskegee Institute. In his position as Special Assistant, Scott was to advise the Secretary of War on matters pertaining to African Americans and their role in the U.S. military effort. Although Scott was



Private Edward Dickerson

essentially a middle man, the government was praised by black leaders for appointing an African American to such an important post. Whites agreed with the choice because they felt that an African American would best know how to deal with the problems of his own race.³²⁸

Unfortunately, Scott's appointment as Special Assistant did little to change the discriminatory practices of the U.S. military. Although the Army did have four regiments of black troops already serving when the U.S. joined the war in 1917, some of these units were

³²⁷Krawczynski, "World War I."

³²⁸Krawczynski, "World War I."



Corporal Thomas E. Busby

apparently involved in racial incidents and were dispersed throughout the United States in non-combat duty. To appease the growing clamor to allow blacks to fight, however, the War Department created two new all-black divisions, the 92nd and 93rd. These divisions, although ill-equipped and not given the same level training as white combat units, were sent to France and served under the command of the French Army. The 93rd especially won praise for its actions in the war.³²⁹

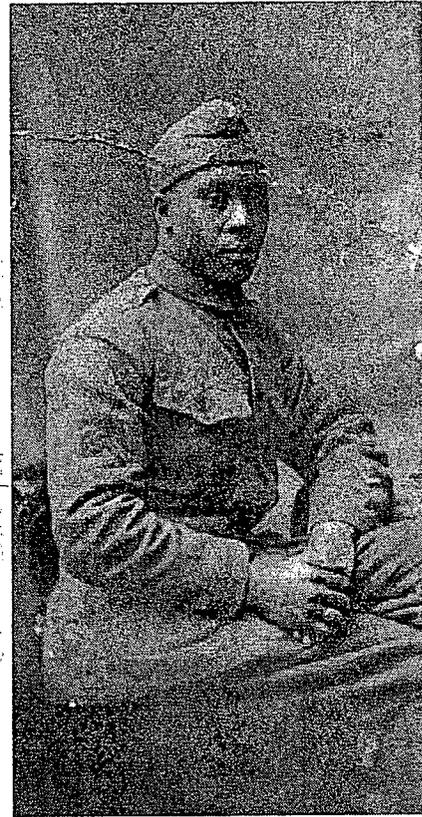
Like many other African American schools and colleges, Storer College made its own contribution to the war effort. In his annual report to the Board of Trustees in May 1918, President McDonald noted with pride that 104 “sons of Storer” were serving in the U.S. armed forces, 102 in the Army and two in the Navy³³⁰. Two former Storer students became casualties of the war, but not in combat. Pvt. Maurice Jones ('07) died while serving as a mail handler at the Port of New York, and Sergeant John, Co. K, 813th Pioneer Infantry died of pneumonia on board ship on his way to France.³³¹ Perhaps because of his father’s example as a Union

³²⁹Krawczynski, “World War I.”

³³⁰Various sources, mostly from McDonald, list this number as 104, 106, or 107.

³³¹Henry T. McDonald, President’s Report, May 28, 1918, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 69.

soldier and his own cadet training in college, McDonald had a great respect for the military and those who served. As he noted to the Trustees, he devoted "no little time and energy in keeping in touch with our soldier boys." Included among other papers related to Storer students in World War I is a handwritten list of 106 Storer men, with their units and ranks, carefully compiled by McDonald.³³² In November 1918, he sent letters to many of the former Storer students who were serving, and asked each of them to send a picture of himself in uniform.



Sgt. Clemence T. Napper

McDonald wanted to collect the photographs and display them as a sort of memorial in the school's chapel.³³³

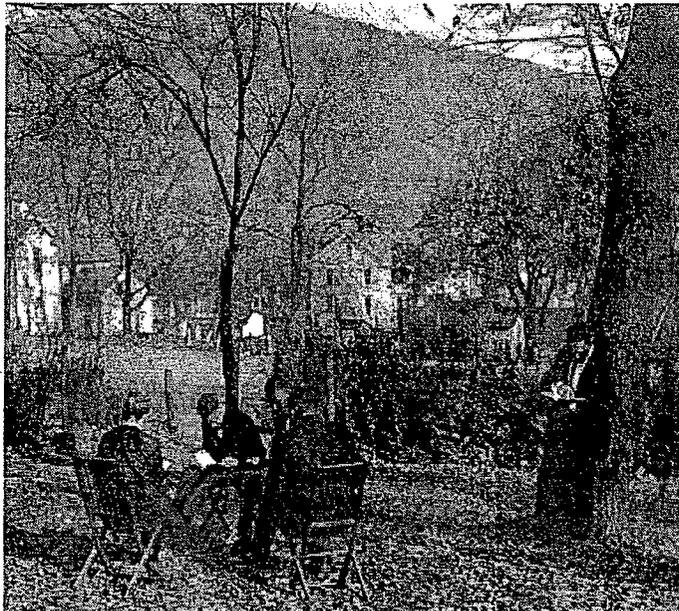
The war also had an impact on Storer itself, as several teachers left to join the military. J. C. Newcomer, a white instructor, was lent to the Harpers Ferry District High School, and did not return. In addition, two female faculty members also left the school. To make matters worse, the school was hit by the terrible influenza pandemic in the fall of 1918. Storer observed a voluntary quarantine, and classes were held outdoors or in

³³²Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 28, 1918, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 69; Handwritten list of Storer men in U.S. armed forces, probably 1918, Storer College Collection, A&M 2621, Box 16, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

³³³Form letter from Henry T. McDonald to Storer students in U.S. armed forces, November 11, 1918, Storer College Collection, A&M 2621, Box 16.

rooms with all the windows and doors open. According to McDonald, there were about 40 cases of influenza at the school.

He singled out one student, Miss Emily Franklin Crump for her tremendous effort in nursing sick students, for which she was awarded the Anthony Y. Lewis Scholarship.³³⁴



Students Studying Outside

In addition, the experience of African Americans who served during the war gave them a sense of pride in their accomplishments and raised their expectations for better social conditions when they got home. Many felt that they had proven themselves as American citizens and earned the right to be equal to white citizens. However, most whites did not have any intention of giving African Americans equality and, consequently, several race riots broke out in cities and towns across America in the summer and fall of 1919. Although there is no direct reference to any specific incidents at Storer, McDonald's annual report after the 1919-1920 school year hinted at some trouble with the students. His comments to the Trustees over the next few years suggest that the students were beginning to find a voice and become more active participants in the life of Storer College. Unfortunately, McDonald saw this attitude not as an

³³⁴Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 28, 1918, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 69.

expression of maturity and strength, but rather as ingratitude and disrespect for the white administrators and teachers who were trying their best to educate them.³³⁵

The most serious incident, which illustrates the growing agitation of the Storer student body, was a student strike that occurred in November 1922. In his annual report, President McDonald briefly mentioned the student unrest: "The restive feeling which has taken hold of so many of the schools for colored youth and manifested itself in so many and varied ways, finally came to an unexpected and unwelcome head here in November."³³⁶ Although there is no record of what actually precipitated the incident, it involved a protest by at least three male students. They rallied the support of many of the other students, and held a meeting in one of the dorms, probably Lincoln Hall. In the end, the strike ended quickly and the three students were either expelled or left voluntarily, and numerous other students faced disciplinary action. In addition, several students wrote letters of apology to McDonald, and tried to plead the cases of the boys.³³⁷

Campus

By 1918 and the end of World War I, the expansion of the Storer College campus was essentially complete. In his report to the Trustees on the purchase of the "Marmion" and "Circus Hill" lots in 1915, President McDonald noted that "These are

³³⁵Henry T. McDonald, President's Reports, 1918-1924, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944.

³³⁶Henry T. McDonald, President's report, May 29, 1923, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 124-5.

³³⁷Student letters, A&M 2621, Box 1, FF 2 "Student Strike," West Virginia History and Regional Collection.

the last contiguous parcels of land of any size which we shall be able to add to our possessions."³³⁸ However, there were still some additions to the school's property holdings, as in the case of Mrs. L. W. Brackett's gift of a "strip of land on Shenandoah Street opposite the pulp mill."³³⁹ In addition, the Executive Committee still had authority from the Board of Trustees to purchase any available properties adjacent to the college property that might come onto the market.³⁴⁰ For example, in 1924, the Board authorized the Executive Committee to try to purchase the "Johnson" field to use as an athletic field, and during the 1929-1903 school year the committee was authorized to spend \$300 to buy "two lots belonging to Miss Sims lying next to the Franklin property."³⁴¹ It appears that McDonald and others had a plan to buy up all the property surrounding Storer and make it a closed campus. In a letter to Dr. Anthony in November 1926, McDonald laid out his plan to acquire the remaining land between the Harpers Cemetery and the main campus not already controlled by Storer. He identified the Cassell property, the Hawk place, the Trail property, and the Dailey property as the parcels which would need to be purchased, and estimated the cost at \$18,000-20,000. With that accomplished, Storer would control or own "all the property on this side of

³³⁸Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 23, 1916, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 36.

³³⁹Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, December 7, 1918, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 71.

³⁴⁰Notations from the minutes of each annual Trustees meeting indicate that the authorization was renewed each year.

³⁴¹Henry T. McDonald to Alfred W. Anthony, November 26, 1926, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society; Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 23, 1924, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 141; Executive Committee meetings, 1929-1930, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 228-230.

the town. No one can find fault with us. We will be to ourselves."³⁴²

As Storer College continued to try to keep its facilities going in the face of rising costs and lack of additional funding, the administration focused on needed improvements to the existing campus. The west porch of the Shenandoah Cottage was covered in 1915, and the Trustees voted to add electric lights to Jackson Cottage in 1916. In May 1917, they voted to increase the lights on campus.³⁴³ In 1918, the Board

voted to get estimates for installing bathrooms in the Morrell House (Sparrows Inn) and the Lockwood House. Miss Shawen, who was renting Morrell House at the time, requested that her lease be renewed without the installation of a bathroom in the building.³⁴⁴

At its October 11, 1919 meeting, the Executive Committee was notified that Miss Shawen had asked Storer College to take possession of Sparrows Inn as of January 1, 1920. In March 1921, the treasurer was empowered to negotiate a \$1000 short-term loan for installing a water system in Morrell House, and in April the Executive Committee voted to install water and three bathrooms there. The newly renovated Morrell House, now known as Shenandoah Inn, was rented to Mrs. Louise Thompson in 1921 at a rent of \$450 per year, or \$350 for the season.³⁴⁵

³⁴²Henry T. McDonald to Alfred W. Anthony, November 26, 1926.

³⁴³Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 29, 1917, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 48.

³⁴⁴Executive Committee meeting, March 4, 1918, Storer College Trustee Minute Book 1914-1944, 64.

³⁴⁵Executive Committee meetings, March 5 and April 2, 1921, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 91; Henry T. McDonald to Alfred W. Anthony, June 11, 1921, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

The newly-acquired Robinson house (Robinson Cottage) was given to Mr. Thornton, a new faculty member, in 1916. Mr. Thornton and his wife did not stay in the house long, as she died during the 1918-1919 school year and Mr. Thornton resigned his position. The unoccupied portion of Robinson Cottage was then rented to Mr. Arter for \$5 per month in December 1918.³⁴⁶ Sinclair Cottage was still housing teachers, as was Shenandoah Cottage. There is no specific mention of the tenants in Sinclair, but the Executive Committee voted during the 1922-1923 school year to give the use of Shenandoah Cottage to Mr. and Mrs. Drew.³⁴⁷ In 1924, the Executive Committee voted to renovate Sinclair Cottage and install a furnace.³⁴⁸

One of the biggest changes to the campus occurred in September 1918, when the Executive Committee decided to open Lincoln Hall for girls, with Miss Ella V. Smith in charge, and put the boys in Myrtle Hall, with Mr. and Mrs. Arter in charge.³⁴⁹ This change was probably made due to the fact that there continued to be more girls than boys enrolled at Storer, and Lincoln Hall was the larger dormitory. Lincoln Hall also became a center of activity at the school as the female student population increased. In his President's Report for 1922, Henry McDonald noted that Lincoln Hall now had the only dining room, and 160 students were being fed in a room for 100. He suggested

³⁴⁶Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 23, 1916, May 28, 1919, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 36, 69; Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, December 7, 1918, 71.

³⁴⁷Minutes of Executive Committee meetings 1922-1923, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 116.

³⁴⁸Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, October 16, 1924, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 136.

³⁴⁹Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, September 17, 1918, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 70.

that the small exercise room, used as the girls' gymnasium, be fitted as an extra dining room.³⁵⁰

At their annual meeting in May 1921, the Board of Trustees voted to change the name of Myrtle Hall to Mosher Hall, in honor of longtime supporter and Trustee Mrs. Frances Stewart Mosher.³⁵¹ No reason is given for the change, but it may have been related to its new use as a dormitory for boys. In his President's Report for 1922, Henry



Robinson Barn

McDonald suggested re-naming

Lincoln Hall, and proposed that new names that had significance for the school also be given to the Robinson and McDaniel houses.³⁵²

By the 1921-1922 academic year, President

McDonald and the Executive Committee apparently grew impatient for the Board to authorize the construction of a gymnasium, and decided to fix up the old Robinson Barn as a basketball court. For several years ending in 1920, Storer had been renting a hall in

³⁵⁰Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 30, 1922, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 105.

³⁵¹Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 31, 1921, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 96.

³⁵²Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 30, 1922, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 105.

town for its basketball games.³⁵³ During the next school year, 1920-1921, McDonald began his own campaign among the students, faculty, and alumni to raise money for a gym, and collected more than \$2700 in pledges.³⁵⁴ However, McDonald did not ask for prior authorization for the fund-raising drive, which caused some dissension in the Board. They took no action at their 1921 meeting, other than a resolution that belatedly approved of McDonald's actions and promised cooperation in getting a gym for Storer.³⁵⁵

McDonald and the Executive Committee decided to take matters into their own hands, and voted to re-model the Robinson Barn over the winter of 1921. He reported the committee's actions at the annual meeting in May 1922, and took the opportunity to express the importance of the basketball program: "Moreover the team we have developed has brought the attention of the outer world to Storer in an unheard-of way. I think I am safe in saying that they traveled about 1000 miles this winter and in so doing spread the Storer spirit and ideals."³⁵⁶ The little building also helped to foster a spirit of cooperation between Storer College and the white citizens of Harpers Ferry, as it was also used by the nearby Harpers Ferry District High School for their basketball games.³⁵⁷

³⁵³Henry T. McDonald, President's Reports, May 25, 1920, May 30, 1922, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 79, 99.

³⁵⁴Henry T. McDonald to Alfred W. Anthony, April 8, 1921, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

³⁵⁵Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 31, 1921, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 96.

³⁵⁶Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 30, 1922, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 105.

³⁵⁷Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, November 21, 1927, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 194.

Storer College also continued to support a baseball and football team, and rented a field in town for games. Although the location of the field is not mentioned, the Treasurer's Report for 1925-1926 lists an expenditure of \$31.65 for "athletic field rental."³⁵⁸ The school did have some sort of athletic field of its own by 1920, as McDonald noted in his President's Report that members of the student body had



Golden Tornadoes Football Team 1923-1924

removed the locust trees in and near the "athletic field."³⁵⁹ Apparently Storer also had a running track by 1930, as the President's Report for that year mentions that the Harpers Ferry High School shared the track and the gym.³⁶⁰ In addition, there were at least two tennis courts located between Anthony Memorial Hall and Lincoln Hall. In an open

³⁵⁸Treasurer's Report, June 1, 1926, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, p. 168.

³⁵⁹Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 25, 1920, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 79.

³⁶⁰Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 20, 1930, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 231.

letter to the members of the Board in December 1921 that laid out his vision of the future campus, McDonald mentioned that there were courts near Lincoln Hall, and in his President's Report in May 1930, he noted that the girls' tennis courts had been damaged during the fire at Anthony Memorial Hall and must have been nearby.³⁶¹

In addition to the other improvements to the campus, the Storer Board had also decided to erect a fence around the main campus area and formed a committee in 1915 to plan and execute the project. After several years of unsuccessful effort, the fence was finally constructed with the help of the Alumni Association, and included a gate with two stone pillars dedicated to the memory of those Storer students who fought in World War I.³⁶² Named the Soldiers Gate and Alumni Fence, they were completed during the 1922-23 school year, and dedicated at Commencement exercises on May 30, 1923.³⁶³

Almost as soon as the well and water system had been installed in 1911, Storer's administration realized that it was still inadequate for the school's needs. In 1915, the Trustees authorized the Executive Committee to erect a tower and water tank between Anthony Memorial Hall and the DeWolf Industrial Building. Apparently, it was difficult to keep the tank filled, and in January 1917 the Executive Board made

³⁶¹Henry T. McDonald to "Friend," December 10, 1921, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society; Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 20, 1930, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 231.

³⁶²Minutes of Trustees meeting May 1, 1915, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 30.

³⁶³Executive Committee meeting, March 19, 1923, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 119; Henry T. McDonald to "the soldier and sailor sons of this institution," May 24, 1923, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

arrangements with the Shenandoah Pulp Company to fill the tank at \$10 per filling.³⁶⁴

This was accomplished by laying a pipeline from the tank to the pulp mill, which was located along the Shenandoah River directly below the campus. An agreement was negotiated between Storer College and the Shenandoah Pulp Co. in April 1920, whereby the pulp mill would pump water to the campus at a rate of 20¢ per 1000 gallons. The agreement also stated that meters would be installed, with the school paying half the

COST.³⁶⁵

Water supply continued to be a problem for the school, especially after a failed attempt to sell its water plant and tank to a private company. At first, Storer had allowed several private citizens, including T.S. Lovett of Hilltop House, as well as the local high school on Washington Street, to hook into the water system. However, Storer was responsible for collecting the fees and paying the pulp mill, and it appears that there were problems in getting people to pay their bills. Consequently, the Executive Committee entered into negotiations with two men from Charles Town, who had formed a company known as the Harpers Ferry and Bolivar Water Company.³⁶⁶

An agreement was reached and ratified by the Board at its annual meeting on June 2, 1925, that the Harpers Ferry and Bolivar Water Co. would receive Storer

³⁶⁴Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 1, 1915, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 30; Executive Committee meeting, August 7, 1915, 39; Executive Committee meeting January 1, 1917, 49.

³⁶⁵Executive Committee meeting, April 3, 1920, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 81.

³⁶⁶Henry T. McDonald to Alfred W. Anthony, February 17, 1925, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society; Executive Committee meetings, February 5, March 10, 1925, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914, 1944, 148.

College's water plant, pipe, and tank for a one-year trial period beginning July 1, 1925, in exchange for \$6000. The water company would also assume responsibility for collecting unpaid water fees, and Storer would get a break on the rates. However, it appears that the water company did not fulfill its end of the agreement, and by June 1926 McDonald reported to the Board that Storer had not been paid for the water plant, and was using water without paying for the time being as some form of compensation.³⁶⁷

The dispute over ownership of the water plant continued until at least 1929, when the minutes of an Executive Committee meeting noted that a court had ruled that Storer still owned its water plant, as the contract had not been completed.³⁶⁸

It also appears that Storer College gained its own coal supply near the end of World War I. Sometime during 1917 or 1918, the Executive Committee learned of a coal pocket along the B & O Railroad line near the campus, and had John Aglionby inquire about it.³⁶⁹ Aglionby bought the property, or at least got use of it, and let Storer have the coal. In his President's Report for 1922, McDonald mentioned the use of Mr. Aglionby's coal pocket, and felt that something was due to him for his generosity. Several Board members were elected to go and meet with Aglionby to discuss the matter, and later in the same meeting reported that he had agreed to offer the use of two

³⁶⁷Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 1, 1926, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 167.

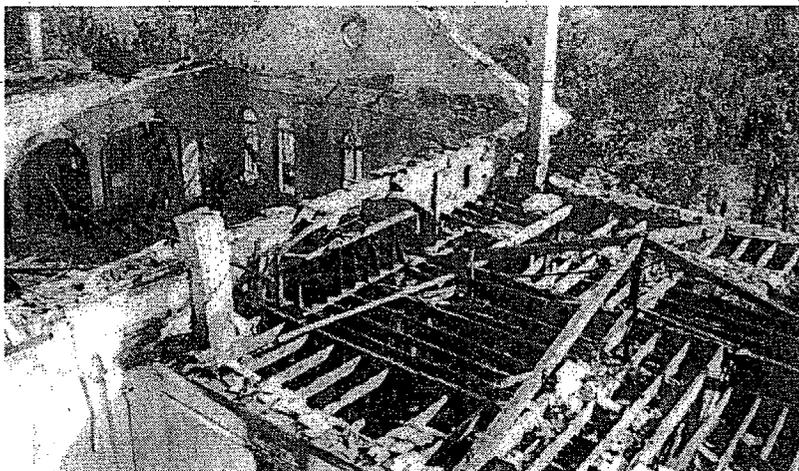
³⁶⁸Executive Committee meeting, April 1, 1929, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 219.

³⁶⁹Executive Committee meeting, July 6, 1918, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 70.

coal pockets to Storer until further notice.³⁷⁰ The matter was resolved the following year, when the Executive Committee voted to purchase the entire Dittmeyer Coal Shed property, where the pockets were located, from Mr. Aglionby for \$100.³⁷¹

Anthony Memorial Hall fire

Although Storer College had endured many hardships during its 60 years of existence, the fire that destroyed Anthony Memorial Hall on the night of October 16, 1927 was one of the



Anthony Memorial Hall after the 1927 fire.

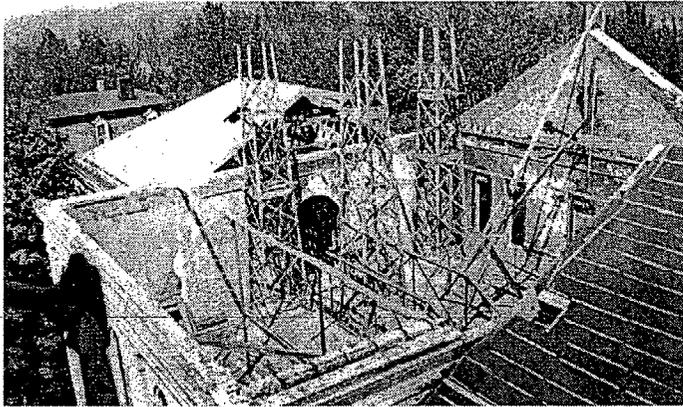
most devastating blows to the school. The fire apparently started in one of the music rooms at the back of the chapel, and was reported at about 6:45pm. The blaze was already out of control by then, and fire companies from Harpers Ferry, Charles Town, Shepherdstown, and Brunswick battled the flames for hours. The next morning, only the shell of the building remained, and most of its contents, including the library, were destroyed. Anthony Hall was insured and the claim paid promptly, but the check only

³⁷⁰Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 30, 1922, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 111.

³⁷¹Executive Committee meeting, March 19, 1923, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 118.

amounted to about \$14,900, well below what it would cost to rebuild it.³⁷²

Since its completion in 1881, Anthony Memorial Hall had been the focus of



Reconstruction of Anthony Memorial Hall

educational activities at Storer, and the administration was forced to scramble to finish the school year. Classes were held in dining rooms, sitting rooms, and private homes, and a laboratory was set up in the basement of the Lewis W.

Anthony Building. Still, rumors circulated that the school would close, and at least some students actually left. The debate within the Board of Trustees over the future of Storer College was brought to a head by the fire, and indirectly caused even more damage to the remains of the structure. Because Dr. Anthony had insisted that the Board not allow any money to be expended on the repair of Anthony Hall until the future use of the building could be decided, the ruins were left to the elements over the winter of 1927. A strong storm blew over the west gable, that crashed through the chapel and laboratory, and landed on the boiler.³⁷³

In the end, however, this incident probably helped McDonald, as the Trustees voted in a special meeting in February 1928 to authorize the Executive Committee to

³⁷²Special Meeting of Board of Trustees, February 22, 1928, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 183-4.

³⁷³Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 7, 1928, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 191.

begin repairs on Anthony Memorial Hall using the nearly \$15,000 insurance payment, and any unspecified money from the endowment fund up to \$20,000. Since this would still not be enough to rebuild and refurnish the building, the Executive Committee was also instructed to begin soliciting contributions for the reconstruction of Anthony Memorial Hall. Storer's students, faculty, alumni, and friends responded, and the rebuilding was completed by the end of 1928. Among the many contributions were nearly 4,000 books for a new library, 1,700 of those on permanent loan from Howard University, and a \$300 stage curtain paid for by gifts from various classes and campus organizations.³⁷⁴

The fire in Anthony Memorial Hall also led to changes to other campus buildings, the Lewis W. Anthony Building and the DeWolf Industrial Building. Before the fire, the Lewis W. Anthony Building had housed the repair shop for the school and the upper floor was used for storage. After the destruction of Anthony Memorial Hall, McDonald suggested moving the repair shop to the school's old stable, which was no longer being used for livestock and could easily be fixed up as a shop. This would leave room for Lewis W. Anthony Building to be used for school purposes. During the 1929-1930 academic year, the first floor of the Anthony Building was fitted with new lights, library furniture, and shelving, and became Storer College's main library. Miss Clara M. Law spent four months cataloging the nearly 4000 books that had been donated following the fire, and the total cost of refitting and furnishing the new library amounted to approximately \$1796.³⁷⁵

³⁷⁴Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, June 4, 1929, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 220-1.

³⁷⁵Executive Committee meetings, 1929-1930, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 228-230.

Curriculum and Mission

The expansion of Storer College's curriculum and reorganization of the Courses of Study in the years prior to World War I reflect a conscious effort by the Storer administration to better define the school's mission and create a stronger niche for the school in the education of African American students. In his annual report for 1919, President McDonald told the Board that Storer's goal should be to serve as a good regional high school for black students who wanted to go on to college:

From Washington on the East to Clarksburg and Pittsburgh on the West; from the Penn. line on the North to Charleston on the South there is not a single first class high school in which colored youth may be fitted for college. We must live up to our best ideals in this kind of work and as we may be able add to our facilities for doing thorough and needed educational work.³⁷⁶

This effort to make Storer at least a high school for African American students can be seen in the push to eliminate the Preparatory Department, and the formation of a committee to try to have the Academic Department accredited as a secondary school.³⁷⁷

Increasingly during these years, President McDonald began to assert his own vision of the future of Storer College, and the passive nature of the Board of Trustees emboldened him to make even bigger plans. In addition to Storer's work as a secondary school for black students who wished to go on to higher education, McDonald also wanted to make the original vision of Storer's founders a reality by offering college-level

³⁷⁶Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 28, 1919, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 69.

³⁷⁷Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 4, 1918, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 67.

courses at the school. To that end, he began a drive in 1918 to establish a Junior College at Storer, and brought the matter before the Board of Trustees at their annual meeting in 1918. The Board seemed favorably disposed toward the idea, but took no action.

McDonald continued to press for Junior College courses, with some opposition, and the

Board finally approved the

established of the

equivalent of a Freshman

year of a Junior College on

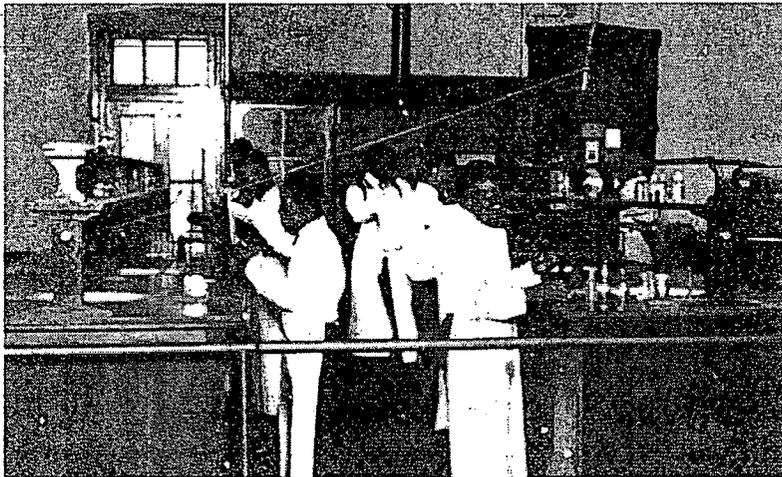
a trial basis at their annual

meeting in May 1921.³⁷⁸

Storer College

began offering Junior

College courses in the



Students in the Chemistry Laboratory

1921-22 academic year, and enrolled six freshman, three girls and three boys. At the next annual meeting, the Trustees voted to establish a full Junior College commencing the next fall. Trustee George Hovey, perhaps sensing that Pres. McDonald might go beyond the Board's wishes, insisted that the motion be passed with the understanding that "no steps be undertaken toward the establishment of a full standard college until the question of its establishment is fully investigated by this Board."³⁷⁹

³⁷⁸Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 31, 1921, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 88.

³⁷⁹Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 30, 1922, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 105.

To support the new Junior College work, the Board also voted to spend \$1000 for chemistry and biology equipment to try to modernize Storer's laboratory.³⁸⁰

In 1923, Storer College graduated its first student from the Junior College program, Watson David Hill, and by 1928, the program was well established. The course consisted of two years of study, equivalent to the Freshman and Sophomore years of college, and required the completion of 64 hours of work to graduate. The curriculum covered standard subjects such as ~~Math, English, Chemistry, and History~~, as well as classes such as Public Speaking, Economics, Sociology, Psychology, and Ethics. In keeping with its Baptist tradition, the Junior College also required two hours of Bible classes each year. In keeping with the general effort to upgrade the quality of education offered at Storer, the Junior College program also had fairly strict entrance requirements, including a minimum number of units in English, Science, Math, History, and a foreign language.³⁸¹

With the successful establishment of the Junior College program, President McDonald offered the Board of Trustees his new vision for the mission of Storer College. He argued that Storer should conform its courses to the requirements of the State Department of Education, so that the school could provide for the northern part of West Virginia the same services as Bluefield Colored Institute provided for the southern region: "namely, [a] well-equipped Junior College and Normal Department and for many years to come a High School department with industrial training especially adapted to

³⁸⁰Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 30, 1922, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 105.

³⁸¹*Storer College Catalogue* 1927-28.

prepare teachers for their work and to prepare home keepers for the improvement of their homes and gardens."³⁸² Although Junior College enrollment remained small throughout the 1920's, it is clear that McDonald hoped it would become the focus of the school, and eventually allow the establishment of a true four-year college.

During the 1919-1920 school year, the faculty of Storer College endorsed the idea of a Summer Normal School and President McDonald presented it to the Trustees at the annual meeting in May 1920. However, the Board did not approve of the measure until its annual meeting in 1923.³⁸³ The summer school lasted no more than six years, as the minutes of the Executive Committee show that they voted "there be no summer school held unless Dr. McDonald finds it desirable to do so."³⁸⁴ During its brief existence, the Summer School did attract a fair number of students, as the catalogue for 1927-28, lists a total enrollment of 47. Of these, less than half (22) were from West Virginia, while the remainder came from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Washington, D.C.³⁸⁵

Faculty

By the early 1920's and the end of World War I, the administration of Storer College was finding it difficult to get faculty to teach its expanding curriculum,

³⁸²Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 29, 1923, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 130.

³⁸³Minutes of Trustees meetings, May 25, 1920, May 29, 1923, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 79, 130.

³⁸⁴Executive Committee meeting, February 7, 1929, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944.

³⁸⁵*Storer College Catalogue 1927-28.*

especially at the low wages the school offered. During the war, Storer had lost four faculty members and the Executive Committee was having trouble finding suitable replacements at the same salaries. McDonald lamented this state of affairs in his 1920 report to the Board of Trustees, and argued that many others were prepared to leave rather than continue their meager existence: "For many that point has been reached here. We have been unable to recall the teachers, who left because of the war, or to secure successors at the same, or any where near the same salary. Others here faithful, interested and efficient, seriously consider the necessity for a change."³⁸⁶

Many of the older white teachers, such as Mrs. Lightner, Mrs. Brackett, and Mrs. Metcalf, were retiring one by one, and it was becoming difficult to find replacements. A large part of this problem was the belief of McDonald and other members of the Board that the educational level of the school could not be maintained without white teachers:

But I want to stress, that white trustees may be conscious of the situation, the idea of not allowing the relative number of colored teachers here to be increased. Now better might I have said, that I intend to see that such is to be the case, Since my nominations have always been approved. I want to keep the balance of wisdom and action safe.³⁸⁷

McDonald further argued that the only way to get white teachers to come to Storer was to increase the salaries, since the missionary spirit, which brought many from the north, was rapidly dying off.

³⁸⁶Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 25, 1920, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 79.

³⁸⁷Henry T. McDonald to Alfred W. Anthony, June 10, 1925, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

Student demographics

Enrollment figures for the years 1914-1915 to 1919-1920, are only available in the annual President's Report, which list the number of male and female students, and the total enrollment. From 1914-1918, this enrollment averaged around 147, with a low of 134 in 1914-15 and a high of 155 the following year. By 1919-20, the total enrollment at Storer College had jumped to 171, mostly due to an increase in male students.³⁸⁸ This increase appears to have been short-lived; however, as enrollment had dropped back to 125 by the 1927-28 school year. This downward trend continued into the early years of the Depression, as the enrollment at Storer totaled only 117 in 1931-32.³⁸⁹

Information on the students' hometowns is only available in the school catalogues for the 1927-1928 and 1931-32 school years, and indicates some changes in the areas where Storer was getting its students. In 1927-28, only eight students, or less than 1%, came from the local Harpers Ferry-Charles Town-Martinsburg area, and only 27% (34) from the entire state of West Virginia. In addition, the proportion of students from the geographic region that comprised West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, had provided 83% of Storer's students, a significant drop from the pre-World War I years. By 1931-32, the proportion of West Virginia students had rebounded to 57% (61), most likely due to scholarships for West Virginia students. In addition, the proportion from the geographic region surrounding the school had risen slightly; to

³⁸⁸Henry T. McDonald, President's Reports, 1915-18, 1920, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944.

³⁸⁹*Storer College Catalogue 1927-28, 1931-32.*

87%(102).³⁹⁰ Still, these figures indicate that 13-17% of Storer's students were coming from states outside the region, and even from as far away as Africa.

The Conflict over Storer's Administration - 1919-1929

In 1904, Dr. Alfred Williams Anthony, son of Lewis W. Anthony, became a member of the Storer College Board of Trustees, and was elected president of the Board the following year.³⁹¹ Although the Anthony family had been one of the most generous benefactors of Storer, Alfred W. Anthony's association with the school would be marked by increasing conflict. Much of this conflict was centered on the differing views between Anthony and McDonald on the management and future of Storer College, and the animosity that grew out of the clash between these two strong personalities. Based on his correspondence with fellow Board members and Baptist officials, it appears that Anthony felt McDonald's administration was inefficient and even misguided and Storer needed "some of the competent and responsible Baptist men to become identified with its management."³⁹²

Anthony's misgivings about McDonald and his administration became apparent when he addressed the Board of Trustees about the school's problems at the May 1919 annual meeting. His actual remarks were not recorded, but the correspondence that resulted suggests that Anthony questioned McDonald's management of Storer's affairs.

³⁹⁰*Storer College Catalogue* 1927-28, 1931-32.

³⁹¹Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 8, 1904, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1898-1912; Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 31, 1905, 55.

³⁹²Alfred Wms. Anthony to Dr. Charles L. White, November 13, 1920, Alfred Williams Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, New York.

Anthony was unwilling to press the issue at that time, however, and wrote to McDonald in June to reassure him: "There has been a fear in my mind lest you may have misinterpreted my motives in speaking as I did respecting the relations of the school and its administration to the different groups of the constituency which it serves."³⁹³ Anthony went on to praise McDonald's twenty years of work, and argued that he only meant to point out where work still needed to be done to keep Storer headed in the right direction.

McDonald's carefully worded reply indicates that he had, in fact, interpreted Anthony's remarks as disapproval of his administration.³⁹⁴ Apparently, McDonald was not alone in his interpretation. On June 14, 1919, Mrs. Lura B. Lightner, who was still Storer College's treasurer, wrote to Dr. Anthony in defense of McDonald:

Mrs. Metcalf and I were very glad of the very plain but kind talk you gave at the Trustee meeting. I hope it will result in much good. Mr. McDonald works hard. He has had many years of experience. The limitations seem to me to be due to a lack of a sense of proportion. We have supported him because we believe he means well and his defects are not fatal.³⁹⁵

Mrs. Lightner, like Mrs. Metcalf, had been associated with Storer for decades, working side-by-side with McDonald for twenty years. Her letter in defense of Henry McDonald hints at the divided sentiment among the Board of Trustees between emotional loyalty to

³⁹³ Alfred W. Anthony to Henry T. McDonald, June 18, 1919, Alfred Williams Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

³⁹⁴ Henry T. McDonald to Alfred W. Anthony, June 19, 1919, Alfred Williams Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

³⁹⁵ Mrs. Lura B. Lightner to Alfred W. Anthony, June 14, 1919, Alfred Williams Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

the school and its administration, and the reality of Storer's problems.

By the time of the next annual meeting of the Trustees in May 1920, it appears that Dr. Anthony's views on the administration of Storer College had isolated him from some of the Board members, and he began to look for allies. In a letter dated May 17, 1920, Anthony wrote to Dr. Charles White, a Board member who was also an officer of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, and urged him to attend the upcoming meeting. Anthony stressed the importance of trying to create closer ties between Storer and the Baptist Headquarters, and felt he would need help in getting his message across to the Board. Anthony's letter also hints at his frustration with the situation at Storer, which would only continue to grow: "I feel very much alone and quite helpless in connection with all of the problems at Storer."³⁹⁶

Although McDonald and Mrs. Lightner may have agreed with Dr. Anthony's assessment of Storer's administration, they did recognize that some problems existed in the day-to-day management of the school's affairs, and changes were needed. Due to budget constraints, which did not provide enough money to hire good clerical help, both McDonald and Mrs. Lightner did much of the work of the President's and Treasurer's Offices themselves. McDonald already had strenuous administrative and teaching duties, and Mrs. Lightner was nearly 70 years old. In separate letters to Dr. Anthony before the 1920 Trustees meeting, both McDonald and Mrs. Lightner stressed the need to

³⁹⁶ Alfred W. Anthony to Dr. Charles L. White, May 17, 1920, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

hire a stenographer.³⁹⁷ Mrs. Lightner again expressed her support of McDonald: "Mr. McDonald has grown much in the last ten years. It is time for him to take charge of the whole machine or at least to demonstrate whether he can do it satisfactorily to the Trustees or not."³⁹⁸ Consequently, she recommended uniting the President's and Treasurer's Officers under McDonald, assisted by a qualified stenographer and bookkeeper.

Lura B. Lightner's suggestion that the financial management of Storer be reorganized illustrates one of the major problems confronting the school: how to provide effective leadership without the staff or funds that the task required. The charter that created Storer College in 1868 had invested power in a Board of Trustees, and provided for an Executive Committee to be made up of five members of the Board to oversee day-to-day operations. Since the beginning, the President had been a member of both the Board and the Executive Committee, and was also given extensive decision-making powers. As the years passed and the original Board members began to be replaced, more and more major decisions were made by the Executive Committee. The committee consisted of President McDonald and several influential Board members who lived near enough to be able to attend meetings about once a month.

The Executive Committee was authorized to handle many of the day-to-day decisions and report their actions to the full Board of Trustees. However, many of the

³⁹⁷Henry T. McDonald to Alfred W. Anthony, April 16, 1920; Lura B. Lightner to Alfred W. Anthony, May 12, 1920, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

³⁹⁸Lura B. Lightner to Alfred W. Anthony, May 12, 1920, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

members of the Board did not attend the annual meetings, and were not kept abreast of the Executive Committee's actions. In addition, lack of attendance forced the adjournment and rescheduling of Trustees' meetings on several occasions due to the lack of a quorum to conduct business.³⁹⁹ Even when the Trustees did meet, the Board took a fairly passive role in managing Storer's affairs. The President, Treasurer, Executive Committee and various other committees gave reports at each annual meeting, which were usually approved and the recommended actions taken by the Board. As the years passed, McDonald and the Executive Committee became accustomed to the rubber-stamp approval of their actions by the full Board.

By the early 1920's, McDonald began taking more of the authority of the Executive Committee, and was making many of the daily decisions concerning Storer College's operation essentially on his own. Consequently, the Board members became increasingly out of touch with Storer's condition and management, and could not really make informed decisions even when they did meet.⁴⁰⁰ The Board often deferred unfinished business to the Executive Committee and, since copies of the minutes were apparently not sent to absent Board members, many had no idea what kinds of decisions were being made. After the deaths of two of its members during the 1925-1926 school year left the Executive Committee unable to transact business, the Board voted at the

³⁹⁹Minutes of Trustees meetings, Storer College Trustees Minute Books, 1898-1912, 1914-1944.

⁴⁰⁰Minutes of Trustees meetings, Storer College Trustees Minute Books 1898-1912, 1914-1944; Various correspondence, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

1926 annual meeting to allow the Executive Committee to fill their own vacancies.⁴⁰¹

This played into McDonald's hands, and gave him even more power over the day-to-day decisions at the school. Because the Executive Committee had to be made up of people who lived locally and would be available for meetings, McDonald was able to convince the Board to appoint Robert E. McDaniel and Walter E. Dittmeyer to the Executive Committee. Both men had no other official connection to Storer other than their membership on the committee, although McDaniel was a Storer graduate. Since the other members of the Executive Committee were Mrs. Coralie Franklin Cook and J. C. Newcomer, the Storer treasurer, McDonald was practically assured that his wishes would be followed in the day-to-day administration of the school.⁴⁰²

In the spring of 1921, Dr. Anthony received even more cause for concern when he found out that McDonald had already started a fund-raising drive for a new gymnasium without Board approval. Although McDonald had expressed the need for a gymnasium several times in his annual reports, the Board had taken no definitive action. He had always been a strong supporter of athletics, and perhaps became frustrated with the Trustees' failure to approve his plans for the new gym. In any event, McDonald went ahead and proposed the idea to the students and faculty. They, along with some Alumni, gave their support and McDonald began taking pledges. Sensing that some of the Board members, especially Anthony, felt he had overstepped his bounds, McDonald had the

⁴⁰¹Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 1, 1926, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 163-166.

⁴⁰²Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 1, 1926, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 163-166.

Board pass a resolution at the next annual meeting approving of his actions and pledging full support for the gymnasium project. Dr. Anthony was not present at that meeting.⁴⁰³

The fund-raising drive for the new gymnasium, however, highlighted one of the main problems confronting Storer College: how to support its expanding curriculum and rising operating costs on the same small appropriations from the Baptists and the State of West Virginia. Although the annual appropriation from the state increased from \$2700 in 1919 to just over \$6000 by 1926, it still did not even cover half the salaries of the faculty and administration.⁴⁰⁴ In addition, the annual appropriations from the American Baptist Home Mission Society averaged only around \$2500, with the exception of certain years where special appropriations were granted. The Woman's Baptist Home Mission Society maintained its \$3000 annual appropriation, but this money was earmarked specifically for the programs relating to female students. Consequently, these appropriations represented a fairly small portion of the operating budget, as evidenced by the Treasurer's Report for the fiscal year ending April 1, 1925:

American Baptist Home Mission Society	\$ 2496.58
Woman's Baptist Home Mission Society	3000.00
State Board of Control	6600.00
TOTAL	\$12,096.58

For the same year, Storer College's operating expenses amounting to \$61,387.62.

Consequently, its three main sources of funding covered only 20% of the school's operating budget. For several years during the 1920's, Storer also received a small

⁴⁰³Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 31, 1921, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 96.

⁴⁰⁴Treasurer's Reports, 1919-1926, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944.

contribution from the General Education Board, but this only amounted to an additional \$3333.32 for the 1924-1925 school year.⁴⁰⁵

With only one-fifth of Storer's annual budget covered by its main funding sources, the school had to scramble each year to make expenses. Approximately one-third of the school's annual expenses related to boarding students, and these were covered by students' boarding fees, which in 1925 amounted to \$23,823.48.⁴⁰⁶ The remaining 40% of the annual budget was covered by income from the school's farm, payments for books and supplies, rent, interest from investments, and charitable donations. In keeping with Storer's mission to keep tuition and expenses low so even poor students could attend, tuition income for 1925 was only \$3267.05, less than 1% of the total budget.⁴⁰⁷

By the mid-1920's, it was clear that Alfred W. Anthony, George R. Hovey, and Charles White, the three Trustees who were affiliated with the Baptist denomination, had already decided to try to convince the Board to turn Storer College over to the State of West Virginia. It had become clear that the funding problems would only get worse, as it appeared that the Baptist denomination was already considering a decrease and possible elimination of its annual support for Storer College. In the correspondence between Dr. Anthony, Dr. White, and Dr. Hovey during the early and mid-1920's, it is apparent that

⁴⁰⁵Treasurer's Report, June 2, 1925, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 161.

⁴⁰⁶Treasurer's Report, June 2, 1925, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, p. 161.

⁴⁰⁷Treasurer's Report, June 2, 1925, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, p. 161.

many in the administration of the Baptist Convention were beginning to think that the amount of money required to bring Storer's physical plant back into shape, upgrade its curriculum and faculty, and provide for an adequate endowment was simply too much.⁴⁰⁸ In November 1926, Dr. Hovey and other officials of the educational wing of the Baptist denomination held a conference of the Presidents of the Baptist schools for "colored youth" in Atlanta, and McDonald attended. The funding problems of all of the schools were discussed, and it was agreed that the best approach would be a united five-year fund-raising drive with a goal of \$5-6,000,000. The estimated need for Storer College was approximately \$400,000: \$250,000 for the endowment and \$150,000 for a building program.⁴⁰⁹

The optimism of this conference was short-lived, however, as the American Baptist Home Mission Society reconsidered its position, and decided that it already had enough fund raising events scheduled for other programs. In addition, the Northern Baptist Convention ruled that its "colored schools" belonged to the Home Mission Society, and would need special permission from the Finance Committee to make individual campaigns. In a letter to the members of the Board in March 1927, McDonald quoted a letter from Dr. Hovey regarding a fund-raising effort among the Baptists for Storer College: "It is very certain that the Finance Committee would not

⁴⁰⁸Dr. George R. Hovey to Alfred W. Anthony, November 23, 1920, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁴⁰⁹Henry T. McDonald to Alfred W. Anthony, November 18, 1926, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

grant permission until after the campaigns already planned for the next three years."⁴¹⁰

As Storer College's financial condition and the scope of its future needs became more apparent, Anthony, Rice, and Hovey stepped up their discussions with state officials to try to get specific terms for a transfer of Storer College to the State of West Virginia. However, they faced strong opposition from Henry McDonald and several other influential Board members, as well as the students and alumni. One of

McDonald's main supporters in the fight to keep Storer independent was Mrs. Coralie

Franklin Cook, a Storer graduate who was a well-respected faculty member of Howard University in Washington, D.C. When it became clear what Anthony's intentions were, she wrote him a lengthy letter pleading Storer's case. In addition, Mrs. Cook worked hard to canvass for students and contributions to keep the school open.

The debate over a possible takeover of Storer College by the State of West Virginia was brought to a head after the fire that destroyed Anthony Memorial Hall in October 1927. This building had served as the main class building, and contained the laboratory, a dining hall, the President's and Treasurer's Offices and the school's records, music rooms, and a chapel. Its loss was devastating to Storer, and there were rumors that the school might even close. Classes were held in dining rooms, sitting rooms, and private homes. The library was a total loss, and immediate class went out for donations of books to start a new collection.⁴¹¹ The remains of Anthony Hall itself,

⁴¹⁰Henry T. McDonald to the Trustees, March 22, 1927, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁴¹¹Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 7, 1928, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 192.

however, were left unprotected over the winter of 1927-1928 due to a disagreement among the Board members as to what to do about rebuilding it.

Dr. Anthony, sensing the opportunity to force a decision on the future of Storer College, insisted that no money be expended on repairing or rebuilding Anthony Hall until it could be decided what the building's purpose would be. He argued that it had served five different purposes in the past, and careful consideration would have to be given to what the new Anthony Hall would be used for and how the interior floor plan

should be laid out. Anthony further argued that those questions could not be answered until a decision had been reached on Storer's future relationship with the State of West Virginia and the Baptist denomination. Anthony's argument prevailed, and the shell of Anthony Memorial Hall was left to the elements.

Unfortunately, Anthony's harsh stance resulted in additional damage to the ruins of Anthony Memorial Hall when heavy rains damaged the interior, and a wind storm knocked over the west gable of the building, that crashed through the chapel floor, the laboratory and down on top of the boiler. McDonald wrote to Anthony to tell him of the damage the elements were doing to the ruins, but Anthony remained adamant that no money be expended on the building until the Board could meet to discuss the larger issue at hand. He argued that "it is better to let the walls and rooms and the old ruins become damaged now than to waste money in making expenditures which we are not at all sure are needed or will stand the test of time."⁴¹² Finally, at a special meeting of the Board of

⁴¹²Alfred W. Anthony to Henry T. McDonald, November 19, 1927, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

Trustees in February 1928, McDonald won out and the Executive Committee was authorized to begin the repairs to Anthony Hall, with the funds already authorized. In addition, the Board instructed the Executive Committee to do what it could to raise additional funds to completely rebuild and refinish the new Anthony Memorial Hall.⁴¹³

At this February meeting, the issue of turning Storer College over to the State of West Virginia was discussed, but the outcome was not to Dr. Anthony's liking. The main focus of the meeting had been to decide what to do about Anthony Memorial Hall

and, although there was much discussion about the best course of action, the Board finally decided to authorize the Executive Committee to go ahead with repairs. Dr. Anthony then brought up the issue of the future of the school and a possible state takeover. The minutes for this meeting report only that there was a great deal of discussion and several resolutions opposing the takeover were read, but no action was taken. Unfortunately, Dr. Hovey, Dr. White, and Mr. Robertson, Anthony's strongest allies, were not present at the meeting, and he was quite outnumbered by McDonald's supporters. In fact, Dr. Anthony was so upset by the failure of the Board to endorse the idea of a state takeover that he tried to resign as President of the Board of Trustees at the annual meeting on May 7, 1928, but he was convinced to reconsider.⁴¹⁴

The main focus of the May meeting was the issue of the transfer of Storer College to the State of West Virginia and, after a lengthy and tense discussion, the Board voted to

⁴¹³Special meeting of Board of Trustees, February 22, 1928, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 183.

⁴¹⁴Special meeting of Board of Trustees, February 22, 1928, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 183; Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 7, 1928, 188.

form a committee "to consider terms of closer affiliation with the state." The minutes record that three Board members, Henry McDonald, Mrs. Coralie Franklin Cook, and John Fletcher, refused to vote on the resolution to form the committee. In the end, however, McDonald and Mrs. Cook agreed to serve on the committee, along with Dr. Hovey, J. C. Gilmer, and Mrs. Bloomer, who was the Woman's Baptist Home Mission Society representative on the Board.⁴¹⁵

During the summer and fall of 1928, Anthony and his Baptist colleagues continued talking to West Virginia state officials about a possible takeover. Their main contact was James S. Laskin, of the State Board of Control. Laskin himself endorsed the idea, and believed that the legislature would pass such a measure, if the details could be worked out. Although the State Legislature would not begin its session until January 1929, the Board of Control and other state agencies were already in the midst of preparing a budget by the fall of 1928. Laskin stressed to Anthony that the Storer College Board of Trustees needed to make a decision before the legislative session opened, so that a bill could be prepared.⁴¹⁶

While Anthony and the Baptist officials continued negotiations with Laskin and the Board of Control, McDonald and his supporters tried to raise money and increase enrollment to prove to the denomination that Storer was worthy of their continued support. McDonald also used his own political connections, and worked to convince the

⁴¹⁵Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 7, 1928, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 189.

⁴¹⁶Correspondence between Alfred W. Anthony and J. S. Laskin, 1928, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

members of the Special Committee that a takeover was not necessary, as the state was just as willing to increase Storer's annual appropriation. In a letter written to the members of the Special Committee in December 1928, McDonald indicates that he also had been talking to state officials. He told the members that "There has come to me through channels, semi-official a suggestion which I think has merit and of which you should have knowledge."⁴¹⁷ This suggestion was that the state increase its annual appropriations to cover the salary budget of Storer, while leaving the other expenses to

the school. Although McDonald does not say who made the suggestion, he believed that "this view point is gaining favor with the State men."⁴¹⁸

Finally, the call for a special Trustees' meeting went out, the date set as November 21, 1928. The day before, the Special Committee on Closer Affiliation with the State met in Washington, D.C. and tried to come up with a report to present to the Board. The members present were Dr. Hovey, Mrs. Catherine Westfall (who had replaced Mrs. Bloomer), Henry McDonald, and Mrs. Coralie Franklin Cook. J. C. Gilmer was absent. With the exception of Dr. Hovey, the other three members did not support a state takeover, but Hovey was determined to have his opinion heard. Consequently, the committee decided to submit two reports to the Trustees the next day, one written by McDonald and Mrs. Cook, and one written by Dr. Hovey. Although

⁴¹⁷Henry T. McDonald to the Special Committee of Closer Affiliation of Storer College and the State, December 19, 1928, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁴¹⁸Henry T. McDonald to the Special Committee of Closer Affiliation of Storer College and the State, December 19, 1928, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

clearly unhappy about the situation, Hovey conceded that "Your committee is by no means certain that the necessary money can be secured, but a majority of them believe that the effort ought to be made, before departing so radically from the intention of the founders of the school."⁴¹⁹

On November 21, 1928, the Board of Trustees of Storer College convened perhaps the most important meeting since its formation, to decide the fate of the school. The Board first heard the reports of the Special Committee, including their assertion that the Alumni, students, and many other friends of the institution were opposed to turning it over to the State of West Virginia. In their report, McDonald and Mrs. Cook argued that the Trustees had an obligation to carry on the school, as its mission had not yet been fulfilled:

a moral obligation rests upon the Board of Trustees to carry on the work of the institution in the same spirit in which it was founded, not simply as a matter of sentiment but because the need is as great for the school so to function as when it was chartered. Therefore, it is resolved, that, for the time being all question of changing the present status of Storer College be set aside and that this Board use every means in its power to secure for Storer College adequate endowment, buildings and equipment, faculty and student body.⁴²⁰

This report at first swayed opinion against the proposed takeover, and a resolution was introduced to keep the school's present Baptist affiliation with such state aid as could be had. The Trustee who proposed the resolution, however, favored retaining Baptist control "provided gifts and pledges are obtained within 18 months of at least \$250,000 to

⁴¹⁹Dr. George R. Hovey, Report of Special Committee on Closer Affiliation with the State, November 20, 1928, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, 203.

⁴²⁰Mrs. Coralie Franklin Cook and Henry T. McDonald, Report of Special Committee on Closer Affiliation with the State, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 199-202.

place the institution upon such a basis as to fulfill the educational requirements of the State."⁴²¹ This resolution touched off a debate that lasted more than three hours before a vote was finally taken. In the end, the resolution was defeated, with only Mrs. Cook and John Fletcher voting to retain Baptist control under those conditions. Trustees Hovey, White, Robertson, Moore, and Anthony are recorded as voting against the resolution, while McDonald and J. C. Newcomer refused to vote at all. Although it is possible that some others may have wanted to vote in favor of the resolution, J. C. Newcomer, the recording secretary, summed up the feeling of the Board when he noted: "Apparently no one could see just where the needed money could be gotten."⁴²²

A new resolution was then introduced, to turn Storer College over to the State of West Virginia. A vote was taken and the resolution passed, with Mrs. Cook and Mr. Fletcher voting against it, and McDonald and Newcomer not voting at all. The Board then agreed to form a committee to work out the details of the transfer. Mrs. Cook was asked to serve and declined, even after the Board tried to persuade her. In the end, the committee consisted of Dr. Anthony, Dr. Hovey, Mr. Robertson, J. C. Gilmer, and McDonald. Although outnumbered four to one, McDonald was not finished yet. While the other committee members were preparing the formal written document that would give control of Storer College to the State of West Virginia, McDonald was going about the business of the school and also making inquiries in Charleston. However, when he

⁴²¹Minutes of special Trustees meeting, November 21, 1928, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 204.

⁴²²Minutes of special Trustees meeting, November 21, 1928, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 204.

appeared before the committee of the Legislature that was considering the Storer bill, McDonald apparently followed the Board's wishes and presented the offer fairly.⁴²³

There was some fear on the part of Anthony's supporters in Charleston that McDonald would try to use his political influence to stop the bill, but it made it to a second reading in the House of Delegates by the end of February 1929. Then, however, McDonald made a surprise visit to Charleston and appeared before the Senate Finance Committee, ostensibly to testify against the passage of two other bills at the urgent request of several Jefferson County residents. Subsequently, it became known that the Senate Finance Committee would not recommend passage of the Storer College bill, and it was not passed by the House. J. C. Gilmer wrote a letter to the members of the Special Committee, informing them that McDonald had gone to Charleston to use his influence to ensure that it would not pass. Although McDonald protested Gilmer's insinuations in his own letter to the Special Committee members, it is clear that the division in the Board over this issue had become irreconcilable.⁴²⁴

The failure of the Storer bill to pass the state legislature meant that any reconsideration of a state takeover would have to wait at least two years, until the next legislative session. Anthony and the Baptist officials knew that they could no longer work with McDonald, and apparently contemplated trying to have him replaced at the

⁴²³J. C. Gilmer to Hon. Thomas E. Robertson, Dr. Henry T. McDonald, Dr. George Hovey, Dr. Alfred Wms. Anthony, February 14, 1929, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society; R. P. Sims, President-Bluefield Institute to Alfred Wms. Anthony, April 13, 1929, Alfred W. Anthony Papers.

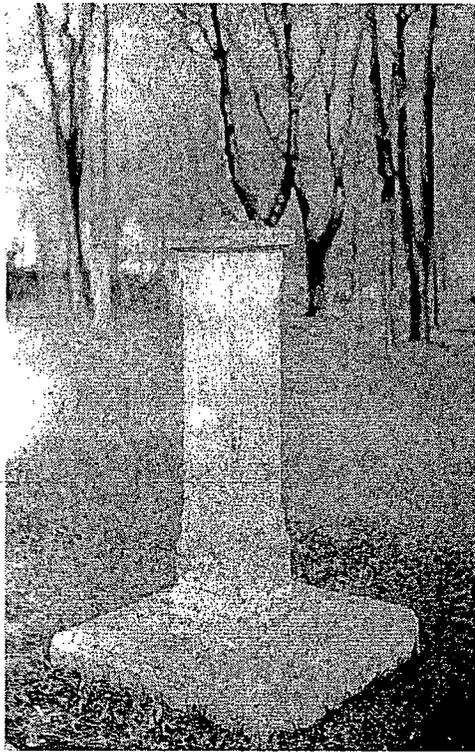
⁴²⁴Henry T. McDonald to Special Committee, March 5, 1929, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

annual meeting of the Board in June 1929. In addition, the American Baptist Home Mission Society cut off its annual appropriation, perhaps to force the Board to turn the school over to the State of West Virginia.⁴²⁵ However, it appears that the Board of Trustees was moved by this action to give their support to McDonald's faction, and Alfred W. Anthony resigned as President of the Board of Trustees at the beginning of the annual meeting. In his letter of resignation, Anthony reiterated his belief that Storer should be turned over to the state and stated that "Because of challenges and attitudes towards me as President of the Board for holding and maintaining these opinions," he felt compelled to resign.⁴²⁶

Dr. Anthony's resignation came as a shock to some of the Board members, and the official minutes recorded their dismay over his inference of bad feelings. At Anthony's insistence, Thomas E. Robertson was elected to succeed him as President of the Board. Robertson reluctantly accepted, largely due to Anthony's promise of assistance. However, Anthony apparently hoped to use Robertson as his voice on the Board to continue to try to affect a state takeover of Storer. Robertson, who had been a faithful member of the Board since 1912, realized what was happening and wrote an angry letter to Anthony in July 1929. He accused Anthony of abandoning him after convincing him to become President of the Board, and of using him to try to get the Board to turn the school over when the next legislature met. On the contrary, Robertson

⁴²⁵Harry S. Myers to Alfred W. Anthony, May 28, 1929, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁴²⁶Alfred W. Anthony letter of resignation as President of the Board of Trustees, June 4, 1929, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 208.



The Sundial

frankly informed Anthony that the latest Board meeting had the largest attendance ever, and he did not think they would have voted to turn the school over. In fact, Dr. Anthony's bitter actions after the June 1929 Trustees meeting probably played a significant role in Robertson's decision to support McDonald's efforts.⁴²⁷

By the following annual meeting, in May 1930, McDonald's supporters were firmly entrenched and Dr. Anthony, along with Dr. White of the Home Mission Society, resigned from the Board of Trustees. McDonald and Mrs. Cook were now members of most of the Board's main committees, along with Harry S. Myers, a longtime friend of McDonald's.⁴²⁸ In 1931, Dr. Hovey, the last member of the Home Mission Society on the Board of Trustees, resigned his position, leaving the Woman's Baptist Home Mission Society as the only Baptist organization that was still represented.⁴²⁹ Although Henry McDonald had won the fight over the state takeover, the school would still have to struggle to maintain its existence through the financial hardships of the coming years.

⁴²⁷Thomas E. Robertson to Alfred W. Anthony, July 1929, Alfred W. Anthony Papers, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁴²⁸Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 20, 1930, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 224.

⁴²⁹Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 22, 1931, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 232.

Storer College and the Heyward Shepherd Memorial

By the early 1920's, opposition to Henry McDonald's administration was beginning to be felt among various groups at Storer College. At the same time, however, McDonald was becoming more influential and prominent in the town of Harpers Ferry itself. He became involved in local politics and was elected to serve as the town recorder. It was in this capacity that McDonald first became involved in a controversy that would bring bitter hostility toward his leadership of Storer College. This episode began in 1921, when the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) and the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) approached the B & O Railroad about placing a memorial to Heyward Shepherd on its property in Harpers Ferry.⁴³⁰

Heyward Shepherd, a free black who worked as a porter at the train station, had been the first person fatally wounded in John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry in October 1859. Although he was probably just in the wrong place at the wrong time and not a slave himself, Heyward Shepherd came to symbolize those slaves who had refused to desert their masters and join Brown's insurrection. As time passed, Confederate sympathizers held Shepherd up as a more general symbol of the hard-working, well-behaved African American who knew his place in society. By placing a memorial to Heyward Shepherd near the spot where he was wounded, these Confederates groups hoped to call attention to the Southern revisionist view of American history. In addition, they wanted the memorial to serve as a counterpoint to the obelisk honoring John Brown

⁴³⁰Mary Johnson, "An 'ever present bone of contention': the Heyward Shepherd Memorial," *West Virginia History*, 1997, 8.

that had been erected on B & O property in 1895, near the site where John Brown's Fort had originally stood.⁴³¹

Henry McDonald became involved in this controversy in May 1922, when a representative of the B & O informally asked his opinion on the proposed memorial. McDonald had always been an admirer of John Brown, lectured on his life for public audiences, and had often tried to memorialize events in his life through activities at Storer. He clearly understood the attitude toward Brown reflected in the Heyward

Shepherd Memorial, as well as its implications for race relations in the Harpers Ferry area. Consequently, McDonald strongly opposed the idea, and made certain the offer to place the memorial in Harpers Ferry was rejected by the Town Council in June 1922.⁴³²

After their failure to secure a place for the Heyward Shepherd Memorial in 1922, the UDC and SCV made some attempt to find another home for the monument, but no real action was taken again for eight years. In 1930, Elizabeth Bashinsky became the leader of the UDC, and dedicated herself to getting the monument erected in Harpers Ferry.⁴³³ The inscription on the granite boulder was revised to be more acceptable to the local government in Harpers Ferry. A new mayor, the son of a Confederate veteran, had also been elected in 1930. By 1931, the town council had unanimously agreed to the placement of the Heyward Shepherd Memorial in Harpers Ferry. However, the B & O Railroad still refused to give permission for the monument to be placed on their property,

⁴³¹Johnson, 5.

⁴³²Johnson, 10.

⁴³³Johnson, 11.

so a local druggist offered a site on his property across from the John Brown obelisk.⁴³⁴

A dedication ceremony was finally held on October 10, 1931, and the guests included President McDonald and the Storer College Singers. McDonald had apparently reconsidered his position of ten years earlier and was a speaker at the event. His conciliatory remarks spoke of a day of hope for future interfacial cooperation and fellowship. However, the other two main speakers, Matthew Page Andrews and Elizabeth Bashinsky, used the opportunity to denounce John Brown and his legacy, and reminisce about the good treatment blacks had received under slavery. When it was time for the Storer College Singers to perform, their director, Miss Pearl Tatten, responded harshly to the speeches given by Andrews and Bashinsky.⁴³⁵

After the dedication ceremony, the African American press voiced strong opposition to the Heyward Shepherd Memorial and Henry McDonald's role in the affair. They also denounced Rev. George Bragg, a black clergyman from Baltimore who had participated in the ceremony. In addition, some of the Storer College students and alumni also voiced their protest. However, not all blacks opposed the monument. One of the guests, James Walker was a relative of Heyward Shepherd, disagreed with Pearl Tatten's remarks, and wrote her an open letter disapproving of her actions. For his part, Rev. Bragg argued that he saw the monument and ceremony as a way of promoting better relations between the races.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁴Johnson, 13.

⁴³⁵Johnson, 14-15.

⁴³⁶Johnson, 16.

The debate over the Heyward Shepherd Memorial continued for months, and the NAACP decided that the best way to counter the message conveyed by the Heyward Shepherd Memorial was to have their own memorial to John Brown. As part of their annual conference in Washington, D.C. in May 1932, the NAACP proposed a pilgrimage to Storer College to place a memorial tablet on John Brown's Fort, and wrote to McDonald asking permission. McDonald agreed, and even asked to speak at the ceremony. In addition, he organized a dinner for the delegates at Storer College following the event. McDonald did, however, also request a copy of the inscription for the tablet in advance, so that the Board of Trustees could review the wording.⁴³⁷

The NAACP finally sent a copy of the inscription in April, only a month before the scheduled ceremony. The inscription, written by W. E. B. DuBois, was strongly worded and defended John Brown's Raid:

Here
John Brown
Aimed at human slavery
A Blow
That woke a guilty nation.
With him fought
Seven slaves and sons of slaves.
Over his crucified corpse
Marched 200,000 black soldiers
And 4,000,000 freedmen
Singing
'John Brown's body lies a mouldering in the grave
But his Soul goes marching on!'
In Gratitude this Tablet is Erected
The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
May 21, 1932⁴³⁸

⁴³⁷Johnson, 16; Folders on NAACP, Storer College Collection, A & M 2621, Box 16, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University.

⁴³⁸Johnson, 16; Folders on NAACP, Storer College Collection, A & M 2621, Box 16, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University.

When McDonald sent a copy of the proposed inscription to the members of the Board, he advised them that he felt the inscription was inappropriate, and asked them their opinion. The form letter posed several questions, including whether or not the Trustee approved of the wording and, if not, did he or she have any alternative suggestions. In addition, the letter also asked if the Trustee would approve of the Executive Committee making changes to the text and approving the revised inscription without consulting the Board.⁴³⁹

Those Trustees who responded basically agreed that the proposed text was inappropriate, and authorized the Executive Committee to suggest changes. In the end, McDonald suggested that the NAACP change the inscription to simply read "John Brown 1800-1859 - 'His Soul Goes Marching On.'"⁴⁴⁰ When McDonald sent this suggestion to the NAACP officials, they replied that unfortunately, the tablet had already been inscribed, and asked McDonald to reconsider. When he refused, the NAACP asked to bring the tablet to Storer College and display it, even if they would not be allowed to place it permanently. McDonald agreed, although he certainly had an idea of the controversy that would erupt.⁴⁴¹

When the dedication ceremony took place on May 21, 1932, President McDonald gave the welcoming address but immediately left the platform. Oswald Garrison Villard,

⁴³⁹Henry T. McDonald to Trustees, Folders on NAACP, Storer College Collection, A & M 2621, Box 16, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University.

⁴⁴⁰Johnson, 17; Folders on NAACP, Storer College Collection, A & M 2621, Box 16, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University.

⁴⁴¹on NAACP, Storer College Collection, A & M 2621, Box 16, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University.

one of the founders of the NAACP, and Max Barber, then gave speeches. W. E. B. DuBois then spoke, and informed the audience that the tablet they had come to place on John Brown's Fort had been refused by the Storer College president and Board of Trustees. DuBois read the NAACP's official statement regretting the school's refusal to accept the tablet, and explained that it would be placed on display at the New York offices of the NAACP until the time would come when it could be properly placed on the fort. The audience was stunned by DuBois' announcement, and he continued to speak,

defending his inscription and accusing the Storer administration of defending slavery:

"When I wrote this, or rather when it was written, for it wrote itself, I did not think that there remained anyone who still defended slavery and the lost cause. I did not think anyone would take exception to the wording."⁴⁴²

The African-American press blasted McDonald and the Board of Trustees for their actions, and called for McDonald's resignation. They argued that African American students should not be taught by white administrators and teachers who sympathized with slavery, and helped foster current racial injustice and segregation. The *Washington Tribune* urged African American students to blacklist the school, and the *Afro-American* called for McDonald's ouster, and reported that "Many expressed Saturday their feelings that the present incident made him unsuited for president of any institution teaching colored boys and girls."⁴⁴³ The initial debate died down by the end of the summer, but the incident left bitter feelings over McDonald's presidency of Storer

⁴⁴²Johnson, 17; "Storer College Refuses John Brown Tablet." *Washington Tribune*, Friday May 27, 1932, p. 1, col. 1.

⁴⁴³Article on John Brown Tablet Ceremony, *Afro-American*, May 28, 1932.

College. It also demonstrated that, while he might have gained control over the Board of Trustees, his influence over the faculty and student body was far from secure.

Chapter VI - Great Depression; World War II, and the end of the McDonald Era

Storer College in the Depression

By the 1932-33 academic year, Storer College beginning to feel the effects of the Great Depression, which had nearly crippled the U.S. economy. Due to budget difficulties, the State of West Virginia cut Storer's annual appropriation from \$17,500 back to \$12,000.⁴⁴⁴ This loss of income hit the school hard, as did the loss of many students who could no longer pay their expenses. Many of Storer's students had traditionally come from poor families who even in the best of times could barely afford to send their children to school. With skyrocketing unemployment, many were forced out of work and could no longer pay to have their sons and daughters stay in school. In his annual report to the Trustees in 1933, McDonald explained the grim situation to the Board and noted that the administration and faculty were doing their best to keep students at school and keep the campus open: "We secured some financial assistance from alumni and friends, we made liberal scholarship grants, whenever possible and we

⁴⁴⁴Department of the State Tax Commission, *Audit of the Finances - State of West Virginia*, 17th-24th Annual Reports, Garret Printing, Charleston, WV, 1930-38.

created jobs, wherever there was the slightest excuse.”⁴⁴⁵

In addition, the faculty and most staff members agreed to take a 25% pay cut, and as McDonald noted, that cut was from an already meager salary, “which by no means should have been lessened. It had long been inadequate.”⁴⁴⁶ He concluded his report by frankly informing the Board that the prospects for the 1933-34 academic year were no better. Storer College was likely to see another marked decrease in student enrollment, just as other educational institutions, both black and white, were suffering around the country. As McDonald noted, “An impoverished people cannot send their sons and daughters to college.”⁴⁴⁷ Even with its own economic woes, though, Storer tried to help out whenever possible. In 1933, the Beethoven Choral Society sang in the opera house at Charles Town in a benefit for the local unemployed.⁴⁴⁸

During the 1933-34 school year, attendance did drop, but only by eleven, to 119. By 1935-36, attendance had rebounded to 152, even with the harsh economic conditions throughout the region. The 1938-39 school year seems to have been the most difficult, as McDonald reported to the Trustees in June 1939 that the number of students withdrawing for financial reasons had been especially high. In response, Storer had offered \$7822.74 in financial assistance to 102 students, which amounted to about one-

⁴⁴⁵Henry T. McDonald, President’s Report, May 30, 1933, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 277.

⁴⁴⁶Henry T. McDonald, President’s Report, May 30, 1933, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 277.

⁴⁴⁷Henry T. McDonald, President’s Report, May 30, 1933, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 280.

⁴⁴⁸Henry T. McDonald, President’s Report, May 30, 1933, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 279.

third of the yearly expenses for each student.⁴⁴⁹ This measure seems to have significantly aided in keeping the school's enrollment up, as the figures for 1939-40 give a total of 171 students.⁴⁵⁰

However, there are indications that other problems were surfacing among the student body in addition to financial pressures. Although there are no specific incidents recorded, opposition to the administration appears to have been growing. In 1933, McDonald made brief mention in his annual report of a letter written to a newspaper that sharply attacked the Storer administration, and in 1935, he commented on the disciplinary problems at the school: "the educational misfits, the drones in residence, the numbers asked to withdraw because of one kind of delinquency or another, has been far above average."⁴⁵¹ McDonald seemed especially insulted that the leaders of the dissension, who were all sent home, were students who had been at Storer for several years.

In addition to increasing student unrest, there is some evidence during the 1930's that the Board of Trustees was beginning to question the amount of power President and Mrs. McDonald wielded in the running of the school. Since 1929, Elizabeth McDonald had served as Dean of Women, a position created in that year to oversee the female students. She made yearly recommendations to the Board concerning the general well-being of the girls and the facilities that they used, and probably handled disciplinary

⁴⁴⁹Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, June 3, 1939, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 330.

⁴⁵⁰*Storer College Catalogue* 1939-40.

⁴⁵¹Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 31, 1935, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 303.

matters as well.⁴⁵² As President, Henry McDonald performed the same functions for the male students, with some input from the faculty. Consequently, the McDonalds often had the last word on student behavior and discipline.

In addition, as Chairman of the Executive Committee, McDonald basically had his way in the day-to-day decision-making at Storer College, especially after the mid-1920's, when there was always at least one member of the committee who was not even a Trustee. After the death of Treasurer John C. Newcomer in the summer of 1937,

Henry McDonald also began performing the duties of Treasurer, meaning he now had day-to-day control over the finances of Storer College as well.⁴⁵³ McDonald was 65 years old by 1937, and had been president of Storer for 37 years. In addition, many of the Trustees who had been his strongest allies over the years were resigning or had passed away. It was becoming clear that the newer members of the Board felt a more active role in the running of Storer College was now required.

At the annual meeting in May 1937, the Board had instructed McDonald to prepare a formal budget for the 1937-38 school year, which would be reviewed at a special session of the Trustees in September. After the success of this meeting, the policy of a fall as well as spring meeting of the Trustees was adopted. The presentation of the budget for approval by the Board became an annual requirement,⁴⁵⁴ and the Board

⁴⁵²Minutes of Trustees meetings, 1929-1939, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944.

⁴⁵³Special meeting of Board of Trustees, September 4, 1937, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 323.

⁴⁵⁴Minutes of Trustees meeting, September 4, 1937, June 4 and October 1, 1938, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944.

engaged the services of Stanley Durkee as financial advisor and paid him a consulting fee of \$100.⁴⁵⁵ At their meeting in October 1940, the Board also placed a restriction on the spending authority of the Executive Committee, requiring the committee to get mail vote approval from the Trustees for any emergency expenditure more than \$200.⁴⁵⁶

The Board also decided to provide a little more direction to the affairs of the female students at Storer and, at the September 1937 meeting, voted that "all of the women members of the Board of Trustees together with Mrs. Kenyon of Providence and Mrs. McDonald, be requested to meet a half day before the meeting of the Trustees next spring to make plans for the organization of a Board of Women who shall cooperate with the Trustees and have special care of the woman's part of the College not only to make suggestions but also to supply the funds to improve the property."⁴⁵⁷ By the end of the school year, 1937-38, the Woman's Commission was already organized and functioning, and made its first annual report to the full Board of Trustees.⁴⁵⁸

Curriculum and mission

Even in the midst of the Depression, Storer College continued to try to upgrade the quality of its curriculum in order to attract more students. McDonald urged the

⁴⁵⁵Minutes of Trustees meeting May 29, 1937 and June 4, 1938, Storer College Trustee Minute Book 1913-1944.

⁴⁵⁶Minutes of Trustees meeting, October 5, 1940, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 337.

⁴⁵⁷Special Trustees meeting, September 4, 1937, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 323.

⁴⁵⁸Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 4, 1938, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944.

Board to consider the awarding of degrees to students who completed the Junior College course, to help them in applying to other colleges and as a way of increasing the prestige of the program. At the annual meeting in May 1937, the Board discussed the issue at length and finally decided to approve the "awarding of the title of Associate in Arts beginning with the Class of 1937, with the distinct understanding that no reference shall be made in any way whatever indicating that a degree has been granted."⁴⁵⁹

McDonald hoped that this move would attract more students who were looking for a solid junior college program that would give them the education needed to get into a good four-year college.

McDonald continued his efforts to try to establish a regular four-year college program at Storer, and at the June 4, 1937 Trustees meeting, the issue was finally addressed. One of the main obstacles to establishing a four-year program was securing enough additional funding to upgrade the curriculum. During the lengthy discussion, "the question was raised as to where are we to get the money necessary to provide a faculty properly qualified to confer degrees."⁴⁶⁰ Even though the Board apparently did not come up with a definitive answer to this question, they still voted unanimously to establish a standard four-year college course at Storer College.⁴⁶¹

With this vote, the Board of Trustees fulfilled the wish of Storer's founders, that

⁴⁵⁹Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 29, 1937, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 321.

⁴⁶⁰Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 4, 1938, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 327.

⁴⁶¹Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 4, 1938, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 327.

the school ultimately become a standard four-year college. The 1939-40 school catalog announced the addition of the full college course:

Although from its incorporation Storer College has had degree conferring powers, it has never conferred a degree, in course or Causa Honoris. However, its curriculum includes those studies usually included in college work and, beginning in 1939, students who complete the usual college course of four years and meet the requirements elsewhere stated will receive the usual baccalaureate degrees.⁴⁶²

Students would be admitted to the college program based on a certificate of graduation from a standard high school, by passing a standard examination given by Storer College, as a non-degree seeking special student, or as a transfer student.

Storer College's new four-year college program offered majors in five areas: Language and Literature, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Education, and Pre-Medic Courses. The degrees offered by Storer included Bachelor of Arts and Sciences, Bachelor of Science in Home Economics, and Bachelor of Arts in Education. In addition, Associate of Arts and Sciences certificates were still offered for the junior college program, including an Associate of Arts in Music. For normal students, Storer offered two certificates: Elementary Collegiate and Standard Normal, with the requirements dictated by the State of West Virginia.⁴⁶³

The status of Storer College's secondary school was being questioned by 1938, when President McDonald reported to the Board of Trustees that nearby Charles Town, West Virginia was building a colored high school. The following year, in June 1939,

⁴⁶²*Storer College Catalogue 1939-40, 27.*

⁴⁶³*Storer College Catalogue 1939-40, 30-33.*

McDonald reported that Storer's high school enrollment had dropped 16%, a decrease that he attributed to the fact that the Charles Town public schools were now offering first year high school work.⁴⁶⁴ McDonald recommended the elimination of the first year of high school, "with the definite intention of eliminating the second year high school work one year hence."⁴⁶⁵ He further argued that the Board may ultimately wish to consider dropping the secondary program entirely.

In addition to the secondary, junior college, and college level work taught at Storer College by the end of the 1930's, the school also briefly offered extension classes at Leesburg and Berryville, Virginia and Charles Town, Shepherdstown, and Johnstown, West Virginia. These classes were apparently in vocational agriculture, and are first mentioned in the school catalog for 1932-33. In the 1934-35 catalog, enrollment figures are given for the 1933-34 extension classes at Charles Town, Shepherdstown, and the Community Club in Johnstown. Charles Town had 10 students, Shepherdstown listed 11, and Johnstown had 12, for a total of 33 students.⁴⁶⁶ Unfortunately, the extension classes are not mentioned after 1935, and it is not clear if they were discontinued that year or were offered in subsequent years. Summer schools for normal students also continued to be held, but are not mentioned in every year's catalog. Consequently, it is possible that the summer schools were offered based on enrollment and faculty availability. The 1935-36 catalog was the last time that the

⁴⁶⁴Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, June 3, 1939, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 330.

⁴⁶⁵Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, June 3, 1939, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 330.

⁴⁶⁶*Storer College Catalog* 1932-33, 1934-35.

summer school was specifically mentioned, and the total enrollment listed for 1935 was 40 students, with 29 from West Virginia, nine from Maryland, and two from Virginia.⁴⁶⁷

Campus

Even in the midst of the Depression, Storer College continued to try to upgrade its campus and physical plant to keep up with its expanding curriculum. In 1934, the DeWolf Industrial Building, that had seen use as a kitchen and classroom for the cooking classes, was converted over entirely for use as laboratory and class space for biological sciences and became known as the DeWolf Biological Laboratory Building. The chemistry and physics labs were still located in Anthony Memorial Hall, but had been upgraded with more modern equipment. The domestic science laboratory, basically the cookery department, was moved to the old gymnasium in Lincoln Hall.⁴⁶⁸

Lincoln Hall itself also saw several changes during the 1930's. In 1934, the Board heard a proposal from the Dean of Women to convert the east wing of the first floor of the building into a reception hall or social room, and enclose the open stair leading to the kitchen and dining room. Social functions were currently being held in the dining room, and the plan would alleviate congestion and extra work for the staff during these occasions. The changes were apparently completed, as the minutes of the 1938 Trustees meeting mention the reception hall in the dormitory.⁴⁶⁹ The minutes of

⁴⁶⁷*Storer College Catalogue* 1935-36.

⁴⁶⁸*Storer College Catalogue* 1941-42; Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 31, 1935, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 303.

⁴⁶⁹Minutes of Trustees meetings, May 17, 1934 and June 4, 1938, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944.

this meeting also note that the Board voted to have the west porch removed, and asked the Woman's Commission to solicit money for repairs. In addition, renovations were being completed on the students' and teachers' bathrooms in the building.⁴⁷⁰

During the 1934-35 academic year, Storer briefly had a nursery school in Lincoln Hall, run by the Normal students as practice for handling children.

Unfortunately, the tight financial situation at the school apparently made this a short-lived venture.⁴⁷¹ In addition, the Board of Trustees also voted in 1938 to change the

name of Lincoln Hall to Brackett Hall in honor of Nathan C. Brackett. This action was apparently based upon the recommendation of President McDonald, who argued that "There is unhappily no worthy monument on this campus to the man who did most toward the founding of Storer College. There should be. His last activities had to do with the building of the hall occupied by women. Hence my recommendation that this official action be taken."⁴⁷²

In 1937, a WPA project at Storer allowed the school to rebind and repair about 2500 books, and the school catalog boasted that the library's total collection was approximately 8000 volumes. The following year, the upper floor of the library, formerly the Lewis W. Anthony Industrial Building, was renovated and space was added for an additional 3000 books. Three years later, in 1941, new stacks were built in

⁴⁷⁰Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 4, 1938, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 327.

⁴⁷¹Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, May 31, 1935, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 303.

⁴⁷²Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, June 4, 1938, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 325.

the library to better accommodate its collection.⁴⁷³ In addition, the Board authorized the construction of a stairway from the main floor of the library to the basement, so that it could also be used to house books.⁴⁷⁴

Whenever the financial situation made it possible, the administration continued to repair and renovate its other campus buildings as well. In 1932, water was added to the Robinson Cottage, and in 1938, the Executive Committee was instructed to investigate the possibility of moving the Robinson Cottage to a lot across the street from its current location. Extensive repairs to Mosher Hall were completed by October 1938, and the Board was also considering additional work in Brackett Hall.⁴⁷⁵ In 1941, the Woman's Commission recommended that the Y.W.C.A. Room on the third floor of Brackett Hall be renovated as a residence for Miss Pearl Tatten, the music teacher, and the Board approved the work.⁴⁷⁶

Even with the economic hard times, Storer also continued to try to buy properties in and around its buildings and grounds in order to create a contiguous campus. In 1938, Miss Harriet D. Church retired after 25 years as an instructor at Storer College, and offered her house and property to the school. At the October meeting of the Board of Trustees, they voted to buy the Church property for \$1500. The school already held a mortgage against the property for \$1000, and paid the rest to Miss

⁴⁷³*Storer College Catalog* 1936-37.

⁴⁷⁴Minutes of Trustees meeting, September 27, 1941, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 343.

⁴⁷⁵Minutes of Trustees meetings, May 28, 1932 and October 1, 1938, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944.

⁴⁷⁶Minutes of Trustees meeting, September 27, 1941, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 343.

Church in cash.⁴⁷⁷ At the May 1940 meeting of the Board of Trustees, President McDonald was authorized to make an offer not more than \$3000 for the Andes property just east of the campus.⁴⁷⁸ In his report to the Board in October, however, McDonald noted that the property had not been purchased and had been withdrawn from the market.⁴⁷⁹

Although there were numerous plans made for the expansion of Storer College's campus after the curriculum was expanded to a full four-year college course of study in

1938, most of the proposed changes were never made. In 1940, however, President McDonald was able to officiate at the laying of the cornerstone for the long-awaited Domestic Science Building, which was named the Permelia Eastman Cook Building. Most of the funds required to build Cook Hall were contributed by the Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society and the American Baptist Woman's Missionary Society, who each donated \$15,000.⁴⁸⁰ The building was completed during the summer months, and dedicated on October 5, 1940.⁴⁸¹ Cook Hall housed the classrooms for Home Economics, dormitory facilities for Home Economics students, a dining room, an exercise room for women's physical education classes, and served as the home for

⁴⁷⁷Minutes of Trustees meeting, October 1, 1938, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 327.

⁴⁷⁸Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 28, 1940, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 335.

⁴⁷⁹Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, October 5, 1940, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 337.

⁴⁸⁰Minutes of Trustees meeting, October 5, 1940, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 337.

⁴⁸¹*New Storer Record*, October 1940.

Storer College's art collection. Included in this collection was the Stillman Art Collection donated by Lewis B. Stillman of Maine, donations from the former drawing teacher Mrs. L. W. Brackett, and a collection of Japanese art donated by Miss Carrie V. Kendall.⁴⁸²

Before the end of the 1941-42 academic year, however, Cook Hall had already been partially closed; and the Board of Trustees demanded an explanation from President McDonald. He informed the Board that the small number of Home Economics students in residence, coupled with the high cost of keeping the building open, had prompted the Executive Committee to move the students and instructor to Brackett Hall. A portion of Cook Hall had remained open for classes. The Board was clearly unhappy that Storer's newest building was not being properly utilized and, after a lengthy discussion, agreed that the building should stay open as a residence hall for Home Economics majors. If there were not enough female students in those courses, then the remainder of the space would be used to house female senior college students.⁴⁸³

Athletics and student life

During the 1930's, even with the hardships of the Depression, organized athletics for men and women continued to play an important role in the life of Storer College. The 1931 football season included six games, with Storer racking up five wins and one

⁴⁸²*Storer College Catalogue 1941-42.*

⁴⁸³Minutes of Trustees meeting, September 27, 1941, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 343.

tie, with no losses.⁴⁸⁴ In 1932, Storer's football team went undefeated, and the men's basketball team also won its league championship. Even with its tight budget, Storer still spent \$708.89 on athletics in 1931-32, \$410.45 of which was for travel for away games.⁴⁸⁵ In a 1931 issue of the *Christian Review*, an advertisement for Storer College noted that the school offered football, baseball, basketball, and track. The school also had tennis courts, but it does not appear as though there was a tennis team.⁴⁸⁶

In addition to its football, baseball, and basketball teams for men, known as the

Golden Tornados, Storer also had a women's basketball team, the Golden Zephyrs, which enjoyed a great deal of success. In 1940, the Zephyrs finished first in their league, the M.A.A.A. Both the men's and women's teams from Storer played a schedule that included high school, normal school, and college opponents.⁴⁸⁷ Although each year the plea for a new gymnasium was presented to the Board of Trustees, both men's and women's basketball continued to play home games in the renovated Robinson barn on the edge of campus. Several undated photographs show that at least some football games were played on an athletic field on Storer's property, which appeared to be an open field across from Anthony Memorial Hall.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁴*Storer Record*, December 1931.

⁴⁸⁵Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 28, 1932, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 264, 268-9.

⁴⁸⁶Clipping of 1931 *Christian Review* advertisement, A & M 1322, Box 97, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University.

⁴⁸⁷*Storer Record*, February, April, October, November 1940.

⁴⁸⁸Undated photographs, Storer Collection, A & M 2621, Boxes 40 and 41, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University.

In addition to athletics, the formation of several clubs among Storer's students also offered more social opportunities. Students could participate in the Beethoven Choral Society, the College Choir, the debating societies, and Class Clubs. The Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. were also active on campus. In 1939, a private club for male students, the Mu Mu Club was organized, and even boasted its own basketball team.⁴⁸⁹ Other clubs on campus included the French Club, the Art Club, and the Girls' Athletic Club.⁴⁹⁰ Storer continued to offer lectures for students throughout the year, as well as debates, concerts and other special programs. By the 1941-42 academic year, Storer's catalog also boasted that the school owned "two radios, a new sound-on-film motion picture machine, three balopticons, and a large number of slides for still pictures."⁴⁹¹

Faculty

As Storer expanded its curriculum to offer more college-level courses, the administration tried to add faculty members who were better trained to teach these classes. More and more of the new



Golden Zephyrs Women's Basketball Team 1947

faculty members hired during the 1930's had at least Bachelor's degrees and some even had Master's degrees. By the early 1940's, 19 of the 20 faculty members at Storer

⁴⁸⁹ *Storer Record*, February, April, October, November 1940.

⁴⁹⁰ "Storer College Almost Manless," *Martinsburg Journal*, December 22, 1943.

⁴⁹¹ *Storer College Catalogue* 1941-42.

College had a minimum of a Bachelor's degree, the one exception being Pearl Tatten, the music teacher, who had studied at the Yale School of Music but had not completed a degree. In addition, 16 faculty members had Master's or Ph.D. degrees, from such prestigious universities as Columbia, Boston University, and the University of Pittsburgh.⁴⁹²

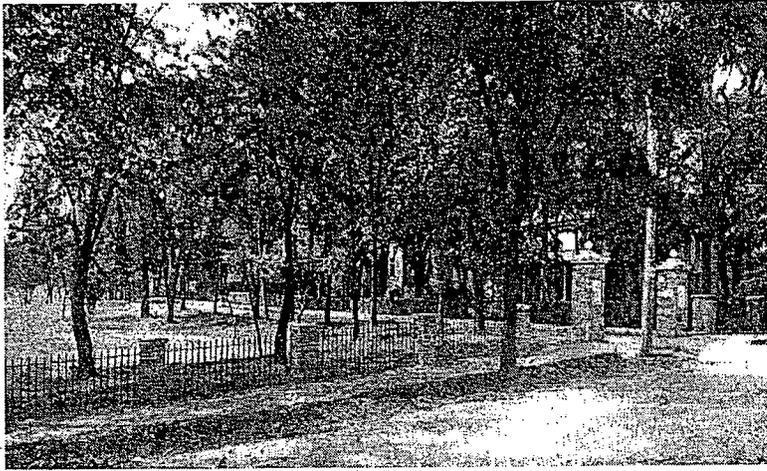
Although Storer College was able to attract qualified faculty to teach at the school, they were not able to keep many of them for more than a few years. The salaries Storer could afford to pay were well below what they could get in other positions, and McDonald often had to report faculty changes to the Board of Trustees. Some of the faculty left to accept other positions, and some returned to school to pursue graduate work. In his President's Report for June 1939, McDonald recommended that the Board of Trustees form a committee to look into the salary situation. For his own part, once McDonald assumed the duties of Treasurer, he tried hard to ensure that there was a small sum left at the end of the year should the Trustees vote to give bonuses to the faculty and staff.⁴⁹³

Storer College and World War II

As the probability of American involvement in another world war neared, concern grew in the African American community that blacks would not be allowed to

⁴⁹²*Storer College Catalogue* 1941-42, 8-11.

⁴⁹³Henry T. McDonald, President's Report, June 3, 1939, *Storer College Trustees Minute Book* 1913-1944, 330.



Soldiers' Gate and Alumni Fence

participate in the defense of their country. Such a fear appeared well founded given the reduction of African American units in the army since the end of World War I and the almost

complete elimination of blacks from service in the navy.⁴⁹⁴ Motivated by these concerns, prominent African Americans, the African American press, and politicians with large African American constituents demanded guarantees that such would not be the case if, and when, America entered the war. Due to the persistence of their efforts, the government did indeed take steps to see that African Americans were present in the armed services as war neared.

Beginning in 1937, the government began work to create plans that would ensure that African Americans were satisfactorily represented in the military. The initial mobilization plan formulated in 1937 was superseded by a more complete version in 1940. Essentially, the 1940 plan called for the mobilization of a total number of African Americans equal to their percentage of the population, with African American recruits being assigned to all branches of the military and to all types of units for which they qualified. However, the plan also specified that African Americans would serve in

⁴⁹⁴ Ulysses Lee, *The Employment of Negro Troops* (part of the *U.S. Army in World War II* series). (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, 1966), p. 51.

segregated units, although those units could be employed with white commands. African American units could be commanded by white or African American officers, and were to be trained and equipped just as the white units were.⁴⁹⁵ This last point, of course, was an example of the government's "separate, but equal" mentality.

Under the 1940 plan, about nine to 10 percent of the total military force would be made up of African Americans. As was the case during World War I, most African American units did not serve in combat. In the U.S. Army, only the 92nd and 93rd Infantry Divisions would eventually see any combat. The Army Air Corps was even more restricted. Eventually African Americans flew single engine fighter planes in combat, but were at first deemed incapable of handling the larger, more sophisticated bombers. Consequently, African Americans were not represented among the pilots or crew members of the U.S. Army Air Corps heavy bomber units early in the war. The struggle just to get African Americans the opportunity to fly fighter planes was difficult and only two units saw serious action, the most well-known being the 332nd Fighter Group, the "Tuskegee Airmen."

After training, African American units, like their white counterparts were shipped to various assignments. Many of those destinations were within the United States, where they performed support/service oriented tasks, or in some cases were assigned to Coast Artillery commands. Other units did make it overseas and into the combat zones, but most were used in transportation or other support roles. In the former capacity Negro

⁴⁹⁵ Lee, pp. 49-50.

drivers performed excellently, and frequently life threatening, service as part of General George Patton's "Red Ball Express." Many other units assumed equally important, if less notable support roles.

For the most part only three African American commands saw extensive combat duty, and of those the most famous was the 332nd Fighter Group, the Tuskegee Airmen. Even the pilots trained at the Tuskegee Institute were not exempt from the tradition of segregation, and the issue of segregation at the training center created tension between officials and pilots.⁴⁹⁶ However, once in combat, the 332nd slowly established a solid reputation, as did the 99th Fighter Squadron.⁴⁹⁷ When their skill as pilots could no longer be denied, the Tuskegee Airmen were finally allowed to train for service as pilots, bombardiers, radio operators, and gunners for bomber crews. In 1944, the 477th Bombardment Group was formed and, with the addition of the 99th and 100th fighter squadrons, became the 477th Composite Group in June 1945. However, the war ended before the units were deployed and they failed to see any combat action.⁴⁹⁸

The other African American unit to see significant action was the 92nd Infantry Division. The division participated in the Italian campaign in 1944 and 1945, where it performed solidly.⁴⁹⁹ As was the case during World War I, white officers gave mixed assessments of African American commands. Although the air commands were looked

⁴⁹⁶ Lee, p. 172.

⁴⁹⁷ Lee, pp. 517-522

⁴⁹⁸ Charlene Smith, *Tuskegee Airman - the Biography of Charles E. McGee*, Boston, Branden Publishing Co., 1999, 70.

⁴⁹⁹ Lee, pp. 536-544.

upon more favorably than the infantry, all were subjected to criticism that was frequently unwarranted and beyond what white commands received.

Serving in a segregated army and with the prospect of only limited acknowledgment of their contributions, African Americans equated themselves well during World War II. Although they returned to a still segregated America, African American veterans, like all veterans were given the opportunity to attend college on the G.I. Bill. This was something most would not have been able to accomplish otherwise; thus, in a small way, the government repaid all those who served, no matter what their race, for their service to their country.

By the beginning of the 1942-43 academic year, less than a year after the United States entered World War II, Storer College was already suffering the effects of America's war effort. Enrollment was down, mostly among the male students, and even some faculty joined the armed forces. By August 1942, McDonald was lamenting to W. C. Cook, the Treasurer for the State Board of Control that "The Selective Service is taking our men -- as in every college!"⁵⁰⁰ At least two faculty members, Rev. Austin in 1941 and Prof. Alva B. Johnson in June 1942, left after they were granted a leave of absence to enter the U.S. armed forces.⁵⁰¹

Following the entry of the United States into World War II in December 1941, enrollment at Storer College began to be seriously affected. In 1940-41, enrollment had

⁵⁰⁰Henry T. McDonald to Hon. W. C. Cook, Treasurer, W. Va. Board of Control, August 14, 1942.

⁵⁰¹Minutes of Trustees meeting, September 27, 1941, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 343.

been 177, but by 1941-42, the first full academic year under wartime conditions, the number of students had already dropped to 139. By the fall of 1942, enrollment had plummeted to only 82 students, most of whom were women.⁵⁰² By December 1943, the *Martinsburg Journal* reported that, although enrollment was up from its all-time low during the 1942-43 school, the students were almost entirely female. There had been no football season, as there were only about six male students. Two more of these young men had been called for the draft, and the paper noted that "by Spring this college will be much like a 'manless wedding.'"⁵⁰³ Still, Storer managed to keep its doors open, and continue to offer its full range of courses.

The end of Henry T. McDonald's tenure

By the early 1940s, it was becoming clear that a change in the administration of Storer College was needed. Henry T. McDonald, who had been president since the 1899-1900 academic year, was now in his late 60's. Many of his staunchest supporters on the Board of Trustees had passed away or retired. In addition, several of the longtime faculty members, such as William A. Saunders, who had been with Storer for much of McDonald's tenure, were also retiring.⁵⁰⁴ Madison S. Briscoe, perhaps one of Storer's most gifted graduates, also left the faculty in 1941 to serve in the military and did not return. Briscoe was one of the first graduates of Storer's Junior College program

⁵⁰²*Storer College Catalogues* 1940-41, 1941-42, 1942-43.

⁵⁰³"Storer College Almost Manless," *Martinsburg Journal*, December 22, 1943.

⁵⁰⁴Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 1, 1942, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1913-1944, 343.

in 1924, and went to Lincoln University to complete his Bachelor of Arts degree. After completing his Master's degree in Biology from Columbia University, Briscoe returned to Storer to teach Biology.⁵⁰⁵ Having been educated at Storer during the McDonald era, Briscoe was loyal to the school and the McDonald administration.

In September 1941, the Board further curtailed McDonald's power by electing Professor Leroy D. Johnson as Dean of Instruction. Since the late 1920's, McDonald had served as Dean of Men, while Mrs. McDonald had been Dean of Women.

Consequently, the McDonalds had exercised a great deal of control over the students' lives. By creating the position of Dean of Instruction to supervise the academic functions of the school, the Board took away one of the president's biggest duties.⁵⁰⁶ At the Trustees meeting in October 1942, McDonald also tendered his resignation as Treasurer, and Storer's financial advisor, Mr. George B. Fraser, was elected Treasurer instead.⁵⁰⁷

By the 1943-44 academic year, McDonald's final year as president, he had been relieved of most of his duties. In a letter to a longtime Trustee, Mrs. Dennett, McDonald complained of the changes in the school's administration. He mentioned the new Treasurer, Mr. Fraser, and noted that investments were now being solely handled by an off-campus Finance Committee.

In addition, McDonald apparently was no longer a member of either the Finance

⁵⁰⁵ *Storer College Catalogue* 1936-37, 1939-40, 1941-42.

⁵⁰⁶ Minutes of Trustees meeting, September 27, 1941, *Storer College Trustees Minute Book* 1913-1944, 343.

⁵⁰⁷ Minutes of Trustees meeting, October 3, 1942, *Storer College Trustees Minute Book* 1913-1944, 345.

Committee or the Executive Committee.⁵⁰⁸ His retirement from the Executive Committee must have been an especially hard blow; it had been the mechanism for his control over Storer College for more than four decades. Although the minutes of the May 1944 meeting are no longer available in the official Trustees Minute Book, the Board accepted Henry T. McDoanld's retirement at the end of the 1943-44 academic year. In July 1944, the Board elected Dr. Richard I. McKinney as the fourth president of Storer College, and its first African American head.

When Henry T. McDonald retired after nearly 45 years as the president of Storer College, it truly was the end of an era. He had seen the school through two world wars, the Great Depression, and a near-takeover by the State of West Virginia. He was often a target of opposition and controversy during his tenure, whether from members of the Board of Trustees, faculty, students, or the African American press. McDonald's paternalistic views on race and African American education may have been the prevailing viewpoint among educators at the turn of the century, but by the 1940's these ideas had become outdated. Still, McDonald had refused to change with the times, and maintained his conservative views on race. In a letter written just months before his retirement, he argued that whites still should play a leading role in the education of African Americans: "I still think our ancestry, training and larger fitness enable us – white people – to do something for colored students, which they can get no other way."⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁸Henry T. McDonald to Mrs. Dennett, undated but written during the 1943-44 school year, Storer Collection, A & M 2621, Box 16, FF 11, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University.

⁵⁰⁹Henry T. McDonald to Dr. Ford, November 11, 1943, Storer Collection, A & M 2621, Box 16, FF 11, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Chapter VII - Storer College's Final Years

Richard I. McKinney becomes president of Storer College

When Henry T. McDonald finally was retired in 1944, it was clear that Storer College had reached a crossroads. Since its establishment as a chartered school in 1868, Storer had been led by a white president and a Board of Trustees that had remained largely white. Although the percentage of African American faculty had risen during the 1930's and 1940's, most of the educational experience at Storer College was still guided by whites, while the student body was African American. Perhaps faced with increasing pressure to place an African American in the position of president of Storer College, the Board of Trustees elected Dr. Richard I. McKinney to succeed McDonald in July 1944.⁵¹⁰

Richard's I. McKinney was an excellent candidate for the presidency of Storer College. Not only was he well-educated, he also had a strong Christian background that fit in well with the Baptist tradition of Storer College. McKinney graduated in 1931 with a Bachelor's degree from Morehouse College, and completed his B.D. at Andover

⁵¹⁰*Storer College Catalogue* 1945-46.

Newton Theological School in 1934. In 1942, McKinney earned his Ph.D. from Yale University. He had also served as minister of a Baptist church from 1934-5, before becoming an instructor in Religious Education at Virginia Union University. After serving as a faculty member at Virginia Union from 1935-42, he then was named Dean of the School of Religion.⁵¹¹

When McKinney assumed the presidency of Storer College, the United States was still in the midst of World War II, and colleges everywhere were suffering. The previous academic year, 1943-44, had seen one of the lowest enrollments in Storer history, at only 65, all but six of whom were women. In addition to the lack of enrollment, Storer also lost several of its male faculty members to the war effort, so that the total faculty members by 1944 had dropped to 12.⁵¹² Although Storer had managed to remain mostly debt-free throughout its history, by the mid-1940's the school was operating at a small deficit, largely due to decreased enrollment because of the war and increased operating expenses associated with its expanded college program.

Faculty

Even with the difficulties facing him, McKinney began his administration full of optimism and ambitiously set to work to bring Storer College up to the standards of a modern four-year college.⁵¹³ By the 1945-46 academic year, the school's annual catalog

⁵¹¹*Storer College Catalogue 1945-46; Martinsburg Journal*, 30 (73), July 25, 1944.

⁵¹²*Storer College Catalogue 1943-44.*

⁵¹³Dr. Richard I. McKinney, Personal Interview with Dr. Gloria Gozdzik, November 11, 1997.

had been revamped, and included a new mission statement drawn up in a cooperative effort by Storer's faculty. These objectives included providing a liberal education in a Christian environment, and impressing upon students "the obligations and responsibilities imposed upon them by the privilege of collegiate training, and to make them aware of and responsive to the challenge of leadership in the reconstruction of society along lines of the best in the democratic tradition."⁵¹⁴ McKinney and the faculty clearly saw Storer College as a training ground for young African American men and women who would be leaders in the continuing struggle to achieve equality in society.

By 1945-46, the composition of Storer's faculty had changed considerably from what it had been under McDonald's tenure, at least in part due to the war. Of the 18 active teaching faculty members, 15 had come to Storer during or after World War II, including 11 who had been hired after McDonald's retirement in 1944. In addition, at least 11 faculty members and the president were now African American. Although racial distinctions were not made in the catalog listing, a determination of race can be made based on the educational background by noting those faculty members who received their degrees from African American colleges or universities. The 1945-46 *Storer College Catalogue* listed the following active teaching faculty, or "Officers of Instruction," in order of length of service:

Pearl Elise Tatten	Music	1922-
Leroy D. Johnson	Chemistry/Mathematics	1934-
	Dean of Instruction	1941-
Charles W. Wolfe	English/Physics	1936-
Albert Jesse Ringer Schumaker	Sociology/Economics	1941-
Herschel Lester Irons	Biology	1941-

⁵¹⁴*Storer College Bulletin* 1945-46, 32.

Rachel H. Seagrave	Education	1943-
Estella McClendon Bullard	Home Economics	1944-
Helen Maxine Stephens	Education/History	1944-
Richard Alexander Wallach	French/German	1944-
	European History	
George Isaac Read, Jr.	Business	1944-
Margaret Roles Williams	Library Science	1944-
Dorothy Cecelia Allen	Chemistry (part of year)	1945-
Lila Juanita Beasley	Business	1945-
Stanton Collins Craigie	Secondary Education	1945-
Marcus Emmanuel Cook, Jr.	Religion	1945-
Phyllis Kimbrough McKinney	Typing/Shorthand (part time)	1945-
Hanna Hood Read	Mathematics/English	1946-
M. Louise Chambers	Business	1946-

515

After the conflicts with both faculty and students that had marked the McDonald administration, McKinney was likely hoping for a greater spirit of cooperation and racial identity among the mostly new faculty.

However, there was one significant holdover from the McDonald administration: Leroy D. Johnson, who had taught Chemistry at Storer since 1934, and had been appointed Dean of Instruction in 1941. Johnson had received his A. B. from Lincoln University in 1931 and his Master's from the University of Pennsylvania in 1934. He completed additional graduate work at Atlanta University as well as the University of Pennsylvania. He began his career at Storer College in 1934 as head of the Chemistry Department. Among the active instructors when McKinney took over, only Pearl S. Tatten, the music instructor, had been at Storer longer than Professor Johnson.⁵¹⁶ His

⁵¹⁵*Storer College Catalogue* 1945-46, 8-11.

⁵¹⁶*Storer College*

experience and loyalty would be relied on heavily in the increasingly difficult final years.

Student life and academics

McKinney also worked hard to improve the sense of community among the students, especially after the hardships of the war and the change in administration. One of his first moves after becoming president was the establishment of a chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. at Storer College.⁵¹⁷ Although the school's library had carried the *Crisis* since at least 1930, McDonald had denied requests from the N.A.A.C.P. to start a chapter.⁵¹⁸ Storer also continued to host prominent African American speakers, including Nnambi Azikiwe, a Storer graduate and prime minister of Nigeria, who spoke at the college in September 1947.⁵¹⁹

A Student Government Association was formed under McKinney's administration, and demonstrates his attempts to get students more involved in issues that affected Storer as a whole. The functions of this body were described in the school's catalog:

Some of the duties delegated to this body include the election of officers to responsible positions such as editor of the school paper; and appointment of representatives of the student body to state and national meetings as well as the selection of students to serve on committees with faculty members.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁷*Storer College Bulletin* 1945-46, 18-19.

⁵¹⁸Robert M. Bagnall to Henry T. McDonald, February 14, 1923, Storer Collection, A & M 2621, Box 1, FF 3, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University.

⁵¹⁹Clipping from *The Watchman-Examiner*, September 25, 1947, Storer College Collection, A & M 2621, Box 15, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

⁵²⁰*Storer College Bulletin* 1945-46, 18.

The practice of allowing students to serve on committees with faculty members had been almost unheard of during the McDonald years, and shows that McKinney was trying to move Storer College in a new direction.

Not all of McKinney's efforts to foster a new sense of unity and direction at Storer were met with approval by the student body, however. In September 1947, the student body staged a one-day strike against the administration, but returned to classes the following day. There is no record of written grievances preserved in the Storer College records. However, Dr. McKinney himself recalled that the strike was to protest disciplinary action taken against a single student who broke one of the rules of conduct. The Faculty Committee voted to suspend the student, and the rest of the student body, led by the war veterans, threatened a walk out. The faculty met, but refused to compromise, arguing that "if the school had to close, so be it."⁵²¹ Although the strike ended quickly, it illustrated some of the problems that were beginning to surface at Storer.

From an academic standpoint, McKinney made few changes to the curriculum and, in a personal interview, noted that he basically continued the academic program inherited from the McDonald administration. However, McKinney's main goal was to try to get Storer College's Bachelor of Arts program accredited, especially the science programs, in order to attract more and better students.⁵²² McKinney also added a number

⁵²¹Dr. Richard I. McKinney, Personal Interview with Dr. Gloria Gozdzik, November 11, 1997.

⁵²²Dr. Richard I. McKinney, Personal Interview with Dr. Gloria Gozdzik, November 11, 1997.

of well-qualified new faculty and did his best to upgrade the school's facilities. In June 1946, the West Virginia Board of Education accredited Storer College for the granting of A. B. degrees in elementary education, and in secondary education in the fields of English, home economics, science, and social science.⁵²³

Another goal of the McKinney administration was also to try to upgrade the campus and facilities at Storer College in order to attract more students. In 1948, he began work on a new football field, and also on the long-awaited new gymnasium, a project that McDonald had lobbied for since the early 1920's. McKinney also authorized work to begin on remodeling the Lockwood House for use as a dormitory. Funding problems, however, forced the project to be stopped before completion.⁵²⁴

Trouble for the McKinney Administration

For all his ambition to create a new Storer College that would train qualified, well-rounded African American scholars, President McKinney's administration quickly ran into trouble. Although enrollment had climbed again to 152 by 1945-46, and an amazing 282 students the following year due to the influx of veterans, Storer was still suffering from grave financial difficulties and the deficit kept growing.⁵²⁵ McKinney still had not been able to get accreditation for Storer and, by his fourth year in office, he was

⁵²³Vivian Verdell Gordon, Section E: A History of Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, *Journal of Negro Education*, XXX, 1961, 449.

⁵²⁴Harry S. Myers to Henry T. McDonald, December 13, 1948, Storer College Collection, A & M 2621, Box 12, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

⁵²⁵*Storer College Bulletin* 1945-46, 1946-47.

beset by financial difficulties and increasing dissension on the Board of Trustees over the school's financial situation.

Conflict also centered around the construction of the new football field and work on the new gymnasium, and the large expenditure of funds secured through loans that had increased Storer's indebtedness to \$62,000 by December 1948. According to Harry S. Myers, one of the Board members, \$30,000 of the debt was in bank loans, with some of the college's securities as collateral; while the remaining \$32,000 were outstanding bills that were unsecured and past due. The trustees themselves had contributed \$500 out of their own pockets to apply toward Storer's expenses, "and several other things were done that will stop what's been going on."⁵²⁶

By this time, it was clear that some members of the Board of Trustees, which still had a white majority, were beginning to question McKinney's administration, including the President of the Board, Grant M. Hudson. Although the Board members had remained aloof from McDonald in the first few years after his retirement, several of them began to contact him as they became increasingly at odds with McKinney. In a Christmas card sent to McDonald in December 1948, Hudson expressed his deep concern over the growing conflict between McKinney and the Board: "I came away from the Board Meeting with a heavy heart - I do not know what the future is - the old spirit did not seem to be there."⁵²⁷

⁵²⁶Harry S. Myers to Henry T. McDonald, December 13, 1948, Storer College Collection, A & M 2621, Box 12, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

⁵²⁷Grant M. Hudson to Henry T. McDonald, December 1948, Storer College Collection, A & M 2621, Box 12, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University,

Harry S. Myers, another member of the Board of Trustees who had been friends with McDonald for decades, wrote to McDonald at the end of February 1949, after another "long, tedious, nervous [Trustees'] meeting full of tension."⁵²⁸ He went on to suggest that McDonald might be able to give him information about what was going on at the campus: "If you should happen to get anything that might be of value, I wish you would let me know."⁵²⁹ This letter and a number of others among McDonald's papers illustrate that, at least from 1948 on, some of the Trustees and others who were unhappy with McKinney's administration were coming to McDonald to try to get information about what was going on at Storer.⁵³⁰

The correspondence between Henry McDonald and Harry Myers and others shows that the fears among the Board that McDonald would interfere with college affairs if he stayed in Harpers Ferry after his retirement were well-founded. McDonald had been angry about the way he was retired, and had warned that things would fall apart without him. During the first three years of McKinney's administration, however, McDonald appears to have stayed away from college functions and affairs and his bitterness was plain:

Morgantown, WV.

⁵²⁸Harry S. Myers to Henry T. McDonald, December 1948, Storer College Collection, A & M 2621, Box 12, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

⁵²⁹Harry S. Myers to Henry T. McDonald, February 28, 1949, Storer College Collection, A & M 2621, Box 12, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

⁵³⁰McDonald Correspondence, 1948-50, Storer College Collection, A & M 2621, Box 12, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

We shall never be accused of attempting to interfere with the College, as was said would be the case – if we remained in Harpers Ferry. – by some of your Board Members. Since we can be of no further service to Storer, we certainly shall not be a hindrance to her. ... When I was kicked off the Board, in the manner done, the official connection of our families – for the first time in the life of Storer – ended.⁵³¹

However, until late 1948, there is no documentary evidence to confirm any behind-the-scenes maneuvering by McDonald, although his letters to Myers indicate that he knew most of the gossip about goings-on at Storer and was often asked about the state of affairs at the school by businessmen and others who still associated him with Storer.

Consequently, McDonald's opinion still carried some weight in the community, and his negative attitude toward McKinney's administration could have been very damaging.

Another of the white Trustees who began to show opposition to McKinney's administration by 1949 was Judge Thomas Robertson, chairman of the Finance Committee. At the Executive Committee meeting in January 1949, it was clear that the problems with Storer's finances were becoming critical: "After a careful consideration of the November and December monthly reports of the College business, it was decided to have a mid-term audit of the finances of the College to get a fuller picture of the financial condition."⁵³²

Apparently, the audit raised some questions, as the full Board of Trustees was called to a special meeting in February to discuss the finances of the school. The school

⁵³¹Henry T. McDonald to W. H. Jernagin, March 3, 1947, Storer College Collection, A & M 2621, Box 12, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

⁵³²Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, January 10, 1949, American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, NY.

was carrying an unsecured debt of \$36,000, plus \$30,000 in notes due to banks and secured by invested securities owned by Storer. Although the estimated income for the year would be approximately \$12,000 over the anticipated operating expenses, that would still leave \$24,000 to pay on the \$36,000 unsecured debt. In the animated discussion following the presentation of this financial statement, it also became apparent that between \$75,000 and \$90,000 had been taken from permanent funds that had been designated for specific purposes and used on the football field and other projects.⁵³³

In order to clarify the financial situation, the Executive Committee had requested in December 1948 that the Treasurer, who was from Washington, D.C., visit the campus and make an assessment of Storer's Business Office. Mr. Fraser made the visit, and submitted a report to the Executive Committee, which they requested to be sent to each Board member. When it was presented to the Board, President McKinney asked for the opportunity to speak about some of the points in Fraser's report. McKinney "made his statements orally upon every one of the paragraphs that he desired to mention and a long discussion ensued concerning these financial difficulties. The discussion was participated in by practically every person present – some two or three times."⁵³⁴ Also, McKinney and Fraser disagreed strongly about several of the items on the report, and harsh words were exchanged.⁵³⁵

⁵³³Minutes of special meeting of the Board of Trustees, February 26, 1949, American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, NY.

⁵³⁴Minutes of special meeting of the Board of Trustees, February 26, 1949, American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, NY.

⁵³⁵Harry S. Myers to Henry T. McDonald, March 21, 1949, Storer College Collection, A & M 2621, Box 12, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

As a result of this discussion, the Board went into Executive session, and the Executive Committee voted that "no debts be incurred in or out of the budget without a vote either of the Board or of the Executive Committee."⁵³⁶ In addition, all checks now had to be signed by the President and Treasurer of the College. A further consequence of the meeting was the resignation of George Fraser as Treasurer of Storer College amid questions about his role in the increasing indebtedness of the school.⁵³⁷

In the spring of 1949, Dr. R. H. Rivenburg of the Northern Baptist Board of Education visited Storer in order to make an assessment of the financial situation at the school and make recommendations about a possible loan for the troubled institution. He recommended that the Executive Committee request an unsecured loan of \$12,000, and the committee authorized President McKinney to make the request.⁵³⁸ In addition, it was voted to increase tuition from \$100 to \$120 per year, although the annual fee was reduced from \$50 to \$40. Finally, President McKinney was requested to trim \$13,000 from his proposed budget for the 1949-50 fiscal year and resubmit both of them to the Board of Trustees at the annual meeting in May 1949.⁵³⁹

At the Trustees meeting in May 1949, it became clear that McKinney's

⁵³⁶Minutes of special meeting of the Board of Trustees, February 26, 1949, American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, NY.

⁵³⁷Harry S. Myers to Henry T. McDonald, March 14 and March 21, 1949, Storer College Collection, A & M 2621, Box 12, West Virginia History and Regional Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

⁵³⁸Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, April 1, 1949, American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, NY.

⁵³⁹Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, April 1, 1949, American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, NY.

administration was in trouble. He tendered his resignation to the Board, but it was not accepted. However, the Board also failed to reelect him at that meeting. At the next Executive Committee meeting in early June, the committee voted to call a special meeting of the full Board to elect a president of the school.⁵⁴⁰ At this meeting, the motion was immediately made to reelect President McKinney for another year. However, before a vote could be taken, a substitute motion was made by Judge Robertson not to reelect McKinney. This motion was seconded by Mrs. Mary Peyton Dyson, a Storer alumna and longtime member of the Board of Trustees. McKinney then appeared before the Board to make a statement and answer questions.⁵⁴¹

Following a break, the Board met in Executive session, and the substitute motion was not passed. After McKinney was reelected, Robertson promptly submitted his resignations as a member of the Finance Committee and the Board of Trustees. The resignations were not accepted, and Robertson was convinced to remain on the Board. However, his opposition to McKinney was now out in the open. After this incident, the Trustees voted to appoint a committee to "convey to President McKinney certain judgments of the Board relative to his administration, as expressed in the meeting."⁵⁴²

Although McKinney had dodged a bullet, his administration continued to be plagued by the worsening financial situation. By October 1949, the treasurer, now Dr.

⁵⁴⁰Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, June 6, 1949, American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, NY.

⁵⁴¹Minutes of special meeting of the Board of Trustees, June 20, 1949, American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, NY.

⁵⁴²Minutes of special meeting of the Board of Trustees, June 20, 1949, American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, NY.

Clarence Cranford, was forced to borrow \$3000 from the fund designated for the gymnasium in order to pay other bills. The remaining balance in the Gymnasium Fund, \$2053.60, and a cash balance of \$656.99, left the school only \$2710.59 in available funds.⁵⁴³ Judge Robertson, as chairman of the Finance Committee, reported on his study of the financial situation, which "showed the necessity of taking rigorous steps to restore the College to its former financial situation."⁵⁴⁴ By April 1950, the outlook had brightened somewhat, as the treasurer reported a balance of \$12,721.09. In addition, Storer had received a donation of \$1000 from a longtime benefactor, and a campaign by President McKinney among Yale University Alumni promised to yield about \$4000 after expenses.⁵⁴⁵

However, these modest gains were apparently not sufficient to save McKinney's administration, as he offered his resignation to the Board at their April 3, 1950 meeting. Although McKinney presented his resignation effective September 1, 1950, the Executive Committee voted to accept the resignation effective July 1, 1950, and continue his salary until September 1st. The Executive Committee was then authorized to begin a search for McKinney's successor, and to implement a plan for running Storer College in the meantime.⁵⁴⁶ At the Executive Committee meeting on May 5, 1950, it was voted to

⁵⁴³Minutes of Trustees meeting, October 21, 1949, American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, NY.

⁵⁴⁴Minutes of Trustees meeting, October 21, 1949, American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, NY.

⁵⁴⁵Minutes of Trustees meeting, April 3, 1950, American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, NY.

⁵⁴⁶Minutes of Trustees meeting, April 3, 1950, American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, NY.

appoint a committee of faculty members, chaired by Dean Leroy D. Johnson, to supervise the day-to-day affairs of Storer College until a new president could be found. In addition to Johnson, the committee consisted of Dr. Albert Schumaker, Professor of Sociology, and Professor T. D. Pawley of the English Department.⁵⁴⁷

The Interim Faculty Committee

By the June 8, 1950 meeting of the Executive Committee, the Interim Committee had already made a number of recommendations that were adopted. These dealt mainly with changes in the faculty and staff, but also included a vote that gave full control of Storer's finances to the Interim Committee until a new president could be found.⁵⁴⁸ By the end of this meeting, the Interim Committee had been empowered to perform nearly all the duties of the president, and in effect, the committee was now running Storer College.

The Interim Faculty Committee was now faced with the unenviable task of making the necessary decisions to keep Storer College open, to reduce its debt and to plan for the future. However, by September 1950, Storer's debt still totaled about \$36,800. This debt took the form of "notes to banks of \$18,000; a balance of \$7,000 on loan from the Northern Baptist Board of Education, outstanding debts of the College as

⁵⁴⁷Minutes of Executive Committee meetings, May 15 and June 5, 1950, American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, NY.

⁵⁴⁸Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, June 8, 1950, American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, NY.

of June 30, 1950, \$9,600 and \$2,800 due on insurance policies.”⁵⁴⁹ In addition, the outstanding bills owed to the college by students amounted to about \$18,000.⁵⁵⁰

In order to improve Storer’s financial health, the Board voted to sell surplus lots, as well as the Co-op House on Washington Street, and to apply the money toward the school’s debts. In addition, the Board appointed the college’s Dean of Men, Rev. Pugh, to travel in the region surrounding Harpers Ferry to recruit students and solicit financial support for Storer. The Trustees also voted to appoint a committee to look into public relations and sources of support within the State of West Virginia. Finally, they requested that the Northern Baptist Board of Education send two representatives “to spend some time at the College cooperating with the Faculty Committee on financial and educational programs for now and the future.”⁵⁵¹

When it became clear that no president would be elected to succeed Richard McKinney for the 1950-51 academic year, the Board of Trustees voted to change the name of the Interim Faculty Committee to the Administrative Committee in order to “give the Interim Faculty Committee greater prestige in dealing with business firms.”⁵⁵² The Administrative Committee continued to run Storer College while the Board of Trustees conducted a search for a new president. By March 1951, four candidates had

⁵⁴⁹Minutes of the Trustees meeting, September 15, 1950, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁵⁰Minutes of the Trustees meeting, September 15, 1950, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁵¹Minutes of the Trustees meeting, September 15, 1950, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁵²Minutes of the Trustees meeting, September 15, 1950, American Baptist Historical Society.

been selected to be interviewed: Mr. C. A. Chick, of the North Carolina State College in Fayetteville; Mr. Herbert Miller of the Baptist Education Center in New York City; Rev. Charles Boddie of the Mt. Olivet Baptist Church in Rochester, NY; and Mr. Horatio Hill of the Baptist Education Center, New York City⁵⁵³

Members of the search committee were authorized to interview each of the four candidates and report back to the Executive Committee with their recommendations.

Their initial choice was Dr. Herbert Miller of New York City, and he was invited to visit Storer and meet with the Executive Committee on June 1, 1951.⁵⁵⁴ However, at the June 1st Executive Committee meeting, it was reported that the planned visit by Dr. Miller was canceled by the committee, "in the best interest of the College."⁵⁵⁵ Although this meant that Storer College was still without a president, the Executive Committee apparently felt that the management of the school could not be left to a committee. Consequently, they dissolved the Administrative Committee "with the appreciation of the Board of Trustees for its splendid administration of the College for the school year 1950-51."⁵⁵⁶ In its place, the Executive Committee voted to elect Dean Leroy D. Johnson as the newly-created vice-president of Storer College, as well as Dean of the college.

⁵⁵³Special Committee meeting, March 17, 1951, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁵⁴Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, May 12, 1951, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁵⁵Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, June 1, 1951, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁵⁶Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, June 1, 1951, American Baptist Historical Society.

However, by the October 1951 Executive Committee meeting, vice-president Johnson had requested that the Administrative Committee be re-formed, and his request was granted.⁵⁵⁷

On June 2, 1951, the full Board of Trustees met in their annual spring meeting, and there was at least some good news. The Administrative Committee presented its final report and noted that the \$9500 deficit as of June 30, 1950 had been paid off, and the outlook for a balanced budget for the 1950-51 year was good. In addition, the Board approved the sale of the Co-op House to Mrs. Madison Briscoe for \$6500, which would bring additional income to the school. In addition, the Executive Committee also recommended the sale of the Lockwood House, which was not currently being used by the school.⁵⁵⁸

These measures just were not enough, as enrollment continued to decline, and Storer found itself deeper in debt. By October 1951, the Board of Trustees was forced to borrow \$14,000 from Mr. and Mrs. Robertson in order to avoid a higher interest rate for additional loans from the bank. Robertson was a longtime member of the Board of Trustees and the chairman of the Finance Committee, and was clearly making a great effort to try to help the troubled college. Still, the report of the Finance Committee indicated that the revised budget of \$104,680 for the 1951-52 academic year would be based on only 60 boarding students and 30 day students, and would still leave a deficit of

⁵⁵⁷Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, October 11, 1951, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁵⁸Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 2, 1951, American Baptist Historical Society.

\$1860.⁵⁵⁹

The February 1952 meeting of the Executive Committee was filled with more bad financial news, as vice-president Johnson recommended that a committee be formed to look into the sale of any college property "not expected to be used in the future development of the College."⁵⁶⁰ In addition, the committee voted to request an extension on the loan from the American Baptist Convention and to request that Storer be allowed the privilege of paying the interest only for the time being. The Executive Committee also received the news that Dr. Charles Boddie of Rochester, New York had also declined to accept the presidency of Storer College.⁵⁶¹

By the time of the May 1952 Trustees meeting, however, the Board finally had a candidate for the presidency, Reverend L. E. Terrell, an African American minister from Jacksonville, Florida. He was offered the position at a salary of \$5500 and the use of the Waterman House, which had formerly been known as the President's House.⁵⁶² Terrell accepted the position, but apparently did not arrive at Storer to assume his duties until September 1952, as the minutes for the October 4, 1952 Trustees meeting note that the new president had only been on the campus for a month and had no report to make as yet.⁵⁶³

⁵⁵⁹Minutes of Trustees meeting, October 13, 1951, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁶⁰Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, February 22, 1952, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁶¹Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, February 22, 1952, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁶²Minutes of Trustees meeting, May 26, 1952, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁶³Minutes of Trustees meeting, October 4, 1952, American Baptist Historical Society.

President L. E. Terrell and Storer's Last Years

Rev. Terrell's short-lived administration at Storer College had little chance to succeed. The college's financial difficulties had become so great that the Board of Trustees was forced to borrow \$1500 to renovate the President's House to make it liveable, and Rev. and Mrs. Terrell had to pay a significant portion of the cost of furnishing the home themselves. In addition, the approved budget for the 1952-53 school year was \$95,325; and included a deficit of \$11,855. Storer's debt continued to mount, and recruitment efforts had failed to bring in enough students to cover expenses. An attempt to raise tuition and board caused a great deal of discussion, but in the end only the board was raised from \$240 to \$280 per year, while tuition remained at \$180 per year⁵⁶⁴

Still, Reverend Terrell devoted himself fully to Storer, and did his best to keep the school going. Perhaps the biggest success of Terrell's short tenure was the construction of the Library Annex, completed in early 1954. The annex provided additional stacks for books and bound periodicals, and work space for the librarians, and was intended to help bring Storer's library facilities up to the standards needed for accreditation. In addition, the Alumni Association also raised funds to provide a new Circulation Desk for the main part of the library, as well as contributing to the building of the annex.⁵⁶⁵ The Library Annex project represented a supreme effort on the part of Storer administration, faculty, Alumni Association, Trustees, and the student body, and the Storer community was

⁵⁶⁴Minutes of Trustees meeting, October 4, 1952, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁶⁵*The Storer College Builder*, v. 9, no. 2, February 1954.

justifiably proud of their accomplishment.

In spite of projects like the Library Annex, however, the prospects for Storer College remained grim. As early as February 1953, the Board of Trustees was already beginning to seriously discuss the future of Storer. At a luncheon meeting on February 27th, the Trustees heard reports from President Terrell on recruiting efforts, from Trustee Bradley Nash on the school's financial problems, and from Trustee Ballenger on possible sources of funding. He discussed the unique situation of Storer College: "Storer is an independent College depending upon its friends denominationally and geographically. Storer is a church related college (founded by Free will Baptists), a child to the Home Mission Board, and associated with the American Baptist Convention. A college that is attempting to be Christian."⁵⁶⁶ Consequently, the Board of Trustees appealed to the Board of Education of the American Baptist Convention for help. Their representative, Dr. Ronald V. Wells, spoke to the Board, but offered little hope.

Wells told the Trustees there would not be much money coming from the Board of Education, as their resources were already stretched too tight. He did, however, make five recommendations on how to plan a "Build Storer" campaign. The first, and most important, was to increase enrollment and bring in more tuition money. Second, the Alumni must increase their level of contribution, thus providing a permanent source of income for the college. Third, renewed efforts would have to be made to increase regular contributions from both African American and white churches who were friendly to

⁵⁶⁶Minutes of Luncheon Meeting, February 27, 1953, American Baptist Historical Society.

Storer, either as a regular part of their charitable budgets or through monthly offerings. For the short term, at least \$50,000 in immediate funds were needed to maintain the buildings and grounds, and to pay staff salaries. At least half of this money was to come from contributions from friends and benefactors, while the other half would have to be underwritten. Finally, the college would have to develop a clear program to re-evaluate their mission and objectives to be more competitive with other colleges.⁵⁶⁷

~~In the lengthy discussion that followed Wells' report, the Board tried to come up~~ with ways of working on these five points, especially the increase of funding. A suggestion was even made that Storer try to get contribution from other denominations besides the Baptists.⁵⁶⁸

Trustee William D. Johnson then noted that Storer was hampered by the fact that its tuition was currently higher than West Virginia's state schools, and the college was still not accredited in most subjects. In addition, Storer still lacked a modern library building (later rectified by the construction of the Library Annex) and a gymnasium, both important parts of the college experience. President Terrell then argued that Storer's main selling points that must be exploited were: 1) Christian interest; 2) Moral values in education; 3) Individual attention in a small institution; and 4) The beauty of the school's natural surroundings.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁷Minutes of Luncheon Meeting, February 27, 1953, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁶⁸Minutes of Luncheon Meeting, February 27, 1953, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁶⁹Minutes of Luncheon Meeting, February 27, 1953, American Baptist Historical Society.

While the Trustees and other friends of Storer tried to find ways to raise money for the school, day-to-day operations continued at the college. In 1953, through generous contributions from alumni and friends, Storer was able to build a Library Annex to try to upgrade its library facilities. Even while this building project was going on, however, Storer's deficit was increasing. At the June 1953 meeting of the Board of Trustees, it was reported that the school's indebtedness would be about \$21,000. The chairman of the Finance Committee was then authorized to sell 233 shares of stock, and give part of the money to the Library Fund and try to reinvest the remainder. Even with this news, President Terrell remained optimistic and reported that his canvassing efforts might bring as many as 100 freshmen to Storer for the 1953-54 school year.⁵⁷⁰

By the end of September 1953, however, Mr. Robertson reported to the Executive Committee that enrollment and finances were not improving. Figures showed only 50 boarding students and 21 day students, well below the hoped-for enrollment. In October, the financial report showed that Storer had been forced to use about \$11,000 of its capital to pay some of its bills. In addition, the Board was forced to mortgage the Lockwood House as security for the loan owed to Mr. and Mrs. Robertson.⁵⁷¹

By February 1, 1954, the financial situation at Storer College had become critical. The current deficit for the 1953-54 school was already \$9019, and approximately \$10,000 was due on unpaid bills. In addition, there was not enough cash on hand to meet the January payroll, and various students owed the school a total of more than

⁵⁷⁰Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 6, 1953, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁷¹Minutes of Trustees meeting, October 30, 1953, American Baptist Historical Society.

\$2000. The official minutes summed up the situation: "Faced with salaries in arrears, students in arrears, unpaid bills amounting to \$10,000 and no new sources of income in sight, the question arose as to how the trustees would finance the college until the end of the current school year."⁵⁷² President Terrell recommended mortgaging the Brackett House and, after some reluctance, the Trustees authorized Terrell to negotiate a loan of up to \$10,000 with the Bracket House as security. The minutes also show that contributions and bequests were still coming in, but restricted funds could only be used for specified purposes and not to pay bills.⁵⁷³

In December 1953, a special committee appointed by the Board of Trustees to re-evaluate Storer College's objectives and student potential began meeting. The committee considered three basic questions, posed by the chairman:

1. What is the enrollment potential of the region from which Storer College can be expected to recruit students?
2. What curricular offerings are desirable or needed by these students?
3. What does Storer College need in addition to curricular offerings?⁵⁷⁴

After discussing the questions, the committee concluded that if Storer College became accredited, it could draw students within a 50-mile radius of Harpers Ferry, especially in the states of Virginia, Maryland, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia. Without

⁵⁷²Minutes of Trustees meeting, February 1, 1954, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁷³Minutes of Trustees meeting, February 1, 1954, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁷⁴Minutes of Special Committee meeting, January 26, 1954, American Baptists Historical Society.

accreditation, however, Storer simply could not compete with other schools in the region.⁵⁷⁵

As to a curriculum, the committee agreed that the focus should be on a four-year accredited liberal arts program, and included a pre-medic course, education, nursing, home economics, and business. In addition, secondary education would be a good offering "if a secondary school can be conducted in conjunction with a Liberal Arts College."⁵⁷⁶ ~~The committee also unanimously agreed that, besides the course offerings,~~ Storer must have a gymnasium and a better athletic program. Other suggestions were made by various members of the committee, but were deferred until the next meeting. In a final decision, the committee decided that a survey of Storer's recruitment potential should be conducted, and the representative of the American Baptist Board of Education offered \$1000 to conduct the survey.

On April 30, 1954, the Executive Committee met to consider the financial situation and the report of the survey. As of March 31, 1954, the total of all of Storer's unpaid accounts was \$16,634.53. This total did not even include approximately \$36,600 in outstanding debts to various organizations and individuals.⁵⁷⁷ The American Baptist Convention did try to help by giving Storer a special one year only appropriation of \$2552 "to be divided as follows: on salaries and operating bills, not for insurance or any

⁵⁷⁵Minutes of Special Committee meeting, January 26, 1954, American Baptists Historical Society.

⁵⁷⁶Minutes of Special Committee meeting, January 26, 1954, American Baptists Historical Society.

⁵⁷⁷Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, April 30, 1954, American Baptist Historical Society.

of Mr. Moore's bills; the remainder will be transferred on our books to show as the \$600 February payment on the mortgage and also the \$600 payment for May 1, 1954, together with the interest now in arrears and up to May 1."⁵⁷⁸

However, this appropriation was only a drop in the bucket, and the Executive Committee finally faced the hard reality that Storer College could not continue in its current condition. They voted to recommend to the Board of Trustees that "unless adequate resources are immediately available consideration be given on June 4 and 5, 1954 to suspending academic operations at Storer College for the year 1954-1955."⁵⁷⁹ In addition, the committee voted that the president immediately notify all employees of Storer College of the possibility that their employment might be terminated at the end of the contractual year.

When the Board of Trustees met on June 4, 1954, they were addressed by a committee from the Alumni Association, which expressed grave concern over the recommendation to close the school and asked the Board to consider keeping the school open. A committee was sent to meet with the Alumni and inform them of the following action: "That the Board will consider their request to continue operation of the college if the Alumni will pledge to raise \$25,000 by the year 1955 to aid in paying off the indebtedness and raise scholarship funds to insure the enrollment of 50 students from the State of West Virginia by July 1, 1954."⁵⁸⁰ The Alumni Association presented a written

⁵⁷⁸Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, April 30, 1954, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁷⁹Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, April 30, 1954, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁸⁰Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 4 and 5, 1954, American Baptist Historical Society.

report to the Trustees on June 5th, and the Board resolved to continue operations at Storer based on the support pledged in the report.⁵⁸¹

By October 1954, the "Save Storer" campaign had raised \$5000 for scholarships for West Virginia students, and recruited more students than Storer had had for the previous two years. Enrollment figures indicate that the number of students for the 1954-55 school year was 88, an increase of 17 over the previous academic year.⁵⁸² The college was still operating at a deficit, however, and its debts were still more than \$35,000. Later in October, President Terrell sent a letter to the members of the Board giving more details on the situation at the school, and why recent fund-raising efforts had failed. Although the outlook was grim, President Terrell still tried to rally the Board to keep Storer going:

I still have faith in Storer, in spite of everything. I believe that, given the time, it can move up to a level of effective service, gain regional accreditation and take its place in the sun of a first-class institution. This may necessitate some curricula changes as well as changes in objectives. Of course, it cannot be done all at once. There is no one who can work that kind of miracle . . . We are beginning to reap the reward of strenuous effort this year. If the boat is not rocked for another two years, I can see real hope for the beginning of a self-supporting, adequate, effective institution. But if the boat is rocked, it will surely cap-size.⁵⁸³

Terrell apparently lost hope himself, however, as he offered his resignation to the Board

⁵⁸¹ Minutes of Trustees meeting, June 4 and 5, 1954, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁸² Minutes of Trustees meeting, October 9, 1954, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁸³ President L. E. Terrell to the members of the Board of Trustees, October 29, 1954, American Baptist Historical Society.

of Trustees at a special meeting on April 13, 1955.

At this meeting, the Board received even more bad news. Following the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, which, in effect, ended the segregation of schools, the State of West Virginia declined to continue Storer College's \$2,000 appropriation. The financial report also indicated that the current year's deficit was more than \$16,000, and the college's outstanding debts were still \$35,000.⁵⁸⁴ Faced with this impossible financial situation, the Board of Trustees voted to suspend operations at Storer College for the 1955-56 school year. Committees were formed to continue the necessary business operations, and try to come up with a plan for the future of Storer College. After the vote to suspend operations, the Board accepted the resignation of President Terrell.⁵⁸⁵ The Board of Trustees continued to meet, and several attempts were made to reorganize Storer College, the school never reopened. In 1963, the campus and grounds were transferred to the National Park Service, and became part of the Harpers Ferry National Park.

Conclusion

Although Storer College has remained largely unknown in the scholarship of African American education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the school played an important role in the lives of those who studied there. During the nineteenth century,

⁵⁸⁴Minutes of Special Meeting of Board of Trustees, April 13, 1955, American Baptist Historical Society.

⁵⁸⁵Minutes of Special Meeting of Board of Trustees, April 13, 1955, American Baptist Historical Society.

Storer's classical curriculum and educational mission was typical of the missionary schools started by northern denominations. Storer sought to provide a classical education to train African American teachers who would go out and teach others the educational skills they would need to survive as freedmen. In this task Storer succeeded; hundreds of Storer alumni taught in West Virginia and surrounding states. Several became faculty members of the State of West Virginia's new normal schools in the 1890's. Many Storer alumni became early pioneers among African American professionals. Some, such as Nnamdi Azikiwe who served as president of Nigeria, entered the ranks of world leaders.

In addition to the educational experience of Storer College's students, a study of the school can shed new light on the impact of national events and trends. When the debate over industrial education and funding for African American schools reached its height in the 1890's, Storer's Trustees reacted by establishing and rapidly expanding its own industrial departments. However, the school was still at its core a missionary school, and continued to offer a classical academic curriculum. Storer tried to offer its students a well-rounded educational experience by adding athletics and musical training. Don Redman, one of the most prominent Jazz musicians and composers of the 1920s and 1930s, was a Storer graduate, and first began to arrange and compose while a member of the school's orchestra.

When the experience of African Americans during World War I created new expectations of social equality at home, and their disappointment caused increased racial strife, Storer also felt the conflict. The white administration's increasing difficulties with

student discipline, including the 1922 student strike, were likely tied to similar events at other black colleges in the 1920's. During the 1930's, the impact of the Great Depression can be seen in the increased financial difficulties of Storer and the hardships faced by students and faculty. World War II dealt a severe blow to Storer in terms of enrollment, and the brief influx of veterans after the war was only temporary. Finally, the landmark Supreme Court decision, *Brown V. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, allowing African American students the chance to go to white colleges with far superior facilities, dealt the final blow to Storer College.

While the Storer College experience offers important insight on the African American experience during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the history of the school can also shed light on more specific issues. As the first state-supported African American normal school in West Virginia, Storer College holds a unique position in the educational history of the state. Until its closing in the 1950's, Storer remained the only independent school for African Americans to receive an annual state appropriation. In addition, the debates during the 1920's over a possible state takeover of Storer College offer an interesting perspective on issues relating to the education of African Americans in West Virginia.

In addition, an analysis of the conflicts that plagued the relations between the Board of Trustees and Storer's administration also demonstrates the difficulties faced in running the school. Although ultimate control rested with the Board of Trustees, they met regularly only once a year, and then attendance was usually poor. The president and Executive Committee had to wait months for authorization to expend money for repairs

and other essentials and often took matters into their own hands, which created problems when they were called upon to justify their actions. Divisions within the Board also developed over time between various factions, and created indecision and conflict. The battle over the state takeover, the decision to retire McDonald, and the resignation of President McKinney are all examples of the lack of unity between Storer's administration and its Board of Trustees.

However, the practical difficulties and conflict that plagued the later years of Storer College should not detract from the institution or its contribution to African American education. From its founding, Storer faced an uphill battle for survival, and never really reached a point where its existence was secure. Despite these, Storer was the first training school for African American teachers in West Virginia, and remained the only one until the 1890's. Even when the state of West Virginia started its own normal schools, West Virginia State Teachers College and Bluefield Normal School, it could not have done so without the Storer graduates who became instructors at these institutions.

Bibliography

Documentary Sources

The main documentary and photographic sources for this historic resource study are housed in the West Virginia History and Regional Collection at West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia. The records relating to Storer College are catalogued under the following call numbers:

A & M 1322 - 163 boxes and 17 loose packages, including correspondence, financial records, forms and programs, scrapbooks, photographs and blueprints, and newspaper clippings.

A & M 2621- 41 boxes, including correspondence, business and financial records, photographs, original Trustees minute books, papers relating to McDonald's business and civic affairs, newspaper clippings, and miscellaneous programs and other documents relating to the school. Many of the documents were part of McDonald's own papers, and, as a result, the collection has very little material on the years after 1944.

Additional documents, including the correspondence of Alfred Williams Anthony and Trustees' minutes from the 1940s and 1950s, are housed as part of the collection of the American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, New York.

Newspapers and journals

Afro-American
Freewill Baptist Quarterly
Martinsburg Journal
Morning Star
Pittsburgh Courier
Spirit of Jefferson
Storer College Sentinel
Storer Record
Virginia Free Press
Washington Tribune

Secondary Sources

American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Eighth Annual Report, 1848.

American Anti-Slavery Society. Fifth Annual Report, 1838.

Anthony, Kate J. *Storer College, Harper's Ferry: A Brief Historical Sketch*. Boston: Morning Star Press, 1891.

Arter, Jared M. *Echoes from a Pioneer Life*. Atlanta: A. B. Caldwell Publishing Co., 1922.

Barker, John and Mary Johnson. *Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121*. National Park Service/University of Maryland, 1991

Barnes, Gilbert H. *The Anti-Slavery Impulse, 1830-1844*. New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1933.

Baxter, Norman A. *A History of the Freewill Baptists: a study in New England separatism*. Rochester, NY: American Baptist Historical Society, 1957.

Bentley, George. *History of the Freedman's Bureau*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955.

Burgess, Rev. G. A. and Rev. J. T. Ward. *Free Baptist Cyclopedia, historical and biographical*. Chicago, IL: Woman's Temperance Publication Assoc., 1889.

Comstock, Jim, ed. *The West Virginia Heritage Encyclopedia*. Richwood, WV, 1976.

Dickerson, Donald, ed. *Langston Hughes, October Sixteenth, A Biobibliography of Langston Hughes 1902-67, 2nd edition*. Camden, CT: Shoestring Press, 1972.

Dillon, Merton L. *The Abolitionists: the growth of a dissenting minority*. DeKalb, IL, 1974.

Franklin, Vincent P. and James D. Anderson, eds. *New Perspectives on Black Educational History*. Boston, MA: G. K. Hall & Co., 1978.

Freewill Baptist Anti-Slavery Society, Third Annual Report, 1849. Dover, NH, 1854.

Freewill Baptist Connection. Eighth General Conference. Byron, NY, 1835.

Friedman, Lawrence Jacob. *Gregarious Saints: self and community in American*

abolitionism, 1830-1870. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge UP, 1982.

Giddins, Gary. *Visions of Jazz, 1998*

Gordon, Vivian Verdell. Section E: A History of Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, *Journal of Negro Education*, XXX, 1961.

Johnson, Mary L. An "ever present bone of contention": The Heyward Shepherd Memorial. *West Virginia History*, 1997, 1-26.

Johnson, Mary L. *Package 119 Draft Report*. National Park Service, 1994

Josephus, Jr. [Joseph Barry]. *The Annals of Harpers Ferry, from the Establishment of the National Armory in 1794, to the Present Time, 1869, with Anecdotes of Harpers Ferrians*. Hagerstown, MD: Dechert and Co. Printers, 1869.

Journal of the Senate for the Sixth Session, West Virginia State Legislature. Wheeling, WV, 1868.

Mabee, Carlton. *Black Freedom: the nonviolent abolitionists from 1830 through the Civil War*. London, 1970.

Marsden, George M. *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience: a case study of thought and theology in nineteenth-century America*. New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1970.

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. *Seventeenth Annual Report*. Boston, MA, 1849.

McClain, Mary Ellen. *Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1865-1897*. Honors Thesis, Linfield College, 1974.

McKivigan, John R. *The War Against Proslavery Religion: abolitionism and the northern churches, 1830-1865*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1984.

McPherson, James M. *The Abolitionist Legacy: from Reconstruction to the NAACP*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1975.

_____. *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction*, 2nd paperback edition. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1992.

Morris, Robert C. *Reading, 'Riting, and Reconstruction: the education of freedmen in the South, 1861-1870*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Nash, Bradley D. "Crusade of Brotherhood": the part of Storer College in the Education of the Negro, 1865-1955. Unpublished manuscript, n.d.

Oates, Stephen B. *To Purge this Land with Blood: a biography of John Brown*. New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1970.

Potter, David Morris. *The Impending Crisis*. New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1976.

Rasmussen, Barbara. Sixty-four Edited Letter of the Founders of Storer College. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University, 1986.

Reilly, Wayne E., ed. *Sarah Jane Foster: Teacher of the Freedmen*. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1990.

Richardson, Joe M. *Christian Reconstruction: the American Missionary Association and southern blacks, 1861-1890*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1986.

Sheeler, John Reuben, ed. Frederick Douglass, John Brown and Harpers Ferry, Occasional Papers, No. 1, Dept. of History, West Virginia State College Bulletin Series 40, No. 6. Institute, WV: West Virginia State College, 1953.

Silverman, Jason H. *Unwelcome Guests: American Fugitive Slaves in Canada, 1830-1860*. University of Kentucky, 1981.

Staudenraus, Philip J. *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865*. New York, NY: Columbia UP, 1961.

Stealey, John Edmund, III. The Freedman's Bureau in West Virginia. *West Virginia History* (39), 1978.

Stewart, James B. *Holy Warriors: the Abolitionists and American Slavery*. New York, NY, 1976.

Strout, Cushing. *The New Heavens and New Earth: political religion in America*. New York, NY, 1974.

Stutler, Boyd B. *Captain John Brown and Harper's Ferry: the Story of the Raid and the Old Fire Engine House known as John Brown's Fort*. Harper's Ferry, WV: Storer College, 1930.

Swint, Henry Lee. *The Northern Teacher in the South*. New York, NY: Octagon Books, 1967.

Villard, Oswald Garrison. *John Brown, 1800-1859: a biography fifty years after*. Boston, MA: P. Smith, 1910.

Washington, Booker T. "Text of the Atlanta Compromise," *Encyclopedia Britannica Online Guide to Black History*, <http://blackhistory.eb.com>, 1999.

Woodson, Carter G. *Early Negro Education in West Virginia*. Institute, WV: West Virginia Collegiate Institute, 1921.

- DeWolf Industrial Building . . . 66, 75,
76, 86, 132, 137, 179
- Dexter Library 76
- Dittmeyer Coal Shed property 135
- Domestic Science Department . 67, 98,
99, 110
- Dudley, Anne S. 20-23, 25, 50, 56
- enrollment . 37, 49, 51, 52, 58, 66, 72,
73, 86, 91, 92, 98, 108,
109, 141, 143, 156, 172,
173, 178, 179, 190, 191,
196, 201, 212, 215, 217,
218, 220, 221, 224
-
- Executive Committee . . . 78, 82-85, 89-
91, 126-130, 132-137,
141, 142, 147-149, 155,
167, 174, 175, 181, 183,
193, 204-206, 208, 209,
211-213, 217, 219, 220,
224
- extension classes 178
- extracurricular activities 105
- faculty . . 40, 59, 72, 74, 77-80, 84, 92-
94, 96, 109-111, 123,
128, 130, 137, 141, 142,
152, 176, 185, 186, 190
- Finance Committee . . . 152, 192, 204,
207, 208, 212, 217
- finances 60, 174, 204, 209, 217
- Fisk University 65, 112
- Franklin Cottage 77, 78
- Freedmen's Bureau . . . 11, 12, 15, 21,
30
- Freewill Baptist Home Mission Board
. 15, 33
- Freewill Baptist Home Mission Society
. 14, 31, 38
- Freewill Baptists . . 3, 5, 12-15, 19, 20,
24, 30-32, 35, 36, 39, 42,
48, 55, 65
- fund raising 8, 26, 87, 152
- Geauga Seminary 42
- General Education Board 151
- General Education fund 112
- Golden Tornadoes 131, 184
- Great Depression 171, 193, 224
- H. F. Wood Library 76
- Hall fund 112
- Hampton Institute 59, 63
- Hampton model 63, 64, 66
- Harpers Cemetery 126
- Harpers Ferry District High School
. 123, 130
- Harpers Ferry National Park 222
- Harpers Ferry Singers 56
- Harpers Ferry, West Virginia . . 11, 12,
20, 21, 24-26, 28, 30, 34,
35, 38, 41, 43, 50, 51, 53,
54, 70, 71, 79, 91, 113,
115, 163, 164, 203, 210
- Harrow School 70
- Heyward Shepherd Memorial . . . 163-
166
- High School department 140
- Hillsdale College 13, 45, 69, 105
- Hilltop house 89, 133
- Hopewell 27, 28
- Howard University 113, 137, 153
- industrial department 66, 98, 100,
106, 110, 223
- influenza pandemic 123
- Interim Faculty Committee . . . 78, 79,
86, 127, 209, 210
- John Brown Memorial Day 116
- John Brown's Fort . . 20, 86, 113, 114,
116, 117, 164, 166, 168
- Johnsontown, West Virginia 178
- Junior College 139-141, 176-178,
191
- Kenyon 175
- Keyser Mountain Echo 50
- Ku Klux Klan 47
- Lewis W. Anthony Industrial Building
. 75, 180
- Lexington, Virginia 15, 24
- library . 43, 44, 49, 57, 72, 75, 76, 135,
137, 153, 180, 181, 198,
199, 214, 216, 217

Library Annex	214-217	real estate holdings	89, 91
Library Fund	217	Red Cross	15
Lincoln Hall . . . 67, 73, 76, 86-88, 125,		rental properties	90
128, 129, 131, 132, 179,		Robinson Barn	129, 130, 184
180		Roger Williams Library	75
Lockwood House . . . 20, 21, 23-25, 30,		Second Morrill Act	107, 108
73, 79, 80, 86, 89, 127,		Secondary Course	101, 102
201, 212, 217		Selective Service Act	119
Lynchburg, Virginia	50	Senate Education Committee	45
Martinsburg Journal	191	Senate Finance Committee	160
Martinsburg, West Virginia . . . 21, 26-		Shenandoah Cottage	86, 127, 128
29, 143		Shenandoah National Park	115
McDaniel Cottage 83, 84, 86, 129		Shenandoah Pulp Company	133
McDowell House	84, 85, 87, 89	Shepherdstown, West Virginia 21,	
Metcalf Scholarship	111	23, 26, 135, 178	
Miss Showen	81, 82	Sinclair Cottage . . . 77-79, 86, 88, 128	
Monthly expenses	60	Slater fund	64, 112
Morehouse College	195	Smallwood Farm	35, 42
Morgan College	105	Soldiers Gate and Alumni Fence . . 132	
Morning Star	5, 20, 25, 31, 32, 41	Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV)	
Morrill House	78, 81, 82, 86, 89,		163
127		Sparrows Inn	81, 82, 127
Morrill Act	107	Special Committee on Closer Affiliation	
Mosher Hall	129, 181	with the State	157
Musical Department	100	Spirit of Jefferson	45, 48, 50
Myrtle Hall	57, 73, 76, 77, 86-88,	Springfield Race Riot	114
111, 128, 129		State Board of Control . . 110, 150, 156,	
N.A.A.C.P.	112, 114, 166-168, 199	190	
Nash, Bradley	215	state funding	52
National Park Service	222	Stillman Art Collection	183
Newcomer Collection	118	Storer alumni	223
Niagara Movement	112-114	Storer College Board of Trustees . . 37-	
Normal Department . . 58, 66, 99, 100,		39, 45, 56, 57, 67-71, 73,	
109, 140		74, 81-83, 85-87, 89, 90,	
Northern Baptist Board of Education		93, 95, 106, 109, 111,	
.	206, 209, 210	115, 122, 126, 129, 136,	
Northern Baptist Convention	152	138-140, 142, 144, 145,	
Peabody Fund	34	147, 154-156, 158, 161,	
Pennsylvania State University . . 13, 51		162, 166, 168, 169, 173,	
Pioneer Press	67	175-177, 180-184, 186,	
Plessy v. Ferguson	62	191, 193, 195, 202-204,	
Preparatory Department . . . 58, 66, 98,		206, 207, 210-212, 214,	
101, 138		215, 217, 218, 220-222,	
Quakers	1	224, 225	

