



JOHN J.  
TECKLENBURG  
MAYOR

*City of Charleston*  
*South Carolina*  
*Office of the Clerk*

VANESSA TURNER-MAYBANK  
CLERK OF COUNCIL

**Commission on History**

**Notice of Meeting**

A meeting of the History Commission will be held on Wednesday, October 7, 2020 at 4:00 p.m. over video conference call (Zoom). **Conference Call: 1-929-205-6099 Access Code: 708726**

**Agenda**

1. Call to Order
2. Approval of Minutes  
August 17, 2020
3. New Business
  - a. The Weston-Grimke Homesite
  - b. Harmon Field
  - c. Proposed Resolution
  - d. U.S. Coast Guard
4. Adjournment

In accordance with the Americans with Disabilities Act, people who need alternative formats, ASL (American Sign Language) Interpretation or other accommodation please contact Janet Schumacher at (843) 577-1389 or email to [schumacherj@charleston-sc.gov](mailto:schumacherj@charleston-sc.gov) three business days prior to the meeting.

# Grimké, Archibald Henry

August 17, 1849–February 25, 1930

**From 1903 to 1919, he served as president of the American Negro Academy, the leading intellectual organization for African Americans. After 1913 he devoted himself to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), serving until 1923 on its national board. Through 1924 he also served as president of the District of Columbia branch, becoming a key figure in the NAACP's efforts to oppose racial discrimination at the federal level.**

🕒 2 minutes to read

Activist, scholar. Grimké was born on August 17, 1849, at Cane Acre plantation outside Charleston, one of three sons of Henry Grimké, a planter and lawyer, and Nancy Weston, a slave in the Grimké family. He was also the nephew of Henry's abolitionist sisters, Sarah and Angelina Grimké. After Henry's death in 1852, his mother took Grimké and his brothers, Francis and John, to Charleston, where, though legally enslaved, they lived a quasi-free existence. With the coming of the Civil War, however, Henry's white son Montague sought to reassert control over them, forcing the brothers into household slavery. In 1862 Grimké ran away, going into hiding for the duration of the war.

After the war, Grimké and his brothers were enrolled in a school for former slaves, where they caught the eye of its principal, the former abolitionist Frances Pillsbury. She arranged for Grimké and his brother Francis to attend Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, which they entered in 1867. In 1868 an article on Lincoln came to the attention of their aunt, Angelina Grimké Weld. The article singled out the Grimké brothers as outstanding students, and Angelina, recognizing the name, sought them out, acknowledged their kinship, and became their patron. With the assistance of her husband, Theodore Dwight Weld, and her sister Sarah, Angelina helped them to complete

Following his graduation from Harvard in 1874, Grimké established himself in Boston. He returned to South Carolina only once in his adult life, in 1906. On April 19, 1879, he married Sarah Stanley, daughter of an abolitionist Episcopal priest. The marriage was to dissolve in 1883, but not before the birth of a daughter, Angelina Weld Grimké, who later gained prominence as a poet and writer. Entering politics in 1883 as the editor of a Republican Party newspaper, Grimké soon after broke with the Republicans and became a highly visible activist in Boston's Democratic Party by the end of the decade. He was ultimately rewarded for his loyalty by being named by President Grover Cleveland as the American consul to the Dominican Republic (1894–1899).

On his return to the United States, Grimké settled in Washington, D.C. From 1903 to 1919, he served as president of the American Negro Academy, the leading intellectual organization for African Americans. He also became entangled in the bitter competition between partisans of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois, acknowledging the significance of Washington's achievements, but opposing Washington's more conciliatory approaches to race relations. After 1913 he devoted himself to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), serving until 1923 on its national board. Through 1924 he also served as president of the District of Columbia branch, becoming a key figure in the NAACP's efforts to oppose racial discrimination at the federal level. Grimké died in Washington on February 25, 1930, and was buried in Harmony Cemetery, Washington,

Bruce, Dickson D., Jr. *Archibald Grimké: Portrait of a Black Independent*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993.

Meier, August. *Negro Thought in America, 1880–1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963.

Written by Dickson D. Bruce, Jr.

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**Education**

**Environment and Geography**

**Ethnicity**





CITY-SIZE DRAFT TEXT

TITLE: 18 characters and spaces / TEXT: 18 lines, 27 characters and spaces  
Courier New (a True-Type Font) is best for draft text templates  
If 2 title lines are required, there are 16 lines of text instead of 18

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Side 1

WESTON-GRIMKÉ |T1  
HOMESITE |T2

Archibald (1849-1930) and |1  
Francis Grimké (1850-1937), |2  
early 20th c. activists for |3  
African American rights, |4  
grew up in a small 3-room |5  
house on a nearby back lot. |6  
Born on a plantation near |7  
Charleston, they lived here |8  
with their enslaved mother |9  
Nancy Weston (1812-1895) |10  
and brother John (b.1852) |11  
following the 1852 death |12  
of Henry Grimké, their |13  
white father and owner, and |14  
brother of abolitionists |15  
Sarah and Angelina Grimké. |16  
(continued on next side)

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Side 2

WESTON-GRIMKÉ |T1  
HOMESITE |T2  
(continued from other side)

The family was enslaved |1  
until 1865, when Francis and |2  
Archibald moved North for |3  
education. Later joined by |4  
their mother, the brothers |5  
settled in Washington, D.C., |6  
and became outspoken |7  
critics of white supremacy. |8  
Archibald was a lawyer, |9  
NAACP leader, and consul |10  
to the Dominican Republic. |11  
Francis was a Presbyterian |12  
minister and one of sixty |13  
signers to a 1909 call that |14  
led to the NAACP's founding. |15  
The home was later razed. |16

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known in Boston as the nephew of the famous Grimkés, a good friend of William Lloyd Garrison, Parker Pillsbury, and Wendell Phillips, an articulate and soon-to-be-successful young lawyer. Most evenings found him escorting the elderly Phillips home from the Welds' Hyde Park house, after hours of talk about Phillips's crusading days as an outspoken abolitionist. On other occasions, however, Archie's walk with Phillips was set aside in favor of more interesting pursuits, including stepping out with Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman, the daughter of renowned abolitionist parents, or Ellen ("Nelly") Bradford, a descendant of *Mayflower* passengers. Both women were very intelligent and very pretty.

Archie had been taken into Bowditch's firm to help the older attorney fight for pensions for black Civil War veterans. The work served as a good introduction to the law, though it provided little in the way of social comforts. In 1875, after being admitted to the Suffolk County bar, Archie agreed to open a firm with his law-school friend James A. Weld; they rented an office on Washington Street in Boston and began to solicit clients. Archie had rooms in Hyde Park, where he was joined by his mother, Nancy Weston Grimké. They were within walking distance of Theodore and Angelina's, and the families visited each other frequently. Theodore was in good health, but Angelina was weak, often ill, and had lost the fire that had once burned in her. At seventy-one, she suffered a paralytic stroke, which threw her on the mercy of her family; she and Theodore could not afford a nurse. She clung to life but regretted troubling her loving husband, who spent nearly every waking minute tending to her needs. With Sarah gone and Theodore aging, Angelina felt that the end was in sight. Her one remaining wish was to ensure the success of her nephews, who, she was now certain, would lift the Grimké name out of the mire of the family's slaveholding past. She hoped Archie would one day return to South Carolina as a lawyer and do that, but she did not oppose his decision to stay in Boston.

Archie had fallen in love with Nelly Bradford, and the two were inseparable. They spent Sundays in the country, went together to social meetings and lectures on temperance and suffrage, and visited *Boston's museums and historic sites*. Archie shared the details of his early life with Nelly, valued her opinions, and looked to her for advice. She was a constant visitor in the Weld home, where Theodore and Angelina welcomed her warmly; they were convinced that she and Archie were a perfect match. *They were so convinced that she and Archie were a perfect match that they had even proposed to her.* "laughed a great deal together."

Waldron, John Dewey, Jane Addams, Charles Edward Russell, William Dean Howells, Washington, D.C., clergyman J. Milton Waldron, and Francis—though not Archibald—Grimké. This "Call" invited "all the believers in democracy" to meet in a national conference, scheduled for late May, 1909, in New York, to discuss the problems of race in America.<sup>3</sup>

Francis Grimké had signed the "Call" but was unable to attend the conference, much to Villard's dismay. Instead, Archibald Grimké attended, though he played no major role in the conference proceedings. The conference itself was a great success. Several scientists spoke on racial equality, while others, including Du Bois, Trotter, Waldron, Ida Wells Barnett, and Grimké's old friend Albert Pillsbury, addressed the need for action against American racism. Despite the efforts of Villard, in particular, to break down factionalism on racial questions and to involve Booker Washington in the conference, it had a clearly anti-Washington tone, and Washington himself refused to take part.<sup>4</sup>

But of greatest significance for Grimké was his appointment to the Committee of Forty on Permanent Organization. Discussion of the committee's membership was contentious. A nominating subcommittee, hoping to gain Washington's support, had omitted Trotter, Waldron, and Ida Wells Barnett despite their prominence in the meeting. A good deal of ill will—some of it along racial lines—developed in the dispute, but, largely as a result of Charles Edward Russell's skill as presiding officer, the nominating committee's slate was approved with Russell's inclusion of Barnett and, later, of Waldron and a few others. The committee was charged not only with creating a permanent organization but also with laying plans for another conference to be held the following year.<sup>5</sup>

Over that next year, Grimké was an active member of the commit-

3. Mary White Ovington, *How the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Began* (New York, n.d.), 1-2; Oswald Garrison Villard, *Fighting Years: Memoirs of a Liberal Editor* (New York, 1939), 193-94; Charles Hunt Kellogg, *N.A.A.C.P.: A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1909-1920* (Baltimore, 1967), 12-13.

4. Kellogg, *N.A.A.C.P.*, 18-21; Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock, eds., *The Booker T. Washington Papers* (11 vols.; Urbana, 1972-89), X, 116-20; *Proceedings of the National Negro Conference 1909, May 31 and June 1* (N.p., n.d.); *New York Post*, June 2, 1909, Hampton University Peabody Newspaper Clipping File (Microfiche, ed.; Alexandria, Va., 1987).

5. Kellogg, *N.A.A.C.P.*, 28-30; Mary White Ovington, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down* (New York, 1947), 106-107; Henry Justin Ferry, "Francis James Grimké: Portrait of a Black Puritan" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1970), 289.



represent the United States in Santo Domingo. But what he saw strengthened his view that prejudice was arbitrary and, all too often, as his sarcastic letter home makes clear, a product of cynicism on the part of white Americans.<sup>24</sup>

But Dominican and diplomatic affairs were not the only things on Grimké's mind during his almost four years outside the United States. Matters at home also took some of his attention. These did not include any of the events taking place in politics and race relations during his time abroad, which is interesting because the mid-1890s was one of the most volatile points in the history of American racism, marking the consolidation of Jim Crow and disfranchisement, especially in the South. These were also the years that saw the emergence of Booker T. Washington as a major force in black American politics and thought; Washington delivered his notorious Atlanta Compromise address in 1895.

Grimké had some contact with Washington during this time, although it did not involve ideology. In 1895, while in Santo Domingo, he was named along with William I. Bowditch as co-executor of the estate of Emmeline Cushing, who had wanted to set up a school for colored children—at least, for Protestant colored children. Bowditch and Grimké set up a fund for that purpose, but feeling there was not enough money to set up a school, they decided to give donations to existing institutions, including Washington's Tuskegee. They may have been encouraged by Francis Grimké, who was friendly with Washington. In the late summer of 1896, during a brief leave from Santo Domingo, Grimké met with Washington to discuss the donation and later wrote to him from Santo Domingo on the same subject.<sup>25</sup>

But the matters at home that concerned him most during the time he was in Santo Domingo had mainly to do with his family. In February, 1895, his uncle Theodore Weld died in Massachusetts, and, less than three weeks later, so did his mother, Nancy Weston Grimké, who has been living in Washington with Francis. Her death hurt him, although he wrote that he felt "strangely near" her, even in death. This was one of the few times that either Archibald or Francis

<sup>24</sup> Tomp R. Harlan and Raymond W. Stueck, eds., *The Boston of William Lloyd Garrison* (Boston: Boston Athenaeum, 1970), 112.

<sup>25</sup> *Booker T. Washington Papers*, 1:170, 171, 172.

<sup>26</sup> Archibald Grimké to Booker T. Washington, October 1, 1896, June 2, 1896, *Booker T. Washington Papers*, Library of Congress; Cushing estate documents, Archibald Grimké Papers, Box 15, Folders 281–83.

Mr. Greene

Thank you for the prompt reply. As we were preparing the site for the Harmon Field working shaft as part of the Spring/Fishburne project, we encountered some disassociated human remains. Through pre-emptive cultural resources research, we knew this area was a paupers field, so we secured the remains in some containers onsite for reinterment at the end of the project. The remains have been reinterred onsite and it was requested that a plaque be placed commemorating the use of the area as a paupers field.

Eric Poplin with Brockington and Associates and I worked up some language for a plaque and it was recommended that we coordinate with the Historic Commission on the final verbiage. Below is what we are proposing.

“A portion of Harmon Field served as a Paupers Field from 1825 to the 1910s. Paupers Fields were used by those who did not have the means to purchase a burial plot in a private cemetery or access to a churchyard. The graves are unmarked today and the total number of people buried here is unknown. During the excavation of the Harmon Field shaft for the Spring/Fishburne Drainage Improvement Project, the partial remains of three individuals were uncovered. The remains were reinterred here after the completion of the construction of the shaft.

This plaque serves as a monument to all the people buried in Harmon Field.”

It is my intent to have the plaque and the marker will look like the one used to mark the graves on the Gaillard site.

Please let me know if you have any questions, concerns, or suggestions.

Thank you for your assistance with this.

Steve



## AFRICAN BURIAL GROUND

ca. 1750 - 1800

This temporary plaque marks a sacred space where at least thirty-six children, women and men were laid to rest during the second half of the 18th Century. The burial ground had been forgotten, but was rediscovered in 2013; its extent is unknown. The thirty-six individuals, whose names we do not know, were likely enslaved or free people of African descent. Some were born in Africa and forcibly brought to Charleston aboard slave-trading ships. Others were American born. They were buried with care by their loved ones, some in clothes, some wrapped in shrouds and some with personal belongings. This area, known as Ansonborough, was at the northern edge of Charleston during the Revolutionary War era. A permanent marker, designed to honor and remember the lives of these ancestors, will be erected at this site.

UPPER WARDS  
ASSESSMENTS FOR

1852.

WARD N<sup>o</sup> 6

# Cement Street east side from Catherine Street

10	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1200	1400	1500	1550	1550
11	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1000	1300	1300	1300	1300
12	Lot	John C. Harris	800	500	500	500	500
13	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
14	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	4000	4000	4000	4000	4000
15	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	800	800	800	800	800
16	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1200	1200	1200	1200	1200
17	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
18	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1200	1200	1200	1200	1200
19	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
20	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
21	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
22	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
23	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
24	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
25	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
26	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
27	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
28	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
29	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
30	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500

## Mavis Street

1	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
2	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
3	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
4	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
5	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
6	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
7	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
8	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
9	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
10	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
11	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
12	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
13	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
14	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
15	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
16	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
17	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
18	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
19	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
20	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
21	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
22	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
23	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
24	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
25	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
26	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
27	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
28	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
29	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
30	W 2 1/2	John C. Harris	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500

W 2 Yard  
W 2  
Lot  
W 2 1/2  
W 2 1/2

Streets  
Corners

D. Wm. Humm

Wm. Humphreys  
James. Mc Walker

Saml. C. Hearn  
Mr. P. L. Hearn  
John. H. Pearson

M. W. Pearson

Morris Street

W 2 1/2  
Pearson

Aware of the recent removal of the John C Calhoun Statue, and aware, as well, of the controversies arising around the country on similar issues, we of the Historical Commission, desirous of aiding the city in possible future actions regarding the removal, relocation, editing, or the setting in context of other monuments and plaques that fall under our purview, hereby resolve to offer our expertise and counsel in service to the City of Charleston to help draft a best practices policy and to participate in decision making and advising, or take any other appropriate action, as part and parcel of the authority granted to our commission by the city.

## **A Resolution of the City of Charleston Commission on History**

**Whereas:** The City of Charleston Commission on History is created by Charleston City Council to act as an advisory board in promoting the collection and preservation of historical data, publicizing and commemorating persons, deeds, events and things of historical interest by specific means; and

**Whereas:** The Purpose of the Commission on History is to discover, and as appropriate, circulate information pertinent to the historical identity of the City of Charleston; to cooperate with other persons, groups, organizations and agencies in preserving the history and heritage of the City; and to identify, document, interpret, and preserve the history of Charleston, South Carolina; and

**Whereas:** The City Council has found and declared that the City of Charleston has a rich historical heritage which should be protected and preserved, and that it is in the public interest that historical monuments, markers, and plaques be regulated under the police power of the City in order to maintain, protect and promote historical accuracy and preservation for the well-being and welfare of the citizens, residents and visitors of the city; and

**Whereas:** In the appointment of members to the Commission on History, the mayor with advice and consent of the City Council have given consideration to their professional involvement or demonstrated knowledge in and appreciation for the fields of history, preservation, and historical curatorship; and

**Whereas:** Members of the Commission on History accepted their appointments with the understanding and agreement that each would be given the opportunity to, and dutiful would, contribute in positive ways to fulfil the purpose of their appointments; and

**Whereas:** The Commission on History has a record of conducting itself toward meaningful discussion and creditable advice to City Council; and

**Whereas:** The Commission on History is aware of the recent removal of the John C. Calhoun Statue from Charleston and is aware of the controversies arising and continuing from its removal; and

**Whereas:** The Commission on History is aware of the controversies arising around the country on similar issues involving established monuments, markers and plaques for historic events and persons; and

**Whereas:** the Commission on History believes and anticipates further need for information, discussion and clarity will arise in matters of existing and yet-to-be proposed historical monuments, markers, and plaques in the City of Charleston, and that in that regard, City Council and the Mayor deserve and will benefit from the services of the Commission on History, and

**Whereas:** the Commission on History is desirous of serving in its intended capacity in future matters regarding removal, relocation, editing, or contextualizing of other monuments, markers and plaques; and

**Whereas:** the City of Charleston does not currently have a policy of best practices to guide or control its deliberations or actions to add, remove, modify, or replace monuments and memorials to persons, places, and events of historical interest or importance;

**Now, Therefore, be it Resolved:** The Commission on History unanimously offers its expertise and counsel in service to the City of Charleston to provide advice and options in any matter regarding Charleston's history and its presentation to the public, in its best judgement to support decisions of the mayor and City Council in these matters, to help draft a best practices policy in support of these matters, or to take any other appropriate action within the authority and pursuit to the responsibility granted to it by the City.

## Proposal to Accompany Application for Approval

of a memorial recognizing the United States Coast Guard's presence in the City of Charleston since the Service's inception in 1790, and honoring Revenue Cutter Service sailors lost in and around Charleston Harbor.

The following pages describe a memorial proposed to the City of Charleston's appropriate commission/board governing its approval and the City's Department of Parks, by the United State Coast Guard (Sector Charleston and Atlantic Area Historian's Office).

The memorial is proposed to be sited in the middle-gardened terrace of the Joe Riley Waterfront Park on Concord Street facing the Cooper River, exact in size, dimensions, placement, style, materials (bronze plated plaque on concrete footing), and text sizes/fonts to the existing memorial to "*The Medway Plan*" sited in the third (easternmost) terrace of the park. The proposed site observes a view of one potential (probable) site of the April 1, 1813 loss of the Revenue Cutter *Gallatin* while moored off one of two of the City's then-existing "Blake's Wharfs".

I look forward to making any formal presentation of this proposal necessary for its consideration.

Respectfully Submitted on behalf of Sector Charleston, US Coast Guard,

*J. Peter Rascoe, III*

Commander J. Peter Rascoe, III, US Coast Guard Reserve (Retired)  
Volunteer Researcher, Atlantic Area Historian's Office, US Coast Guard

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(252) 216-7524

## The Coast Guard in Charleston

US Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton founded the United States Revenue Cutter Service in 1790 stationing one of the first fleet of 10 cutters, South Carolina, in Charleston.

Later, during the Quasi War with France, a second cutter named South Carolina distinguished itself in combat. During that conflict, Charleston native Hugh Campbell became one of the Nation's most successful combat captains. He later became a foremost US Navy officer. During the War of 1812, Revenue Cutter Gallatin served out of Charleston and on April 1, 1813, suffered a catastrophic explosion in her magazine while anchored off the city waterfront with the loss of three crewmembers.

After the peace, cutters continued to serve Charleston. During the Nullification Crisis of 1832, cutters enforced US tariff laws in Charleston and, on December 9, 1853, Charleston-based cutter Hamilton was lost with 18 crewmembers attempting to sail out of the harbor when a severe storm struck.

Charleston also saw the Revenue Cutter Service participate in the start of the Civil War. In April 1861, President Abraham Lincoln sent a troop convoy to Charleston, escorted by Cutter Harriet Lane, to relieve the garrison at Fort Sumter. During the famous bombardment of the fort by Confederate forces, Harriet Lane fired a shot over the bow of the un-flagged vessel Nashville. It was considered the first shot fired from a naval vessel in the Civil War.

During the 1800s, the Coast Guard predecessor Services of the US Lighthouse Service and US Life-Saving Service established lighthouses and boat stations in the Lowcountry. In 1915, the Life-Saving Service merged with the Revenue Cutter Service to form the modern Coast Guard, thereby consolidating the Service's overall support to the area. Later, the Lighthouse Service and the Bureau of Marine Inspection also became part of the Coast Guard, further increasing the Service's involvement in Charleston's maritime heritage.

During the world wars, the Coast Guard oversaw missions essential to the security of Charleston, including port security and shore patrols, in addition to its missions of law enforcement and marine safety. In 1942, Charleston received the first US-captured POWs of World War II, when Coast Guard Cutter Icarus delivered the surviving Nazi submariners from the vanquished U-352.

Since World War II, Charleston has grown in importance as a port of operations for the Service. Law enforcement is the service's original mission dating back to Alexander Hamilton's founding in 1790 and, along with defending our nation, it remains one of the Coast Guard's primary duties to this day.

In Memory of Lost Crewmembers -

[Image Insert]

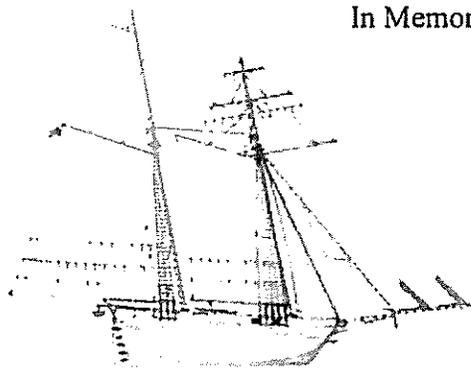
[Image Insert]

Similar to Revenue Cutter Gallatin  
1807-1813

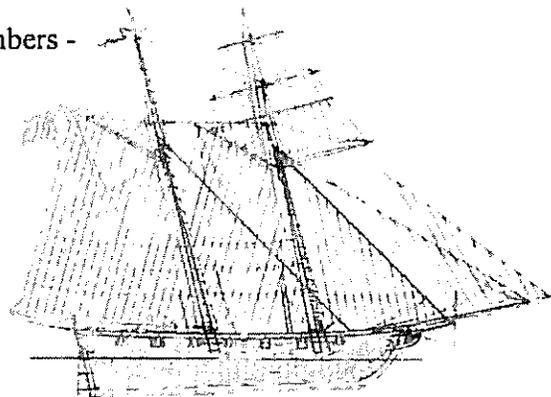
Revenue Cutter Hamilton  
1830-1853

Inscribed Sketches to be Inserted (Same materials and tone as existing memorial – see below.)

In Memory of Lost Crewmembers -



Similar to Revenue Cutter *Gallatin*  
1807-1813

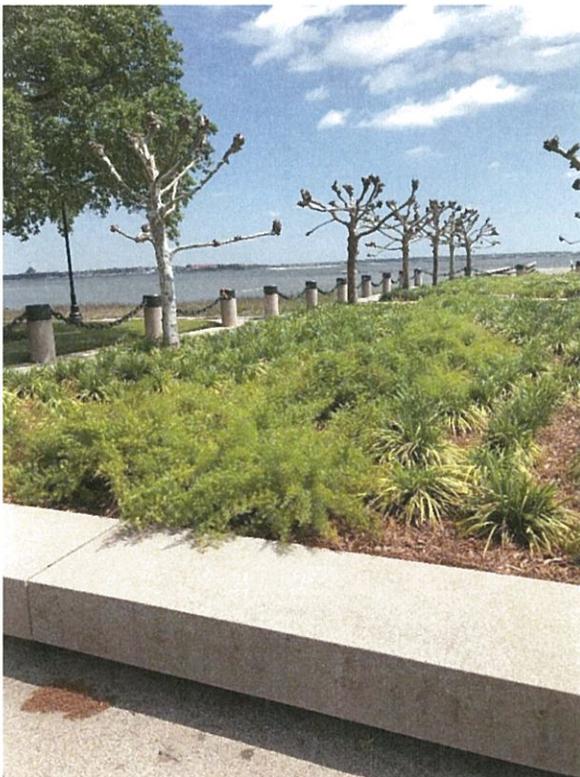


Revenue Cutter *Hamilton*  
1830-1853

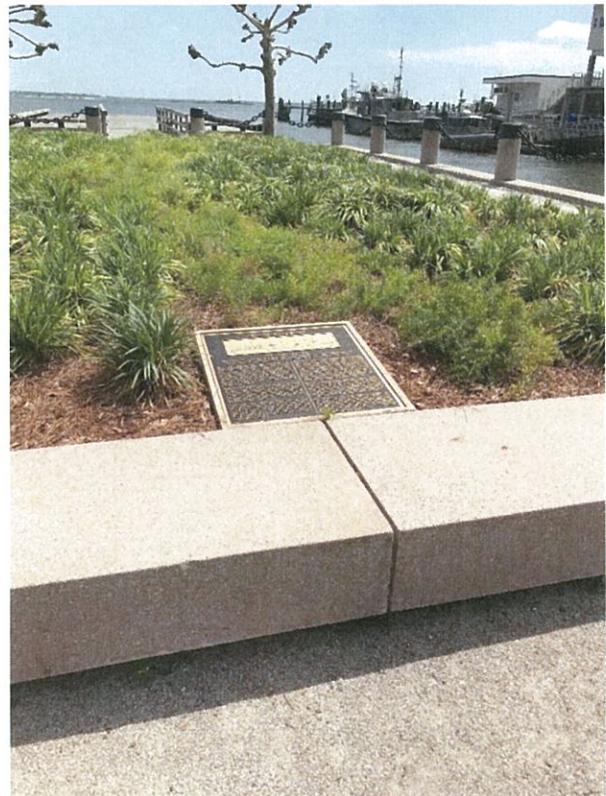
**Proposed Site - Eastern Side of Middle Terrace at Joe Riley Waterfront Park, Concord Street**



**First Terrace (Westernmost – Entrance)**



**West Side of Second (Middle) Terrace (Proposed Site)**



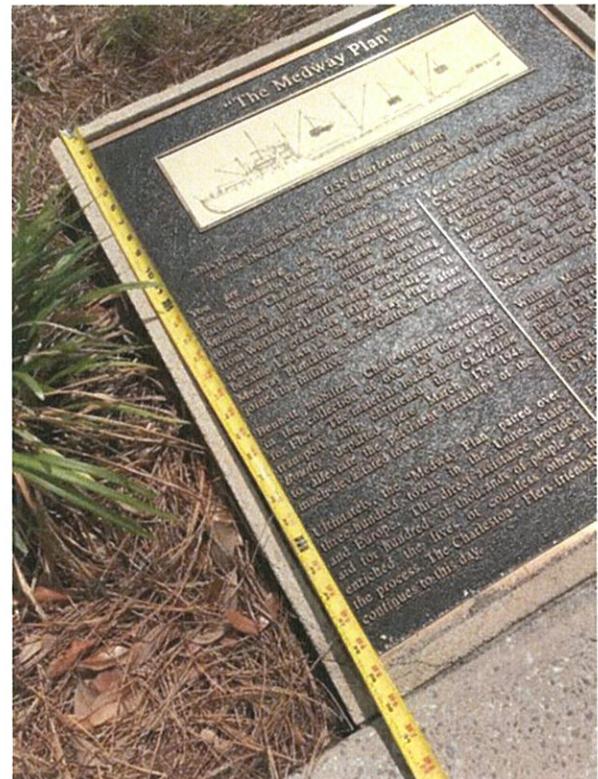
**Westside of Third (Easternmost) Terrace**



Current memorial in Easternmost Terrace – Proposed Memorial to be exact size, materials, fonts, and color/tone.



28 inches – concrete frame width



30 inches – concrete frame length



2 inches - Bottom Frame Height



4 inches - Top Frame Height

FRANCIS JAMES GRIMKE:  
PORTRAIT OF A BLACK PURITAN

HENRY JUSTIN FERRY

1970

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY  
OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF YALE UNIVERSITY  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

## SUMMARY OF DISSERTATION

Francis James Grimke (1850-1937) was the son of Nancy Weston, a mulatto slave, and Henry Grimke, her white owner. His childhood in Charleston, South Carolina recalls the situation of the free Negro community in the ante-bellum South. He experienced the horrors of the "peculiar institution" as a result of efforts by his white half-brother to enslave him. Union victory in the Civil War enabled Francis to go North in pursuit of an education. At Lincoln University (Pa.) and Princeton Seminary, during the Reconstruction era, he acquired an idealism by which he was to criticize the hypocrisy of white American Christians who denied citizenship and brotherhood to the Negro. He received material and moral support in his educational quest from two white aunts, Sarah M. Grimke and Angelina Grimke Weld, the noted Quaker abolitionists.

Grimke's marriage to Charlotte L. Forten in 1878 coincided with a call to the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, D. C., where the Grimkes became involved with the important Negro intellectual community connected with Howard University. After a brief pastorate in Florida (1885-1889), he returned to his first church, there to remain until his death.

Grimke's ministry paralleled times which saw the Negro reach his lowest position in American society since emancipation (1901 has been called the nadir) and begin the arduous journey toward full recognition of his rights. In the upward struggle he became one of the new architects of agitation, perpetuating the tradition of prophetic ministers such as Henry Highland Garnett. His constant concern with Christianity and race prejudice, nurtured under the perspective of a Bibliocentric theology, won for him the unpopular role of social prophet. His denunciation of the un-Christian practice of the churches in relation to the brothers in black was often a "voice crying in the wilderness." Yet his emphasis upon the issue of race was a necessary addition to the Social Gospel movement of which he is a unique representative.

Called a "Negro Puritan" by his contemporaries, Grimke stressed the paramount importance of character in race development. As necessary as education, wealth, and political power were to the Negro, they would be a curse if not possessed by men and women who were morally right. His own devotion to the principles he advocated from the pulpit gave his words a force lacking in many other Negro ministers and prompted his efforts to improve the Afro-American pulpit as a means for edifying the people. Throughout the national Negro community, Francis Grimke was recognized as a "man of God in an age of gold," an encomium not easily earned but, in his case, well-deserved.

## CHAPTER I

CANEACRES TO CHARLESTON: CHILDHOOD TO YOUTH  
(1850 - 1865)

For those Charlestonians seeking some brief respite from intersectional tensions in the autumn of 1850 the following Courier advertisement suggested an innocuous divertissement:

Herr Downey The Celebrated Tight Rope Walker and Balancer Who created so much wonder and excitement in the Northern and Western cities, respectfully announces to the citizens of Charleston, that he will give an exhibition, at Mount Pleasant, this Day 4th November, at 4 o'clock P. M., weather permitting.

37½ cents would purchase admission as well as passage aboard the steamship, Coffee, to and from the site of this "wonderful event."<sup>1</sup>

Had Henry Grimke, sometime lawyer and gentleman planter, been so inclined he might well have joined many of his aristocratic friends on this pleasant excursion. But on this day, November 4, 1850, his inclination probably held him at Caneacres Plantation. There a "wonderful" event of a different nature transpired; Nancy Weston, his mulatto servant girl, was giving birth

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1. Charleston Courier, Vol. XLVIII, p. 3 (Nov. 4, 1850).

to their second son, Francis James Grimke.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps Henry sensed the irony of the situation. Relatively insulated at Caneacres--about twenty-five miles from the city where the Grimke name was synonymous with aristocracy, and in a freedom of love which violated the mores of his society--he and his mistress were creating a lineage doomed to bondage.<sup>2</sup> Isolation on a rice plantation offered partial escape from social disapprobation, but it could not circumvent a legal system which virtually precluded any hope of emancipation for Nancy and her natural children.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the system would support a "foster" son's attempt to enslave those offspring--his own half-brothers.

In a sense Nancy inherited her white foster-children.

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1. Francis J. Grimke, Works, Vol. I, p. viii; hereafter cited as F. J. G., Works. The designation "mulatto servant girl" is used only in a general sense; Nancy's mixture of Indian, white and African blood lines denies facile race identification; furthermore she was a mature woman between thirty-seven and forty years old when she began to bear Henry Grimke's sons, cf. A. H. Grimke to Dr. and Mrs. N. E. Paine, Jan. 3, 1894, Grimke Papers, H. U.; District of Columbia Department of Health, Records, Certificate of Death (Nancy Weston Grimke) Record No. 100675, Feb. 23, 1895.
  2. Cf. Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. VII, pp. 633ff., "The Descendants of Col. William Rhett, of South Carolina," South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, Vol. 4, No. 1, (Jan., 1903).
  3. John Belton O'Neill, The Negro Law of South Carolina, p. 11. An act of the South Carolina Legislature in 1820 declared "... that no slave should hereafter be emancipated, but by Act of the Legislature." In 1841 another act prohibited "... any bequest, deed of trust, or conveyance, intended to take effect after the death of the owner, ... with a view to the emancipation of ... slaves...."

Henry's wife, Selina, died in 1843, leaving her husband the task of rearing a teen-age daughter and two younger sons.<sup>1</sup> Nancy had been their nurse; upon her now devolved the role of surrogate mother. How soon the servant girl became more than that in her master's eye is a matter of conjecture, but by the late autumn of 1848 she was carrying her first child by him. On August 17, 1849, Archibald Henry was born and a pattern was established. For a brief time thereafter Caneacres sheltered a dichotomous family, one part white and free, the other part black and bound--both with the same father.

#### A Pattern Well-Established

Such a Faulkneresque situation at Caneacres seems, in retrospect, almost natural. In the course of two hundred years an extensive complex of plantations had developed in the Low Country of South Carolina. "The lay of the land, its sorts, its climate, even the way its tidal rivers run, fitted it for them peculiarly."<sup>2</sup> In this apparently receptive environment the institution of slavery seemed almost foreordained. Yet the election originated in the wills of white men.

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1. "The Descendants of Col. William Rhett of South Carolina," South Carolina Historical Magazine, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 51, 69.
  2. Samuel G. Stoney, Plantations of the Carolina Low Country, p. 11.

recognition of Henry's relationship with Nancy. Nevertheless she was de facto mistress of the plantation; this role undoubtedly gave her some measure of satisfaction. As housekeeper she regulated the daily activities of the many house servants immediately about her, and by her influence on Henry she indirectly affected the lot of the field hands.<sup>1</sup>

Nancy was also responsible for the special oversight of a small cabin in the row of slave quarters closest to the main house. It was there she repaired after work to be with her sons who were left in the care of older slave children during the day. Like the other cabins it was situated at a convenient distance from the master's home--close enough to be seen from the big house, far enough away to be ignored if that was the master's pleasure. Between the two areas stretched a large lawn shaded by giant live oaks. To two tiny boys the "yard" meant that broad expanse of green where running and jumping, and even falling in the soft grass, was a joy. For their parents it held a different, more painful meaning.

The yard itself symbolized the social separation--

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1. Archibald H. Grimke, unpublished Memoirs, p. 1; hereafter cited as A. H. G., Memoirs. The following incident illustrates Nancy's influence: "Overseer got mad with field-hands once and ordered them to work on Sunday. Nancy objected to this, went to Henry, said how disgraceful it would be for it to get out that [his] slaves were forced to work that day .... Her talk convinced him her view of the matter was right; [Henry] countermanded order of overseer and people didn't work that day."

the custom-created gulf--between mother and father and father and sons. Yet it was regularly bridged in one direction by the pathetic spectacle of little Archie trotting to the bottom step of the big frame house. There, whinnying like a horse, he would await the appearance of his father, a tall, slender figure. Normally stern of countenance, Henry Grimke probably feigned astonishment and smiled as he asked his son, "What's this? Horses can't talk." Then Archie would reply, "Horse wants a 'bittie'," and a treat was his. Occasionally Henry would check to see how Frank was progressing, and the sight of his two small, dusky sons with Grimke features must have given him pause.<sup>1</sup>

Concerned, lest the plantation environment adversely affect their development, Henry contemplated boarding the boys in Charleston with free Negro relatives of Nancy. There they could learn a trade and avoid to some extent the experience of being brought up as slaves. As evidence of his feeling for Nancy and of his desire to protect her and their sons, Henry added the following codicil to his will five months after Archie's birth:

I hereby give and bequeth to my son Montague, my mulatto servant girl named Nancy, with her present and future issue and increase, to him and his heirs forever.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.; see also Book of Wills No. 46, Charleston Probate Court, p. 183.

Under existing slave laws this represented the best solution open to an owner faced with a problem such as that created by Henry's relationship with Nancy. The hidden intent, as well recognized by the South Carolina Legislature,<sup>1</sup> presupposed that the son, Montague, retain nominal ownership; in actuality he would regard the slaves as members of the family, thereby insuring their virtual freedom.

Perhaps this legal precaution seemed somewhat unnecessary to Henry--a habit held over from his formal training. After all, he was only forty-nine; surely he would see the offspring, borne of his love for Nancy, grown to young manhood and like many other mulatto issue settled in the North. A reasonable expectation, but it was to go tragically unrealized.

The idyll at Caneacres was flawed at best. Only Henry Grimke's determination sustained it, and on September 28, 1852, his determination ceased. During the latter part of the month a fever epidemic swept the Charleston-Savannah area. J. L. Dawson, head of the Board of Health, dutifully reported the mortality statistics in the Charleston Courier. The issue of September 29, 1852, carried the following notice: "The Board of Health reports eight deaths from Yellow Fever for the past twenty-four hours."<sup>2</sup>

1. Supra, p. 2, n. 4.

2. Charleston Courier, Vol. L, p. 2 (Sept. 29, 1852).

One of the deaths was that of Henry Grimke.

With the unexpected loss of the father came the end of plantation privacy and protection for Nancy and her two small boys. Shortly after Henry's remains were buried in the family plot--a small island amid the rice ponds south of the Dwelling House<sup>1</sup>--the family, white and colored, returned to Charleston. Since Nancy soon expected her third child, she and her boys stayed at Henry's townhouse on Coming Street between Wentworth and Beaufain Streets. There Eliza and Mary Grimke, Henry's older sisters, kept house for Montague. Nancy remained until John was born and a home for her family could be constructed.

Eliza was an efficient executrix of Henry's will which directed the sale of Caneacres, with all its slaves, except Nancy and her issue. In only a little more than a year she had sold to Bayard B. Davidson "all that plantation or tract of land situate lying and being in the parish of St. Paul ... containing twelve hundred and forty six acres a little more or less ....<sup>2</sup> The proceeds went into the estate for the benefit of Henrietta, Montague and Thomas. One exception was made in the allotment of money from the general sale: the sum from the sale of certain livestock which Nancy had kept at Caneacres was kept separate and given her to buy a house.

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1. Records, Mesne Conveyance Office, Book G13, p. 155.

2. Ibid.

## PLATE II.



Nancy Weston Grimke c. 1865

The oblique recognition of her "property rights," itself contrary to the slave code, represents tacit admission of Montague's moral obligation to treat Nancy and her children as members of the family.<sup>1</sup> Yet Montague's attitude was ambiguous; although he held legal title to his three half-brothers and their mother he at first allowed them considerable autonomy, in effect forcing them into a bondage of poverty. Nevertheless, that Nancy was allowed a separate house was one measure of Eliza's and Montague's willingness to follow Henry's expressed will and its implied intent. The type of house was another measure.

Nancy's money had covered materials and labor for construction of a little, three-room house (kitchen, hall, bedroom). A generous relative had it built on his back lot several blocks north of Montague's house on Coming Street, just below Morris Street.<sup>2</sup> This extremely modest dwelling became, through Nancy's constant effort and love, a home--an oasis of security and discipline amid the uncertainty and license of the boys' new environment.

Archibald later recalled the neighborhood as:

... a part of the city where there was a great deal of coarseness, of moral and social degradation. The atmosphere of this quarter, indeed of the whole city, was very unfavorable to the maintenance of the purity of her domestic life,

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1. A. H. G., *Memoirs*, p. 4; Archibald Henry Grimke, letter to Angelina Grimke Weld, Feb. 20, 1868, Grimke Papers, H. U.

2. A. H. G., *Memoirs*, p. 5.

and to the growth of virtue in the breasts of her little ones. But in the midst of such inimical forces and influences, this brave woman planted her humble roof tree, and with perfect faith flung herself upon the Divine goodness for protection.<sup>1</sup>

Undoubtedly, Nancy needed every support that her religious commitment could offer. Ahead lay seven years of constant struggle in the demi-monde of the free persons of color. Several of Nancy Weston's close relatives belonged to this anomalous community and they did what they could to help.<sup>2</sup> But the major burden of supporting herself and her sons fell to the "poor mother, a defenceless woman, crippled in one arm."<sup>3</sup> Montague and his Aunt Eliza demonstrated some concern that Nancy should have an adequate income; they employed Nancy as their laundress and recommended her services to other aristocratic families and the major hotels in Charleston.

#### To Work, To Learn, To Play

Laundering soon became a family project. The mother

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1. A. H. Grimke, "A Madonna of the South," Southern Workman, Vol. XXIX, No. 7 (July, 1900), p. 391; cf. Richard C. Wade, Slavery in the Cities, pp. 150, 151, 252ff.
  2. The existence of a relatively large free Negro population in Charleston at this time was of critical importance to Francis; as an exception to the general pattern of slavery it provided the environmental freedom to develop ordinarily denied persons in his situation. In 1850 South Carolina was second in number of slaves, but in Charleston alone there were 3,441 free persons of color. Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, p. xlvii.
  3. A. H. G., letter to A. G. W., Feb. 20, 1868.

enjoyed a reputation as being "very good at laundering men's shirts," for which she charged one dollar a dozen, and she kept busy accordingly. Wherever possible the two older boys shared in their mother's work. "By some occult personal influence," it seemed to one, "the little fellows were taught to help her--to wash ... the stockings, the handkerchiefs, the collars and cuffs, and to cut the wood and carry the water...."<sup>1</sup>

All the water necessary for the washing, as well as for other household needs, came from a public pump one quarter of a mile away at the intersection of Coming and Bull Streets. The daily routine included a trip from home to the pump, and back again, to fetch three bucketsful of water. Perhaps Archie and Frank alternated in carrying the odd empty bucket to the pump. They retraced the way home as a team yoked by the large bucket swinging in their joint grasp with water slopping from those in their other hands.

Both boys cut and split wood to feed fires in the cook stove and under the washing kettles as well as the fireplace. Coal was far too expensive as fuel for Nancy to consider; she purchased wood by the log, because the cost of sawing it into stove and fireplace length was beyond the bounds of her meager income. So Archie and Frank chopped the logs into usable lengths. Waste chips--unsuit-

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1. A. H. G., "A Madonna of the South," p. 392.

able for heating the irons--were collected by the boys and used for general heating. This frugal practice in some degree offset the inefficiency of the young wood-cutters.<sup>1</sup>

Through these tasks Archie and Frank began to learn a respect for the value of work and to acquire a sense of responsibility, characteristics reenforced by their mother's example. Moreover, they experienced during these early years a certain independence, a freedom of movement and expression, that resisted later attempts to encroach upon their liberty. Life's often stringent nature, its incessant demand for sobriety, deeply impressed the boys. Competition and physical conflict became a familiar part of their existence; to live meant to struggle.

Often they struggled for self-improvement against restrictive policies. One tacit objective of the slave code was to keep the Negro ignorant. As if in protest, Archie and Frank snatched at every chance to learn. Archibald obtained a rudimentary introduction to the alphabet and numerals from an old Negro woman in the neighborhood--a precious knowledge soon shared with Francis. This enabled the boys to recognize street names and house numbers, an ability they used to distinguish the houses where laundry was to be collected or delivered.<sup>2</sup>

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1. A. H. G., *Memoirs*, pp. 7, 8.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 7. Acquisition of this knowledge, and of further education, constituted a violation of the slave code; however, in Charleston the prohibition against teaching slaves to read or write was honored more in the breach than in the observance of the law.

PLATE III.



City of Charleston c. 1850

Sporadic attendance at several different "schools" taught in private homes constituted their elementary education. Nancy Weston valued even these limited opportunities. For one teacher she spent one dollar a month for tuition; this was no minor expense and illustrates her desire for her sons' intellectual growth. By this means they learned to read and write and do basic arithmetic. These skills were supplemented by recitations of famous speeches from popular "Speakers." "The two boys committed to memory individual speeches and ones in dialogue to the great satisfaction of their mother who never tired of hearing them." A salutary, and perhaps ironic, consequence followed this particular circumvention of the proscription on education for slaves: "A great many of the speeches were patriotic and liberty loving so that they imbibed a passion for such things without any thought of the slave South."<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes the struggles pitted Archie, Frank and eventually John against some gang of white or Negro toughs. In physical battle Frank early demonstrated the independent courage that he later transferred to the realm of intellectual argument. A formidable number of white boys once jumped the three brothers; disregarding odds that caused his brothers to run, Frank fought. When Archie returned to look for Frank he found him on top of a boy

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1. Ibid., pp. 14, 15.

"pounding him for all he could give him."<sup>1</sup> More often than not Frank had help. Although Nancy Weston frowned on fighting, she could not stop her sons when it came to self-defense. Like some latter day Musketeers the brothers enjoyed a dubious fame:

... Cummings [sic] Street came to know the three Grimke boys ... because of all the fighters in the street, they were the greatest. Each was adept in his line and invincible in it.... John was the champion "butter." ... Frank the champion "biter" and Archibald the champion "kicker." The trio always fought in unison, an attack upon one being an attack upon all.<sup>2</sup>

But their childhood was not all toil and trouble.

Many hours of childish play found their way into the long days which began with sunrise and ended in candlelight. When errands had been run and chores completed the normal amusements of childhood attracted the three boys. They never lacked for playmates; they had each other, as well as several cousins, and many friends among the children of other free Negro families in the neighborhood. Some of the friendships made then lasted a lifetime. Anna Hume and Tom Miller were next door neighbors and T. McCant Stewart lived only a few blocks away.<sup>3</sup>

1. Ibid., p. 17.

2. Angelina Weld Grimke, "A Biographical Sketch of Archibald H. Grimke," Opportunity (Feb., 1925), p. 45.

3. Ibid., p. 97; F. J. G., Works, Vol. IV, pp. 283, 455; cf. also Richard Bardolph, The Negro Vanguard, pp. 84ff. Anna Hume married Tom Miller who later served as one of the Negro Congressmen from South Carolina during Reconstruction. Stewart later became prominent in politics in Liberia; he also wrote "Liberia the Gem of West Africa," one of the country's national songs.

In Samuel O'Hear's backyard Archie and Frank might face their cousins, Frank Weston and Arthur O'Hear, in a "shinny" match (a type of hockey game). On other occasions the children gathered about a ring in the swept front yard before their little house; from the circle came the glassy click of a "bomb" striking one crystal marble after another. When the wind was coming off Charleston harbor, homemade kites provided a challenging thrill. Like other children the boys played hide and seek. The neighborhood perfectly lent itself to the game; the walls and fences, the shady piazzas and flowered courtyards, the scattered lots with a variety of animal pens, sheds, and other buildings offered an intriguing choice of spots for an imaginative boy to secret himself. Perhaps this innocent play trained both Archie and Frank to be the "artful dodgers" they later became when a more serious kind of hide and seek was played with Montague Grimke.<sup>1</sup>

Another popular pastime, especially during the Easter season, was egg "pipping." Essentially, "pipping" tested the shell-strength of eggs. The test could be made in a variety of ways: small end to small end, large to large, side to end, and so on. When one child's egg cracked he surrendered it to the child whose egg was stronger. The Grimke boys excelled in this by virtue of Archie's speckled hen. She laid eggs with such durable

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1. A. H. G., *Memoirs*, pp. 11ff.

shells that they easily won pipping challenges while giving their opponents apparent advantages.<sup>1</sup> Fun and laughter, and a sense of winning now and then, lightened the early years of their childhood.

Food for Nancy and her three boys reflected their limited means; it was very simple. Breakfast consisted of hominy or grits; sometimes molasses sweetened this corn dish, but more often it was eaten plain. Butter remained an untasted luxury. Meat appeared rarely on the table, another economically determined feature of the diet. What little there was usually came from William Owens' butcher shop--left-over pieces which didn't sell. The pieces were "never the best meat but they were glad enough to get it anyway." At noon the family gathered for its main meal of the day. As could be expected rice was the main course for dinner. Nancy prepared it in a variety of ways, making use of available meat, seafood, and fresh vegetables she could afford. Hoppin' John, a mixture of rice and cow peas cooked together with ham bits or a pork bone, frequently appeared on her table. Another versatile rice dish called pilau allowed the cook great latitude; it could be rice and shrimp, rice and tomatoes, or "almost anything mixed with rice." Okra soup, somewhat akin to chicken gumbo, provided another mode of serving rice and a change for the family. Nancy might occasionally have tea

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1. Ibid.

or coffee with dinner, but the boys drank water. Sweets for dessert marked a special occasion; candy was an extraordinary treat which the boys received perhaps "once or twice a year only." Supper, the evening meal, was spartan; fresh bread purchased from the baker, and again water to drink. Yet it seemed sufficient, for in the evening hours before bed Nancy Weston directed the thoughts of her sons toward spiritual food.<sup>1</sup>

The Divine Presence and the Roots of Faith

Like many of her contemporaries, this Negro mother believed in a God whose protection and justice covered her boys. Though her religious perspective would be called "other-worldly," her faith conveyed a sense of God's immediacy. This awareness gripped her children especially during these twilight sessions of Christian nurture, as Archibald attested:

Well do I recall many an evening scene of this mother and her laddies, recall her in her plain little sitting room, with a child on either knee, as she talked in her simple earnest, Christian way of heaven and hell. Her description of the future home of the good made virtue appear beautiful to the boys and greatly to be desired, while her portrayal of the future abode of the wicked made sin seem hideous to them and above all things to be shunned. How she did it, I would fain put into words, but cannot. It was not what she said so much as what she looked and breathed and lived each day of her life in the presence of her children.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid., pp. 8, 9.

2. A. H. G., "A Madonna of the South," p. 392.

After listening in rapt wonder of a father-God's providential concern the boys slipped from their mother's lap, and knelt before her to petition their divine parent, "Our Father who art in Heaven." "The prayer was no lip service, for the Father in heaven was the only father the lads had ever known. He was intensely real to them...."<sup>1</sup> Then they rose, and with reverent courtesy bowed to the greatest and most honored guest in their home.<sup>2</sup> This gesture of respect and avowal of trust in God's presence stayed with Frank all his life, as Archibald later indicated:

At bedtime the younger Frank knelt in silent prayer by the side of an arm-chair, his clasped hands rested on the seat, and his bowed head, then beginning to silver, leant lightly against the back. All at once, it seemed to the elder of the brothers, [Archibald], that the mother was actually in the room, and was seated in the arm-chair before which the younger was kneeling. His hands were, as of yore, folded on her knees, and his head was bent forward upon her breast..... In the deep quiet of the moment a sweet hush fell upon the spirit of the elder, as with bated breath and in a trance he watched the holy scene. Presently he heard a slight, scraping noise, as of the movement of a foot on the floor, and simultaneously there fell on his ears a faint, familiar sound as of kissing, and he awoke to find that the younger had arisen from his knees, and was in the act of making to the good God, the old sweet bow of his boyhood with the innocent grace of a little child.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ibid.
  2. Ibid., p. 395. "This bow consisted in pushing forward the right foot and drawing it back with a slight scraping sound, accompanying the same with a rising movement of the corresponding hand until it touched the lips, when a barely audible kiss terminated the pretty little formality."
  3. Ibid., 396; A. H. G., Memoirs, p. 12.

If God were the unseen guest and companion, then recognition of His presence constantly alerted the boys to the necessity of living accordingly. Their mother's stern moral code gave added support to their young ethical efforts. Nancy Weston's respect for the authority of the Decalogue was unquestioned by her sons. "Profanity was a terrible sin and obscenity was in her mind like handling filth."<sup>1</sup> Other children might indulge in such vices; Archibald and Frank avoided these degrading influences as moral diseases. The children naturally absorbed a repulsion for intoxicating liquors and tobacco. The pure Christian life automatically dictated abstention from such worldly "pleasures." The mother firmly guided her sons along the path of virtue, defined by external, and puritanical canons. Severity of punishment for infractions was common; whipping was typical.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps, the tendency toward legalism, which permeated Francis Grimke's mature ethical outlook, found its seedtime in Nancy's effort to shelter her sons from the influence of an unsavory environment.

Archibald and Francis received religious instruction of a more institutional character through the "deep and

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1. A. H. G., *Memoirs*, p. 10.
  2. *Ibid.*; A. H. G., "A Madonna of the South," pp. 391, 394. "Think not that those two lads belonged to the class of youthful prigs or saints.... On the contrary, they were most genuine boys, as full of boyish pranks as they were overflowing with good health and animal spirits."

affectionate interest in colored people" manifested by the Second Presbyterian Church. Though Baptist herself, Nancy sent her boys to the Presbyterians because they offered the most advantageous program for children.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Thomas Smyth, a white pastor, gave special attention to the religious needs of Charlestonian Negroes, and warmly supported the Zion Colored Church on Anson Street. At Zion a dozen aristocratic young ladies from the Second church taught Sunday School (sessions consisted mainly of learning Bible verses by rote).<sup>2</sup>

Such a surprising alliance as slave mother and Dr. Smyth's feminine blue-bloods worked well: thrilling tales of Biblical heroes artlessly narrated by Nancy, combined with select memory verses (even those advocating submission of slaves to masters), to reassure the children of God's care. The religious emphasis served its purpose. Throughout the boys' formative years a pious atmosphere surrounded the family, insulating it to a great extent from the coarse conditions otherwise prevalent in the neighborhood.

#### Brother Against Brother

During the eight years after Henry Grimke's death, Nancy trained her sons to respect authority and accept

1. A. H. G., Memoirs, p. 13.
2. Gilbert R. Brackett, "An Historic Sketch of the Second Presbyterian Church," Charleston Year Book 1898, p. 338.

responsibility; she molded their attitudes to society in keeping with her belief that they were to be free men. Her pride in their rudimentary intellectual attainments, and her expectation of high moral conduct encouraged each boy's sense of personal worth. As developing individuals they began to appreciate their status. The liberty of the free Negro, though circumscribed, elevated him from the class of personal property to manhood. And it was in the latter category that Henry Grimke's Negro sons viewed themselves. It must have been a shock when their half-brother asserted his legal right to treat them as chattel.

While this sense of freedom was developing in Archie, Frank, and John, changes with forboding import were taking place in the white Grimke household. Henrietta had married James Hibben in the spring after her father's death and left the Coming Street house to make her own home. In January, 1855, Montague married Julia Emma Hibben. She became mistress of the Coming Street house; Mary moved in with her brother John on St. Philip's Street, and Eliza took up residence on Savage Street. Archie and Frank were still too young to be affected by this marriage which ended with the death of Julia on May 12, 1857. The aunts returned to help Montague, and noted that their laundress' helpers were arriving at a useful age. On September 24, 1860, Montague took another wife, Julia

Catharine Bridges, from Alabama.<sup>1</sup> Julia was accustomed to the services of personal slaves, and Eliza and Mary knew of a ready-made staff.

Shortly after Montague had returned with his bride, Archibald and Francis were introduced to her as their new "mistress." The meaning of this word became clear when Montague informed Nancy that Archibald was to be taken from her. Eventually Francis and John were also impressed into service. At first, Nancy vigorously objected to this and for her trouble was thrown into the work house. There she languished for a week, refusing food and contracting some sickness which so endangered her life that the public physicians compelled Montague to have her released.<sup>2</sup> After this incident the boys were allowed to go home in the evenings; their servitude was mitigated to the extent that it was only a day-time situation. Perhaps sensing the futility of resistance, Nancy accepted this arrangement. But Archibald and Frank had no such inclination. Montague's action threatened to destroy their integrity; they responded by privately waging a guerilla-like war.

Each daybreak summoned the brothers to a confrontation and struggle with their half-brother; he was determined to break their wills; they were determined to remain

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1. "The Descendants of Col. William Rhett, of South Carolina," South Carolina Historical Magazine, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 69; R. S. Puree, comp., Charleston City Directory, 1856, p. 72.
  2. A. H. G., letter to A. G. W., Feb. 20, 1868, passim.

free. Within a few months a conflict growing to national proportions would erupt in their city. But perhaps no battle in that Civil War, which ultimately guaranteed the success of their efforts, was as bitterly fought as the conflict between Henry Grimke's sons.

While the boys remained at Montague's they followed an exasperating course of action. Charleston house-boys generally wore livery, and Archibald and Frank were forced to don gray suits with brass buttons. Despite admonitions from Eliza and Julia to treat the uniforms with respect, they wore these emblems of servitude with a studied carelessness. Soon Frank's humiliating garb was rent in several places by an untimely fall down a flight of stairs; shortly after lye water, "accidentally" spilled, ate huge holes in the tell-tale gray material. In this manner he rid himself of one stigma attached to the new condition of his life.<sup>1</sup>

Although Archie rather consistently followed a non-cooperation policy and finally ran away from Montague, it was Frank who seemed to cause the most trouble. In him the Grimkes had indeed "caught a Tartar." The thought of being under the same roof as Montague, Julia, and the others--and especially as their slaves--greatly disturbed the boy. So strongly did Frank desire the freedom of his former way of life that, despite repeated whippings at

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1. A. H. G., *Memoirs*, pp. 31ff.

Montague's hand and remonstrations by his own mother, he seized any pretext to absent himself from the irksome tasks at the Grimke household. These "holidays" might last two or three days. Nancy would return him to the house; Montague would punish him, and with Stoic passivity Frank would suffer whatever physical punishment his half-brother decided to administer. In a few days he would be gone again.<sup>1</sup>

In the ensuing struggle of wills Montague decided that confinement promised to be a more effective method for disciplining Frank. On one occasion Montague locked him in the attic. But he failed to credit Frank's resourcefulness. Finding a hook designed to prop open window blinds, Frank used this "tool" to pick the door lock. Archibald saw him stealthily descending the stairs. Mistress Julia was in her room on the second floor, and Frank paused briefly to "make a face" at her back. Then he hurried the rest of the way down the stairs, out into the street, and off to his mother and his old playmates. This holiday ended as usual with Nancy bringing the boy back and telling him to be good, "which meant that he was to stay where he was put...."<sup>2</sup>

Frank's ingenuity seemed equal to any test. Rejecting the attic as unsuitable, Montague turned to the stable

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1. Ibid., p. 67.

2. Ibid., p. 68.

as a place of confinement. There he chose a windowless room with a padlock on the door. Soon Frank found himself in an apparently escape-proof cell. Only the smoke from the fireplace could leave the room unimpeded. But like the smoke he, too, disappeared up the chimney. He later explained to Archie that he had, sweep-like, wedged his way up the chimney. From the roof of the stable he dropped to the shed, and from the shed he jumped the wall into the neighbor's yard. Archie had seen Frank go over the wall and must have hoped that the slave holders next door were not looking in his direction. Evidently they were not; Frank slipped undetected through the garden gate to enjoy another "holiday."<sup>1</sup>

This escapade precipitated a crisis of major importance to Frank. When Nancy returned her wandering son a few days later a terrible surprise awaited them. Julia and Montague had arranged to apprentice the boy to a hard master who enjoyed a reputation for successfully breaking the spirits of unruly slaves. His program for Frank included starving, beating, and keeping him in rags. But the boy's spirit seemed invincible.<sup>2</sup>

With Frank gone criticism of Archie intensified. Dissatisfied with the boy's somewhat surly attitude,

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1. Ibid., p. 69.

2. Ibid.

Montague had Archibald taken to the workhouse and given thirty lashes. That night the boy, incited rather than chastened by the whipping, ran away. Unlike Frank's earlier periodic flights, however, this one did not end with Nancy,, half-apologetically, half-defiantly, returning her wayward son. New circumstances created by the progress of the Civil War provided alternate courses of action.

From the opening skirmish at Fort Sumter and during the ensuing hostilities Charleston shared in the disruption of normal life patterns experienced throughout the nation. Even prior to Sumter a strange mixture of foreboding apprehension and hopeful anticipation pervaded the city affecting white and Negro alike. Mobilization quickly followed the vote for secession: slaves moved from the fields and rice paddies to build earthworks; commercial wharves became gun implacements; White Point Garden, a promenade park in peace, mounted a battery of four guns; the city's celebrated iron-workers turned their attention from fancy fencework to cannon and iron-clad gunboats; large segments of the white male population traded civilian attire for uniforms.<sup>1</sup> Social life underwent the first stages of an ever-increasing curtailment.

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1. Harriette Kershaw Leiding, Charleston, Historic and Romantic, pp. 219-223, passim; Bell Irvin Wiley, Southern Negroes, 1861-1865, pp. 113ff.

The annual race week was held in February but

... though the presence of many officers gave a promise of much gayety, the St. Cecelia and Jockey Club Societies determined to give no balls and expectant debutantes were greatly chagrined at a season being scored against them in which they had no enjoyment.<sup>1</sup>

Circumstances soon arose which made deprivation commonplace. In early November, 1861, Union forces secured a base at Port Royal, one of the sea islands. Forays from this camp sent planters, their families, and often their slaves into the up-country or Charleston for refuge. Then catastrophe: on the evening of December 11, 1861, a fire broke out in a small shed along the Cooper River; fanned by a strong wind it raced east to west across the peninsula until the flames illuminated the banks of the Ashley River. Destroying buildings in a swath several blocks wide, the conflagration left a black scar across the city which war would only deepen.

By the winter of 1862, when the whipping occurred, preparations had begun for a siege which would last for 567 days. Federal troops occupied positions on James and Morris Islands; the Navy supplemented the artillery attack on Sumter and other Confederate harbor fortifications. Surely the proximity of these Northern soldiers fanned Archibald's spark of hope for successful escape into a flame of decisive action.

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1. Leiding, Charleston, p. 217.

Leaving Montague's house was relatively easy for the youth. Escape from the city was another matter. Making his way alone into the Yankee camp and permanent freedom involved too great a risk of capture; travelling with one of the contraband contingents which periodically slipped past the guard patrols and army pickets promised more chance of success.<sup>1</sup>

While awaiting an opportune time to join such a group Archibald hid with the Cole family on Line Street. The right moment seems never to have come; ironically his stay with the Cole's developed into a kind of imprisonment during which he never left the house during the day, dressed as a girl when he went out at night, and crouched when passing before windows lest someone outside notice an extra person in the house. This restricted way of life lasted over two years--until Confederate forces evacuated Charleston and Union troops occupied it in February, 1865.<sup>2</sup>

War circumstances created for Archie a restrictive freedom; for Frank they provided a liberating servitude. An ingrained aversion to enslavement had stymied the efforts to domesticate him. This recalcitrant attitude insured his familiarity with the bite of leather on flesh. But each stripe goaded him toward the extreme rebellion

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1. Wiley, Southern Negroes, pp. 10, 11.

2. A. H. G., Memoirs, pp. 57, 65, 117.

of flight. Soon after the lashing which prompted Archie's disappearance, Frank received a similar punishment. His reaction is not surprising: "Determined, although a boy, that I would not submit to such an outrage, I ran off...."<sup>1</sup> While Archie's hope was directed toward the Federal forces, Frank turned his face toward the South and "went into the Confederate Army as a valet to one of the officers; in which position he continued for about two years."<sup>2</sup>

Getting away from the city and his half-brother had been unexpectedly easy. A train hand (perhaps a Negro) on the Charleston-Savannah Railroad took charge of Frank. He left the beaten youth at Rantowles depot in St. Andrew's Parish, well beyond the range of Montague's influence. Several military units deployed in the defense of Charleston were stationed along this strategic communications link. Among those in the immediate vicinity of Rantowles were segments of the Charleston light artillery. There Frank offered his services to one of the officers, Julius Moore Rhett, a lieutenant in Preston's Light Battery. Lt. Rhett accepted him and Frank joined "the aristocracy of all those Southern Negroes who engaged in military activities...."<sup>3</sup>

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1. F. J. G., Works, Vol. I, p. viii.

2. Ibid.

3. A. H. G., Memoirs, pp. 80, 116; Johnson Hagood, Memoirs of the War of Secession, p. 88; J. M. Rhett was Henry Grimke's cousin, cf. South Carolina Historical Magazine, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 61, 69; Wiley, Southern Negroes, p. 135.

His activities as the personal attendant to a white officer varied. In the ante-bellum era a body servant looked after his master's clothing, groomed his horse, and generally attended to a young gentleman's needs; in war his responsibilities "were to keep the quarters clean, to wash clothes, shine shoes, brush uniforms, polish swords, buckles and spurs, to run errands...."<sup>1</sup> These duties usually allowed time for loafing about camp, catching the scuttlebut or perhaps "sporting" about with the other servants.

Although the relative freedom of movement in this service probably appealed to Frank, he did not long remain with Lt. Rhett. Another young lieutenant, Francis Miller, about to join the garrison at Castle Pinckney, persuaded the valet to accompany him.<sup>2</sup> Probably the prospect of moving close to his mother without having to worry about Montague influenced Frank's decision to go to work for Lt. Miller.

Castle Pinckney, a small fort on the southeastern tip of Schut's Folly Island, was part of the elaborate defense system for Charleston harbor. This island citadel stood out in the bay only slightly over a mile from the city. Yet its location and armament and the course of the war conspired to deny the fort any vital importance

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1. Wiley, Southern Negroes, p. 135.

2. A. H. G., Memoirs, p. 85.

or glory in protecting Charleston.<sup>1</sup> Proximity and insignificance made Castle Pinckney an ideal hide-out for Frank.

Supply boats frequently visited the fort offering easy access to the city, and Frank regularly availed himself of the opportunity to visit his mother, despite the grave risk involved. Montague and others sought his capture; the following notice (or one of similar nature) appeared in the Mercury in 1863, probably at their request:

FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD

FRANCIS (a brown boy) about 15  
years old, 4 feet 9 inches high;  
he ran away from the Charleston  
Hotel in July.<sup>2</sup>

Thereafter, each time Frank came to see his mother exposed him to the possibility of betrayal.

Finally someone tempted by the Judas-money informed the authorities. Frank described the result:

On visiting Charleston one day, while we were stationed in Castle Pinckney, ... I was suddenly arrested just as I was about to step into the boat on my return to the fort, and thrown into jail, or what is known as the "workhouse" in Charleston.

There I remained for several months, and there I was taken dangerously ill from exposure and bad treatment, and came very near losing my life. It was only by being finally removed to my mother's house, and by the most skillful treatment that I recovered.

I had thus fallen into the hands of my half-brother Montague and guardian; he, fearing that

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1. Rogers W. Young, "Castle Pinckney, Silent Sentinel of Charleston Harbor," So. Car. Hist. Mag., Vol. XXXIX, No. 2, pp. 51-59, passim; cf. Charleston, S. C., The Centennial of Incorporation (map facing p. 164); John W. Ennis, Adventures in Rebel-dom; pp. 11-13.

2. Charleston Mercury, Vol. LXXXIII (Sept. 12, 1863).

I would go away again, sold me, before I was well enough to go out, to an officer, and again I went back into the Army, where I remained until the close of the war.<sup>1</sup>

Such a matter of fact narrative, written over two decades after the episode, belies the traumatic significance of this experience for Frank. Despite the fact that Montague sold Frank to Lt. Miller, who evidently liked the boy and for whom Frank had worked, the situation was radically altered. Whereas Frank's entry into that officer's service had been essentially voluntary, his return was not. The lieutenant no longer employed a youth about fourteen; he owned a body servant.<sup>2</sup> Montague obviously made the best of a bad situation; he sold his irksome half-brother just as a horse-dealer would rid himself of an unruly colt. In this sale the last vestige of independence was stripped from Frank. Title to his person changed hands; he had in fact been reduced to the status of chattel property. Thus he remained until the fortunes of war actualized Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation for those slaves in the "cradle of the Confederacy."

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1. F. J. G., Works, Vol. I, p. viii.
  2. A. H. G., Memoirs, pp. 86, 116; conflicting reports concerning the sum which Frank brought (\$1,500 Confederate currency or \$3,000 Confederate currency and \$20 gold) do not call into the question the fact of the sale, and it is the transaction itself which delineated Frank's status in the eyes of his contemporaries.

From the Ruins--Freedom

Besieged Charleston withstood bombardment from General Gillmore's land batteries and Admiral Dahlgren's naval cannon for over a year. For its defiance it paid a dear price. Intensive shelling of the lower city caused most residents and business operations to move north of Calhoun Street. An eye-witness reaction in December, 1864, to "Gillmore's town," as the evacuated area was called, conveys a desolate sense of the cost of war:

Everything was overgrown with rank, untrimmed, vegetation. Not grass merely, but bushes, grew in the streets. The gardens looked as if the Sleeping Beauty might be within. The houses were indescribable: the gable was out of one, the chimneys fallen from the next; here a roof was shattered, there a piazza half gone; not a window remained. The streets looked as if piled with diamonds, the glass lay slivered so thick on the ground.<sup>1</sup>

But far more than glass was shattered; in the wreckage mingled bits and pieces of the Confederate dream.

As the year drew to a close Sherman's March to the Sea smashed the lingering illusions of hope. Savannah was a Christmas present to Lincoln; in the new year the army which had scourged its path from Atlanta to the coast turned north to join Grant's assault on Richmond. In between lay Charleston. By late January, with the city's strategic value to the cause reduced to terms of sentimentality and pressing demands for troops in North Carolina

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1. Harriet H. Ravenel, Charleston, p. 505.

and Virginia, the futility of further defense was patent.

As early as December 27, 1864, General Hardee had been instructed to arrange "silently and cautiously all necessary preparation for the evacuation of Charleston, should it become necessary."<sup>1</sup> In mid-February, 1865, General Beauregard bowed to necessity and ordered Hardee to evacuate the city. To explain this action, which greatly distressed Jefferson Davis, Beauregard described his military position.

Our forces, about 20,000 effective infantry and artillery, more or less demoralized, occupy a circumference of about 240 miles from Charleston to Augusta. The enemy, well organized and disciplined, and flushed with success, numbering nearly double our forces, is concentrated upon one point (Columbia) of that circumference.<sup>2</sup>

Regrouping to meet the threat was imperative, and in the process Charleston was abandoned. On February 17, 1865, Mayor Charles Macbeth informed the United States commanders that the city and forts had been evacuated; Federal occupation followed immediately and, as one native observed, "with the fall of the city ... went out the old life of Charleston."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Robert E. Lee, quoted in Ellison Capers, Confederate Military History, Vol. 5, p. 359.
  2. P. T. G. Beauregard, quoted in Capers, Confederate Military History, Vol. 5, pp. 363, 364. Jefferson Davis had written Beauregard: "Such full preparation had been made for the defense of Charleston that I had hoped for other and better results, and the disappointment to me is extremely bitter."
  3. Ravenel, Charleston, p. 507.

For Frank the day of Jubilee had come; a new life had begun! Left behind by his officer-master he joined Archie, freshly emerged from hiding, and two cousins, Art O'Hear and Francis Weston, in the pursuit of adventure. They did not have to chase far for excitement. Although Charleston was occupied, military action in the vicinity continued; Federal troops engaged units of General Wheeler's cavalry which was fighting a rear-guard action to cover the Confederate withdrawal. Without asking their parents the four boys attached themselves to a series of the Union officers directing the "mop-up" campaign. Archibald left this recollection of their experience:

The troops were living on the country and foraging where-ever there was an opportunity, taking what we found, asking leave of nobody--from horses to sweetpotatoes, cleaning store houses and catching and devouring chickens, pigs, and whatever there was to eat. Everyone was for himself, catch as catch can. We went into a place and proceeded to take all the chickens in sight.... We were determined to get as much as we could carry back to our tents and our officers. It was really quite pitiable at times to witness the distress of the southern women and children as their food supplies fast vanished before their eyes. But none of us seemed to think of this phase of the subject, for all we wanted was what they had, and sad to say we got it. The move from one point to another of the union forces marching by day and night, in rain and mud ... was made at times without a stitch of dry clothes on us. But we boys enjoyed the adventure largely and when we got tired of serving one set of officers we selected another and went into their service. We could only halt when orders came to halt. We were so tired at times that we fell asleep on our feet, and when we got into a building after getting the officers' blankets and bedding ready, we threw ourselves down in all our wet clothes and we were sound asleep almost at once. But none

of us counted this hardship, for we were getting the action and the fun and no end to adventure, which was enough to satisfy the call of the wild in any boy's heart.<sup>1</sup>

Sickness ended these exploits before satiety dulled the boys' appetite for adventure. First Frank, then one by one the others contracted chills and fever and returned to Charleston to recover.

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1. A. H. G., *Memoirs*, pp. 98-100, passim.

## CHAPTER II

DAYS OF PREPARATION: LIBERAL ARTS AND LAW  
(1865 - 1875)

While Frank and Archie sought adventure in the wake of Sherman's army, events of momentous import for the boys took place in Washington and Charleston. On March 3, 1865, Lincoln signed the bill creating the Freedmen's Bureau. The following day, "in obedience to General Order No. 4, issued by [Col. Stewart Woodford, U.S.A.,] the Morris Street School was opened ..." and equal public education for black and white began in Charleston.<sup>1</sup> Both actions reflected the concern for a workable rehabilitation program for ex-slaves which developed as the war progressed; both recognized education as a basic requirement in restructuring the social order; and both resulted from the wisdom accumulated over four difficult years.

Almost from the outset, the War "to preserve the Union" had the practical effect of freeing slaves. Military action often removed a master's control over his slaves, and the resulting "contraband" emerged as an early administrative problem for the Federal government. By 1863 the President was encouraging efforts in Congress for the

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1. Charleston Courier, Vol. LXV, p. 2 (April 6, 1865).

creation of a central agency. Lincoln found ready allies in the abolitionists. Early in the war they had perceived the need for a government bureau to administer a uniform and adequate program for freedmen. To help meet freedmen's needs the abolitionists had turned to voluntary benevolence and with characteristic zeal marshalled American philanthropy into numerous freedmen's aid societies. But private resources failed to keep pace with the demands for assistance. The enactment, with strong abolitionist urging, of the Freedmen's Bureau bill saved a desperate situation. Among its major concerns, the provision for educational facilities held the most promise of lasting benefit, and became the focal point for evangelical and secular philanthropy.<sup>1</sup>

In November, 1861, a Union fleet, commanded by Commodore Samuel DuPont, won an important victory over the Confederate forts guarding Port Royal Sound, South Carolina; as a result the Sea Islands south of Charleston came under Federal control. Salmon P. Chase, Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury, seized the opportunity thus presented to initiate what became known as the Port Royal Experiment. Initially a test of the slaves' ability to function as free laborers, it soon became a small scale rehearsal for all aspects of reconstruction.<sup>2</sup>

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1. George R. Bentley, A History of the Freedmen's Bureau, pp. 36-49, passim; James M. McPherson, The Struggle for Equality, pp. 178ff.

2. Willie Lee Rose, Rehearsal for Reconstruction, passim.

Education figured prominently in the program, and "Gideon bands" of northern teachers journeyed south to instruct the freedmen. Under the sponsorship of such agencies as the American Missionary Association many a "Yankee schoolmarm" served an agonizing apprenticeship among the thousands of erstwhile slaves on the Sea Islands. But the experience proved invaluable; the commitment to teaching, nurtured so well in the Port Royal Experiment, inspired those educators who followed the Union forces up the Carolina coast.<sup>1</sup>

When Federal troops occupied Charleston, military rule replaced civilian government. As head of the military post of Charleston, and as such responsible for governing the city, Colonel Woodford moved quickly to regulate various civic activities. One of his first acts was the seizure of all school buildings and the appointment of James Redpath, a New York Tribune reporter, as Superintendent of Public Education. The formidable task of reorganizing Charleston's schools required an exceptional person, and Redpath fit the bill. His successful leadership impressed soldier and civilian, Northerner

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1. McPherson, Struggle, pp. 171ff. provides an incisive account of the high value placed upon education for the freedmen and the efforts of several northern groups to instruct Negroes; cf. Henry L. Swint, The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870. pp. 77ff.

and Southerner, white and black.<sup>1</sup>

By the end of March, 83 teachers and over 3,000 children had crowded into seven schools and the number of pupils, teachers, and schools increased throughout the spring term which lasted until July. Transiency marked the term as freedmen from the interior passed through Charleston on their way to the Sea Islands. The children remained in school "just long enough to be taught three or four patriotic songs, to keep quiet, and to be decently clad." As far as possible the New England educational ideal was adapted for the warmer climate. Children at first went from 9 A. M. to 12:30 P. M. but in May an extra half-hour was added to "ensure, apart from the recess, opening exercises, singing and gymnastics, three hours for study."<sup>2</sup> In March Redpath reported that "every day brings with it new scholars; every school has been disturbed ... by the necessity of finding more accommodations, and of reforming the old classes."<sup>3</sup> Three of the new scholars were the Grimke brothers.

When Archie and Frank entered the Morris Street School in Jasper Court they came under the influence of

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1. McPherson, Struggle, p. 389; Whitelaw Reid, After the War: A Southern Tour, pp. 59, 60; John R. Dennett, The South As It Is: 1865-1866, pp. 216-218; on Redpath's abolitionist activities prior to the War see Swint, Northern Teacher, pp. 52ff.
  2. A. A. Taylor, The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction, pp. 86, 87; Charleston Courier, Vol. LXV, p. 2 (May 15, 1865).
  3. James Redpath to Col. Gurney, Bureau of Public Education Report (March 31, 1865) in Charleston Courier, Vol. LXV, p. 2 (April 6, 1865).

northern educators. The principal, Frances Pillsbury, hailed from Ludlow, Massachusetts. She had participated in the Port Royal Experiment, and Redpath had recruited her from a teaching station at Hilton Head.<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Pillsbury presided over one of the larger schools in Charleston, and her presence was most fortuitous for the brothers. How she first became interested in Frank and Archie remains a matter of speculation, but once aware of them she devoted a great deal of attention to their educational advancement, a fact which decisively shaped their future.<sup>2</sup>

The Journey North: Hope and Disappointment

During the summer of 1865 Frances Pillsbury conducted a correspondence campaign with friends in the North to place Frank and Archie in a more advantageous learning situation. Thinking in terms of professional apprentice-

1. Antoinette Frances Pillsbury, wife of Charleston's first Reconstruction mayor, Gilbert Pillsbury, was qualified by temperament, training, and association for her new assignment; her brother-in-law, Parker Pillsbury, had nurtured her in his radical brand of abolitionism; she was an experienced educator, having been principal of the Winding Wave Boarding School in Ludlow, Mass.; McPherson, Struggle, passim; Swint, Northern Teacher, p. 193; F. J. G., Works, Feb. 20, 1868, Grimke Papers, H. U.
2. One wonders if Mrs. Pillsbury's interest was aroused by the boys or by their name; she would have known the Grimke name from her abolitionist connections. Since she had to speak with Nancy Weston it seems likely that some mention of the Grimke family relationship would have occurred, unless Nancy chose to be quite circumspect about the whole matter.

ships, she wrote to her friends in medicine and law. Her efforts seemed to be successful: Frank was to go to Stoneham, Massachusetts, and study medicine with Dr. John Brown who had been a surgeon with the 55th Colored Regiment. Archie was to study law with the Boston abolitionist, Samuel E. Sewall, who was also an old friend of Sarah Grimke and Angelina Grimke Weld.<sup>1</sup> With great expectations Frank and Archie took leave of John and their mother who had moved to better quarters in "Ryan's Auction-Mart," a converted slave pen, on Chalmers Street. Perhaps the North star never beckoned to more hopeful teenagers.<sup>2</sup>

The journey north offered excitement far surpassing any the boys had known in their forays around Charleston. To insure their safe passage Mrs. Pillsbury placed them in the care of Major Martin R. Delany. In his company they boarded the government transport, McClellan, and sailed to New York.<sup>3</sup> After a pleasant voyage Archie and Frank left by train for Springfield, Massachusetts. There they enjoyed a brief rest as overnight house guests of Dr.

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1. A. H. G., Memoirs, pp. 103, 104, 117; F. J. G., Works, Vol. I, p. viii.
  2. Ibid.; Junior League of Charleston, Across the Cobblestones, p. 24; Ryan's slave pen had been converted into a school and orphanage for freedmen; Nancy served as the housekeeper and nurse.
  3. Delany was serving as an official of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina at this time; his reputation as a major ante-bellum leader was well deserved; at the time he accompanied the brothers north he was the highest ranking Negro field officer in the Union Army; A. H. G., Memoirs, p. 104; Langston Hughes and Milton Meltzer, A Pictorial History ..., p. 176; A. F. Pillsbury to A. H. Grimke, April 2, 1873, Grimke Papers, H. U.

Jefferson Church and his wife.<sup>1</sup> The visit included a memorable evening at the theatre. One of America's leading actors, Edwin Forrest, played the title role in King Lear. Archie and Frank sat enthralled as Forrest's performance "dominated the audience by his unique animal vigor and his outbursts of impassioned speech." Years later they would recall "the bell, drum and trumpet qualities of his amazing voice."<sup>2</sup>

Early the next morning Frank and Archie took the train to Boston where the Freedmen's Aid Society was to provide assistance in reaching their sponsors. At the office the brothers were greeted by a gracious Negro woman, Charlotte L. Forten. Grand-daughter of a noted leader in the Philadelphia Negro community and heir to an abolitionist tradition, she possessed an unusually high sense of commitment to her race. Only a little over a year before Miss Forten had taught at St. Helena, one of the Sea Islands. Now she was assisting a young man from the same general region to find an education. Their meeting in the office of the Freedmen's Aid Society marked the first time Frank saw the woman who, thirteen

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1. Church had long been identified with the abolitionist crusade; he was active on the local level in Springfield and also served as a vice-president of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society; Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Annual Reports (1846-1860), passim.
  2. Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. VI, p. 531; W. R. Alger, Life of Edwin Forrest, quoted in ibid.; A. H. G., Memoirs, p. 105.

years later, became his wife.<sup>1</sup> At this meeting, however, his mind was probably occupied with thoughts of the opportunity awaiting him at Dr. Brown's. After receiving directions he and Archie walked to the train station.

Now only the distance from Boston to Stoneham stood between Frank and the beginning of his medical training, or so it seemed. His arrival at Dr. Brown's created a crisis; either Mrs. Pillsbury or the Brown family had made a mistake. The hopes and confidence instilled by Mrs. Pillsbury suddenly withered in the cold reception Frank experienced. The family must have shattered every preconception the young boy entertained about New England charity:

During my whole stay with them I was forced to sleep in the barn, in the hay-loft, with no other mattress than the hay, and no other bedstead than the floor.... My treatment while with them was so different from what I had been led to expect that I would receive, that I soon left them.<sup>2</sup>

With cold weather upon him Frank fortunately found a position in a shoe factory operated by Lyman Dyke of Stoneham. Thus Frank's first winter in the north passed not in the study of medicine under Dr. Brown, but "learning

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1. Charlotte Forten, The Journal of Charlotte Forten, R. A. Billington, ed., passim; A. H. G., Memoirs, p. 106; marriage would have seemed a preposterous suggestion when they first met; Frank was only fifteen years old and Charlotte was a spinsterish twenty-eight.
  2. F. J. G., Works, Vol. I, p. viii.

the shoe business" from his "very warm friends," Mr. and Mrs. Dyke.<sup>1</sup>

Hope Restored: Lincoln University

With the failure of the initial plans, and at the urging of Nancy Grimke, Frances Pillsbury resumed her efforts to place the brothers in a suitable educational environment. She worked diligently throughout the winter of 1865-1866, checking with more friends and exploring several alternatives. Finally she made arrangements which would place Frank and Archie in a more formal educational setting. In the early spring the boys received letters from Mrs. Pillsbury instructing them to "repair at once to Lincoln University...."<sup>2</sup> Once again the Grimke brothers would learn under Presbyterian auspices and influence.

Over a decade before several Presbyterians seeking a middle ground between abolitionist and pro-slavery extremes founded Ashmun Institute in Chester County, Pennsylvania. Chartered by the state legislature in 1854, it was originally controlled by the New Castle Presbytery.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ibid.; for unexplained reasons Archie did not return to Boston and Samuel Sewall; instead he began working in Peace Dale, Rhode Island, at the home of the Harrower family; A. H. G., Memoirs, p. 107.
  2. Ibid.
  3. Andrew E. Murray, Presbyterians and the Negro--A History, pp. 173, 174.

The school reflected the mediating bias of many Presbyterians in the ante-bellum era, as seen in its original purpose, the preparation of free American Negroes "for the missionary and Colonization work in Africa."<sup>1</sup> The millennial goal toward which Ashmun graduates were to press was glowingly predicted at the opening of the school in 1856: "Gospel culture will convert Central Africa into a garden of the Lord."<sup>2</sup> Basic to this view was a rather positive acceptance of American slavery as a beneficial part of God's plan for Africa.

Ten years later, when Frank and Archie matriculated, the fortunes of war had encouraged a review of the "ways of God," and a martyred President had provided the inspiration for a name which signified the reorientation of the school:

The late wonderful providences of God towards the colored race in this country have opened new and large fields of usefulness, and now the calls are urgent for men of talents and education to serve their race in new relations and positions. It is in view of the history of the last few years that the Trustees, through the Legislature, have given the Institution a new name and have greatly enlarged its plans. The present year has been one of experiment with these new aims, but it has been full of promise.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Lincoln University, Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Lincoln University, 1865-66, p. 11; hereafter cited L. U., Catalogue ...(date).
  2. Courtland Van Rennselaer, God Glorified by Africa, in Murray, Presbyterians and the Negro, p. 79.
  3. L. U., Catalogue ... (1866), p. 11.