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NOT A MYTH: QUAKERS AND RACIAL JUSTICE*

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ABSTRACT

This article deals with issues of Quaker racial inclusivity and action regarding abolitionism and civil rights issues. The article utilizes a case study of the Institute for Colored Youth to complicate the narrative of paternalism and segregation within Quaker meetings. I argue that while there are issues of paternalism throughout the history of the Religious Society of Friends, members made an invaluable contribution to the advancement of education and other rights for African Americans in nineteenth-century Philadelphia and that African American students and teachers were able to shape the institution created by Quakers for their own use and opportunity.

KEYWORDS

Institute for Colored Youth, Philadelphia, Philadelphia Quaker Meeting, Richard Humphreys.

In this article, the Institute for Colored Youth, a Quaker-founded school for African Americans in nineteenth-century Philadelphia, is used as a case study to explore the Quaker influence on nineteenth-century African American education. While many of the practices of the Institute were problematic, and paternalism and segregation were common, the school provided previously unavailable opportunities to Philadelphia African Americans.[1] Although this study offers a limited representation of Quaker meetings as its focus is on a specific place and time, it allows for a reflection on the strengths and weaknesses of the work of Vanessa Julye and Donna McDaniel, Henry Cadbury, Theodore Hershburg and Ryan P. Jordan. In *Fit for Freedom, Not for Friendship*, Julye and McDaniel give a broad-sweeping history of the relationship between Quakers and African Americans, and emphasize the often paternalistic and prejudicial attitudes of many Quakers. While many of their critiques are legitimate, Julye and McDaniel delegitimize much of the contribution Quakers did make in their analysis.

Similarly, in his 1936 article 'Negro Membership in the Society of Friends', Henry Cadbury offers a critique of the paternalistic relationship between African Americans and Quakers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Cadbury's piece mainly details the segregation and isolation of African Americans within the Society of Friends. He discusses the Institute for Colored Youth, but he does so briefly and primarily focuses on the teacher Sarah Mapps Douglass.[2] Cadbury's focus is on the separation of African Americans from Quaker meetings, and while Cadbury, like Julye and McDaniel, makes an important point, his analysis does not tell the whole story. By focusing solely on critiques of Quakers' relationship with African Americans, the contributions made by many Quakers are lost.[3]

While there is a long tradition of African American critique of the Society of Friends, both academically and otherwise, much of the historiography on the subject uses the perspective of African Americans sparingly. African American voices and reflections of the Quaker meeting, which are integral to understanding the significance of the Institute, are lacking in much of the earlier work on this issue. The unique stories of these individuals show that the Quaker influence in Philadelphia provided much-needed education for African Americans at a time when the city was extremely polarized.

Although the Religious Society of Friends faces issues with racial inclusivity both presently and historically, many historians' outright dismissal of Quaker contributions to abolition and African American education because of past incidents of racism is problematic. In this paper, I will demonstrate that by today's standards, and even by some nineteenth-century standards, the Quakers of nineteenth-century Philadelphia were racist, but it is unfair to discount wholly their many contributions based on the non-inclusive practices of the Philadelphia Quaker Meetings. Many nineteenth-century Quakers demonstrated a commitment to advancing the rights of African Americans by creating schools, abolition societies, and other institutions that were far more progressive than many of their contemporaries.

It is important to note that while this article relies heavily on an 'African American perspective' and a 'Quaker Perspective', it is not meant to imply that either of these groups have one cohesive perspective. It is, however, intended to give voice to the efforts made by some members of the Society of Friends, who dedicated themselves to institutionally serving African Americans. Likewise, this argument does not presume that all African Americans approved of the Quaker efforts regarding the Institute for Colored Youth, but intends to show the opinions of individual African American graduates, which have not been adequately represented in all works on the legitimacy of Quaker efforts regarding racial justice.[4]

During the 1850s and 1860s, Philadelphia had the largest population of African Americans outside of the slaveholding south. Most public institutions were segregated, and although African Americans had initially been granted the right to vote in the state constitution, this right was revoked in 1838. Race riots and racial violence were common in Philadelphia, particularly from the 1830s through the 1850s.[5] Although racial problems still persisted in Philadelphia, education for

African Americans was comparatively successful, predominantly because of efforts made by Quaker educators.

The Institute for Colored Youth's placement in Philadelphia is noteworthy because of its hostile attitude toward African Americans during the mid-nineteenth century.[6] Many Philadelphia African Americans lost their jobs to recent immigrants, which contributed to the poverty of African Americans in the city. In 1838, tensions heightened when African Americans lost their right to vote. Civil rights activists, such as Octavius Catto, who was educated at the Institute for Colored Youth, helped to reinstate voting rights for African Americans and desegregate other institutions like the city's public transportation system.[7]

The Institute for Colored Youth, which later became Cheyney University, was founded as a farm school for criminal African American boys in 1840. However, the school's Board of Managers soon realized that the school was not helping African Americans in the way that the founder, Richard Humphreys, had intended.[8] Humphreys envisioned an institution in which African American students could gain opportunities, become educated in the liberal arts, and also receive vocational training, and the Quaker board of managers did not feel the farm school was fulfilling this mission. In 1852, the Institute was moved to Philadelphia to provide a secondary education for African American boys and girls.[9] It was founded only two years after Central High School, Philadelphia's first public high school, which was segregated, as was common in Philadelphia during the mid-nineteenth century.[10] The Institute for Colored Youth occupies a unique place in America's history; its conception occurred just as secondary education was becoming available to more than just the elite classes.[11]

Although Philadelphia was largely unwelcoming to African Americans during this time, as evidenced by riots, a lack of political rights, and economic inequality, Philadelphia had more success creating schools for African Americans than many other cities. In the 1830s Pennsylvania was in the process of ending slavery, but civil rights for African Americans were retracted for the most part throughout the mid-nineteenth century. The retraction of African American rights contrasts with the creation of schools and other institutions for African Americans. Though African Americans shaped and actively engaged in the creation of these institutions, much of the funding came from Quaker organizations.

While there was a jarring contrast between the intense retraction of African American rights and the increase in educational opportunities for African Americans in Philadelphia, the development of education in Philadelphia also differed from its trajectory in other major American cities. In New Haven, Connecticut, residents attempted to create an African American institution of higher learning, but abandoned the project for fear that educated African Americans would take the place of whites in the workplace. This fear was amplified by Nat Turner's rebellion, which created a general uneasiness about educated African Americans. In August 1831, Turner led a group of slaves in revolt against their white slave owners, killing approximately 60 white people.[12] Other cities, like Baltimore, Maryland, were extremely successful with regard to African American education.

In cities such as Baltimore, slave owners often directly benefited from owning educated slaves.[13] These slave owners would often allow their slaves to do skilled labor for merchants and business owners and collect the profits for themselves because trades and skilled labor were valuable economically.[14] While the situation in Baltimore, a 'slave city', differed immensely from that of Philadelphia, it serves to illustrate both that civil rights and education for African Americans did not always align, and that there were immense differences in educational opportunities between American cities.[15]

While issues of civil rights made Philadelphia's success with African American education apparent, it is important to distinguish that Philadelphia's efforts to educate African Americans was not the only successful venture during the mid-nineteenth century; Oberlin College also served the educational needs of African Americans very early on, beginning in the 1830s. A Presbyterian minister founded Oberlin in Oberlin, Ohio. Oberlin was known for its involvement in abolitionist activism, and African Americans were educated alongside white students. The integration common at Oberlin College was decidedly more progressive than much of the segregated education for African Americans in Philadelphia, and it is imperative to understand that both types of institutions were founded and flourishing in the mid-nineteenth century.

While the education available for African Americans at both Oberlin College and the Institute for Colored Youth were atypical opportunities at this time, there were other Quaker-founded schools for African Americans across the country. It is important to recognize the progressive nature of other Quaker founded educational institutions, such as the Southland College, to understand more fully the state of African American education and the broader contributions of Quakers outside of Philadelphia. Southland College was a Quaker-run college for African American's in Arkansas, founded by ardent abolitionist Quakers, Alida and Calvin Clark, who had migrated from Indiana. The founders of Southland were a product of a rift between many in the Society of Friends over the place of African Americans in the Quaker community. Southland College was directly connected to a Quaker meeting. While Southland College was structured differently from the Institute for Colored Youth, and was in many ways more progressive, the existence of alternative methods of education does not negate the accomplishments of the Philadelphia Quaker who founded the Institute for Colored Youth.[16]

Philadelphia Quakers had long focused on education because education was inaccessible to the majority of those living in the state throughout the eighteenth century and because of William Penn's unique ideas about education.[17] In addition to the Quaker emphasis on education, the Quakers were known for advocating pacifism and opposing slavery.[18] While the Philadelphia Quaker Meeting did not always support an anti-slavery agenda and had internal contention on the subject, by the mid- to late eighteenth century it was known for its anti-slavery position. The Philadelphia Quakers were involved in anti-slavery institutions such as the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, which was the first anti-slavery organization in the country. While there was internal opposition to these organizations, the activism of individual Quakers should not be undermined this. In addition to

joining abolitionist efforts, members of the Philadelphia Quaker meeting dissented from societal norms when they established primary schools for African Americans and later created the Institute for Colored Youth.

The Quakers began educating African Americans as early as 1770, and while this was not a unified Quaker effort, the role many Quakers played in developing African American education was imperative. Many of the primary schools were founded with resources from the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. The Institute for Colored Youth is one of the most significant examples of Quaker-founded education for African Americans because of the advanced curriculum it offered to students.

Understanding the motivations of Quaker leaders is essential for comprehending the importance of the Institute. Although Quakers were known for their progressive views, historians sometimes call their motives concerning African American rights into question.[19] Richard Humphreys' will and the Richard Humphreys Foundation Charter, which established the Institute for Colored Youth, made clear his intentions in funding the school. These documents explicitly stated that Humphreys wanted to create an institution that enabled African Americans to gain a quality education while gaining vocational skills that would allow them to increase their standard of living.

Upon his death, Humphreys gave ten thousand dollars to twelve Philadelphia Quakers.[20] These twelve men were purposed with creating a school for African Americans. Discussing the creation of the school, Humphreys' will explicitly stated that the school's purpose was for 'instructing the descendants of the African Race in school learning, in the various branches of the mechanical arts and trades and in Agriculture'.[21] Although Humphreys neglected to mention why he wanted to build a school for African Americans, this statement specified subjects the students should be taught. Humphreys valued 'school learning', like the liberal arts and sciences taught in white schools at the time, but wanted his institution also to provide employment opportunities.[22] Humphreys therefore emphasized the importance of 'mechanical arts and trades and Agriculture'.[23] Humphreys chose to position the school in this way because of the high unemployment for African Americans in the mid-nineteenth century, which shows a desire to lessen the economic divide between African Americans and whites in Philadelphia.

Humphreys believed that it would be beneficial for African Americans to be trained in many vocations and specifically wanted to create more African American teachers.[24] This would both widen career opportunities for African Americans and provide teachers for other African American schools (sometimes even in the south). Humphreys made his emphasis on teaching clear in his will when he stated that an objective of an institution should be

> to prepare and fit and qualify them to act as teachers in such as those branches of useful business as in the judgment of the said society they may appear best qualified for.[25]

Even though the Institute for Colored Youth provided opportunities other than teaching, Humphreys regarded teacher training as one of the school's most

important tasks because increasing the number of African American teachers would further expand educational opportunities for African Americans.

Humphreys wanted Quakers to maintain direct control of the school. His will stated that 'the said institution [is] to be located not far distant from the City of Philadelphia and to be under the care, management, and control of Such Persons only as are or may be members of the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends commonly called Quakers'.[26] Although African Americans did not control this committee, the fact that religion rather than race was specified is significant, and helps illustrate that the white control of the Board of Managers was somewhat based on religion, and not entirely a result of racial prejudice.[27] Furthermore, the teachers and principals who oversaw the day-to-day activities of the school were all African American, and by the time the school had been in existence for a few years, many of the teachers were graduates of the Institute for Colored Youth themselves.

Although Humphreys specified that the money issued through his will was to be used to create a school for African Americans, he also created a contingency in case the school project failed. Humphreys said that the money could be used in any way that was useful to the 'descendants of the African race'.[28] His actions demonstrated a trust in the Quaker Board of Managers, as he left them with the responsibility of deciding what would best help African Americans if a school did not flourish. This act exemplifies Humphreys' intention to further opportunities for African Americans beyond education.

The Institute's founders largely contributed to the advancement of African Americans, but the goals within the school's Charter diverged slightly from what was expressed in the will. The Charter of the Richard Humphreys Foundation states:

> Believing that great benefit would result to the public therefrom, [we] have associated for the purpose of improving and elevating the moral and intellectual condition and character of the colored people, by instructing them in conformity with the provisions contained in the above extract from the last will and testament of the aforesaid benevolent testator.[29]

The intentions of the Richard Humphreys Foundation, as specified in the Charter, were to train African Americans so that their skills and education could benefit society as a whole, not the African American race specifically.[30] This stance, however problematic it may seem, strongly correlates with the religious beliefs of the Quakers, particularly the idea that God exists within everyone.[31] The use of the word 'conformity' in the above quote insinuates that African Americans were not being instructed in order to expand their opportunities, but so that they could be more productive members of society.[32]

Although the Charter's slight diversion from the goals laid out in Humphrey's will is noteworthy, the intentions expressed in the Charter do not change the reasons Humphreys founded the school. These objectives are also not the same as those seen over the years in the Annual Reports of the Board of Managers. Regardless of the purpose given by the Richard Humphreys Foundation, the

Institute for Colored Youth was successful in advancing the level of education available for African Americans.

It is important to recognize that the essential details found in the will of Richard Humphreys were also contained in the Charter. These included the purpose of the school, its areas of study, and specifications concerning who was to control the organization.[33] These ideas served as a basis for the Institute for Colored Youth until it changed to Cheyney University in 1902.

Arguably more influential than the founder's intentions was the advanced curriculum provided by the Institute for Colored Youth. The Board worked to give African Americans access to equal education—education that was sometimes superior to the free education available to whites at the time. This educational superiority can be seen in the Annual Reports of the Institute for Colored Youth and through comparisons with the curricula of other schools in the Philadelphia Public School District, specifically Central High School. Other details about the daily functioning of the Institute, primarily the presence of African American teachers and Principals, shows the Quaker desire to empower African Americans, both academically and vocationally. Evidence also shows that Quakers outside of the school supported the Institute for Colored Youth to the same extent that the Board of Managers did, and that support for African American education came not only from within the Institute. This external support demonstrates that although the Quakers created a separate school for the education of African Americans, the opinions of Philadelphia Quakers were much more egalitarian than was common at the time.

The opinions of the Quaker Board of Managers about the students are made clear in the Annual Reports from this time period. The 1860 Annual Report acknowledged that there was a large number of people in 'the oppressed class' with untapped potential.[34] The Board of Managers explicitly stated in the Annual Report that they hoped to utilise charitable donations to meet the educational and vocational needs of African Americans,[35] and that they wanted African Americans to earn advanced education without whites making decisions for them. Although the Board of Managers controlled the school, the members did not necessarily feel that whites had to be in charge of African Americans and their intellectual desires. The Annual Reports of the Institute highlighted the achievements of the students and their high examination scores. The 1860 report expressed that 'the pupils, by their general good conduct and diligence, will compare favorably with any school of white children with which we are acquainted'.[36] The Board of Managers intended to educate African Americans to their full potential—a potential they considered equal to that of white children. This support for equality was rare at a time when African Americans were severely discriminated against in Philadelphia.

The Board of Managers had faith in both the curriculum of the Institute and the competence of African American teachers and students.[37] The Board hoped that the work opportunities for African Americans would increase substantially with education, but they also believed that education itself was invaluable to the African American population. The Board noted that 'most of the evils and

wretchedness to which he is subject arise from ignorance'.[38] They believed by educating African Americans they were helping to eliminate suffering and emphasized the idea that education was the first step toward equality.[39]

Not only did the Quaker Board of Managers believe that African Americans should have the opportunity for education, they held events promoting racial equality at the Institute. In 1862, the Institute held a lecture series featuring African American speakers who had gained professional success.[40] This series featured noteworthy individuals like Frederick Douglass, abolitionist; John Rock, member of the Boston Bar; and Alexander Crummell, Cambridge University graduate.[41] The series showed students the level of success that was attainable and underscored the importance of education.[42]

Despite having African American teachers and administrators, there was controversy over the existence of the Quaker Board of Managers. While the board was problematically paternalistic, African American administrators, teachers, and students succeeded in shaping the institute into a place that produced many successful graduates. In fact, in the 1860 Annual Report the Board of Managers attributed the success and physical growth of the school to the work of African American teachers. This is made clear in a clause that reads: 'Our teachers—all of the colored race—have proved themselves, during the past year, as heretofore, competent, both by their acquirement and assiduity, to the important duties which devolve upon them'.[43] The Institute for Colored Youth hired only African American teachers—a strong sign of the respect that the Quakers had for educated African Americans and the importance of the Institute.

The curriculum of the Institute for Colored Youth developed and changed over the period 1852–65. The course of study began with a year in which students took grammar, arithmetic, early United States history, bible, geography, and composition.[44] In the next grade level the students took arithmetic, algebra, English, history, anatomy, Latin, and ancient geography.[45] The senior grade level took higher algebra, geometry, trigonometry, English, philosophy, chemistry, and Latin.[46] During the early 1860s, the course of study added some new courses including book keeping, Greek, and an earlier introduction to Latin.[47] The Institute provided a much higher level of education than most African American students would have been able to obtain from primary schools and most other educational institutions at the time.

A comparison of the curriculum of the Institute for Colored Youth and the curriculum of Central High School in Philadelphia shows that although the schools offered slightly different curricula, they were similarly rigorous. Central High School, although a part of the public school district of Philadelphia, offered a free, merit-based education just like the Institute for Colored Youth. Central High School initially offered a much higher level of education than it does today. At the time, Central High School granted college degrees as well as high school diplomas, though many of the white students who attended the high school did not reach a higher level of education than the African Americans who went to the Institute for Colored Youth.

The Central High School began with different educational tracts, but by the mid-1850s many of these distinctions were dropped and the school became more comparable to the Institute for Colored Youth. In 1864, the first year high school curriculum included algebra, bookkeeping, history, writing and composition, Latin, and German.[48] The next level continued most of the studies but added natural history, rhetoric, advanced Latin, geometry, and trigonometry.[49] In the students' final year, they learned advanced German and French.[50] After completing their high school coursework, students could go on to study more advanced topics like calculus, engineering, and astronomy, offered at college level.[51] Both Central High School and the Institute for Colored Youth offered arithmetic, algebra, writing, Latin, bookkeeping, and chemistry. However, the curricula differed in that the amount of study devoted to reading and composition was much higher at the Institute for Colored Youth than at Central High School. Central's curriculum devoted much more time to mathematics. While Central High School offered French and German, which the Institute for Colored Youth lacked, the Institute for Colored Youth's curriculum focused on Greek and the classics in general.

One of the biggest differences in curriculum between the Institute for Colored Youth and Central High School was the Institute's emphasis on religious instruction. The involvement of the Quaker managers resulted in a much stronger focus on religion than at the Central High School. This was also the main reason the Quaker Board was involved in the school.[52] The managers of the Institute for Colored Youth went as far as to say that religion was more important than the other forms of instruction.

This curriculum comparison shows the high standards to which the Institute's students were held, and that while education was segregated and could not be truly equal, the Institute was an important step in advancing academic opportunities for African Americans.

Support for the advanced education of African Americans in Philadelphia was not limited to the Quaker Board of Managers of the Institute for Colored Youth. The Philadelphia Quaker community established many primary schools across the city, in addition to the many schools for African Americans aided by the Quaker-run Philadelphia Abolition Society. A report from the Board of Managers of the Institute was published in the 1853 (volume 6) edition of the *Friends Review: A Religious, Literary, and Miscellaneous Journal*.[53] The report shows the support of the Institute for Colored Youth by the wider community of Philadelphia Quakers. Although the article simply reported events at the school for the year, the language utilized shows the pride in the success of the school that the Quakers felt. It focuses on physical additions to the school, increased materials in the library, and other opportunities the school was beginning to offer.[54] The success of the students in their end of year examinations is also greatly emphasized. It is clear that both the Institute for Colored Youth and the availability of quality education for African Americans during the mid-nineteenth century was a source of pride for the Philadelphia Quaker population as a whole.

Quakers outside of the Institute for Colored Youth, such as Benjamin Coates, implicitly recognized the reputation and success of the Institute for Colored Youth. Ebenezer Bassett, president of the Institute for Colored Youth in the 1860s, corresponded with Benjamin Coates who was heavily involved in the Colonization movement.[55] While Coates' goal was to convince Bassett of the benefits of colonization and Liberia, which he succeeded in doing, he acknowledged that this was important because of the success of the Institute for Colored Youth. Coates made a concerted effort to get the books and information about the Colonization movement into the hands of the most educated African Americans of the time, and went to the Institute for Colored Youth for this. They specifically approached Octavius Catto, as they knew him as a prominent African American figure at the time, and talked to students at the Institute for Colored Youth. The respect Coates accorded Catto was made clear when he stated 'I intend also to give a copy to O V Catto also one of our teachers and one of the most talented and promising colored men we have among us. I think therefore that I am putting them all in the very best hands.'[56]

Benjamin Coates' involvement with, and esteem for, Catto shows that he regarded the Institute and its graduates highly. While the Colonization movement was in many ways based on prejudicial leanings and a desire for segregation, Coates made evident his disdain for slavery and his belief in the quality of students at the Institute for Colored Youth. The support Coates showed for the Colonization movement and the language used in his letters to Bassett proves that he held some prejudice and paternalistic attitudes regarding African Americans.[57] However, it is important to distinguish these attitudes from the effort Bassett and others made to educate African Americans and their recognition of the students as exemplary. The relationship between Coates and Bassett dually prove the prejudice and racism still apparent within the Quaker community and the recognition of the potential of African Americans and the quality of the Institute. While the individuals within the Quaker community, including Coates, supported the Colonization movement and held paternalistic worldviews, they still articulated their belief in the potential of African Americans and the need for efforts both to end slavery and provide African American educational institutions.

The commitment of the Board of Managers to equality of education was not limited to race alone. The treatment of women in the Institute for Colored Youth exhibits the forward thinking and desire for equality more generally by the Board of Managers. The Annual Reports often noted that there were more female students attending the high school than male students. In the 1859 Annual Report of the Board of Managers it is recorded that there were twenty-seven male students in the high school and thirty-two females.[58] In 1861 there were forty-four females to thirty males in the school.[59] Although the males and females were divided within the school, they had full and equal access to education. This desire to give equality to African American females as well as males demonstrates that equality of all kinds mattered within the Institute of Colored Youth.

While there were some paternalistic policies in place at the Institute for Colored Youth, the quality of education and the involvement of African Americans in the

administration run counter to historians' claims about the racism and the lack of involvement of Quakers in the early civil rights movement.[60] While this paternalism is disconcerting by today's standards, for the time period the vast efforts made by Quakers to give African Americans equality of opportunity should not be discounted. The level of education was very high and comparable to the best public education available in the city.

The perception of the Institute for Colored Youth by African Americans outside of the Institute and the success of the graduates of the Institute are also significant in understanding the true influence the Quakers had on the education of African Americans. While this is incredibly important for a true analysis of the relationship between African Americans and Quakers, it is surprisingly not the focus of much of the existing literature.[61] The success of the Institute for Colored Youth shows the direct impact the Quaker benefactors had on the situation of African Americans and the perspective some African American graduates had on Institute.

The majority of the graduates of the Institute for Colored Youth went on to have careers that would have otherwise been unavailable to them. Octavius Catto was one of the most highly regarded graduates of the Institute for Colored Youth. Catto was an extremely talented student, and was valedictorian of his class in 1858.[62] He immediately became an assistant to the principal and a teacher at the Institute. Outside of the Institute, Catto founded both the Banneker Literary Institute and the Equal Rights League in Philadelphia.[63] One of his most important contributions to the rights of African Americans in Philadelphia was his part in gaining equal access to public transportation in the city.[64] During the election of 1871, Catto worked tirelessly to make sure African Americans got to the polls to support the Republican Party. Although African Americans had been given the right to vote, Democrats threatened violence against African Americans attempting to exercise their rights. Catto was murdered by Frank Kelly, a prominent member of the Democratic Party, on his way to aid in quelling the Election Day violence.[65]

Catto credited much of his professional success to the Institute for Colored Youth and the influence of the Philadelphia Quakers. He expressed this in a commencement address he delivered at the Institute for Colored Youth on 10 May 1864. Catto explained that:

> The original fund upon which the Institute was founded came…from a member of the society of friends: a people whose proverbial sympathy and charity for the oppressed, whose consistent opposition to ignorance, intemperance, war, and slavery, have rendered their name inseparable from our heartfelt gratitude and respect.[66]

As a beneficiary of the Institute for Colored Youth, Catto considered that the Quakers were well intentioned and were not acting through guilt over slavery.[67] Although there were still major problems in the treatment of African Americans in Philadelphia, Catto acknowledged the Quakers' efforts in education and believed they made a very valuable contribution to the city of Philadelphia. While

commencement addresses may not offer the most objective scholarly perspective, Catto's presence at the commencement and incredibly strong words in favor of the Institution make clear his support of the Institute. He credited his success and the success of many other African Americans to the opportunities he received from the Quakers.

Octavius Catto expressed the belief that the Quakers intended to help African Americans gain true equality. In his address, Catto stated that 'indeed, we may readily perceive the intention of the Board to make this a first class Institute, to rank its course of instruction among the best of our normal schools'.[68] Catto credited the Institute for Colored Youth for their benevolent contribution to the situation of African American's in Philadelphia. He made it clear that the education the African American students were receiving was of a very good quality.[69] Catto refers to the school as 'a first class institute', a sign of the respect that Catto had for the education he received and the Quakers that made it a possibility.[70] His words indicate how much African American graduates credited the Institute for their success.

Catto also emphasized the contribution the Institute for Colored Youth made to the successful careers of many of its other graduates. In his address, Cato noted that two Institute graduates were attending the University of Pennsylvania Medical School, sixteen became teachers, three were employed as office clerks, and one was teaching 'the Freed children'.[71] Although the Philadelphia Quakers were paternalistic at times, it does not negate the fact that they contributed to the success of African Americans, many of whom went on to help other African Americans achieve success.[72] The 1860 Annual Report noted that five of the eleven graduates became teachers, two were intending to teach, one was continuing his education, and another took over his father's business.[73] Later Annual Reports of the Institute for Colored Youth showed that the majority of the graduates became teachers, skilled laborers, or continued their education. At the very least, the Institute for Colored Youth succeeded in Humphreys goal of preparing African American Philadelphians vocationally, and prevented some unemployment.

While many of the graduates and teachers supported the Institute, it is important to acknowledge that the Institute for Colored Youth was not unanimously supported from within. Sarah Mapps Douglass was a prominent African American Quaker activist, a teacher at the Institute for Colored Youth, and a harsh critic of many of the Philadelphia Meeting's policies.[74] Douglass was an outspoken critic of the segregation and racism she felt from within the Quaker community, including the segregation of Quaker schools. While Douglass showed discontent and pointed out the hypocrisy of some Quaker activism, she also recognized the importance of the Institute for Colored Youth.

Outside of the success of Octavius Catto and other graduates of the Institute for Colored Youth, many acknowledged the direct contribution Quakers made to the situation of Philadelphia African Americans. *The Christian Recorder*, a prominent nineteenth-century African American newspaper published in Philadelphia by the African Methodist Episcopal Church, displayed support for the Institute for

Colored Youth by publishing articles about the Institute's events, accomplishments, and Annual Reports.[75] The connection between the Institute and the African Methodist Episcopal Church would grow in the 1870s, when prominent AME Church member Fanny Jackson Coppin headed the Institute for Colored Youth. Many events, such as speaker series and celebrations, were covered and often advertised in the newspaper. *The Recorder* also reported on the large celebration that occurred at the Institute for Colored Youth when the Civil War ended.[76] Press coverage of the Institute was generally very favorable and shows that, although the school had a white Quaker Board of Managers, the African American population of Philadelphia was still in support of the school.

An unnamed article in 'A Philadelphia Circular' published in 1863 includes a brief commentary on the success of the education of African Americans in Philadelphia and makes a comparison to those in California.[77] This article makes it clear that some of the population of Philadelphia was proud of the Institute for Colored Youth and the accomplishments of its graduates. The article acknowledges the success of the Quaker efforts to aid in the education of African Americans in Philadelphia and how the school serves as an example of the ways the education of African Americans in Philadelphia was more successful than in other parts of the country.

The Annual Report of the Board of Managers from 1864 stated that 'it is gratifying that the managers thus to be able to note the gradual but steady accession to posts of responsibility of those who have partaken of the benefits of our Institute, and it is their hope and belief that, in time, unfounded prejudices may be laid aside'.[78] This was reprinted in the *Christian Recorder* in October 1864, and shows that members of the Philadelphia African American community at the time were aware of the contributions made by the Quakers. While the Annual Report's purpose was to put forward a positive image of the Institute, the publicly stated goals were for African Americans to help lead the Institute and to help diminish prejudice, goals that were risky because of the contentious race relations in Philadelphia.

The Quakers involved in the management of the Institute helped African Americans advance in society in a way that was not usually possible at this time. While African Americans reshaped the Institute into what it became, may members of the Quaker meeting helped to make this possible. Without the Quaker influence, many schools for African Americans would not have been founded.

The Institute for Colored Youth is an example of the influence the Quakers had on opportunities for African Americans in Philadelphia during the nineteenth century. The intentions of the Quakers were made apparent in the founding documents of the Institute for Colored Youth and from commentary made in the annual reports. The curriculum supports the idea that the Quakers were truly attempting to give African Americans equal opportunities for advancement. The success of the Institute's graduates showed the school's immense influence and its ability to help African Americans overcome the poverty that was common at this time.

The case of the Institute for Colored Youth directly shows that while the Quakers involved in this venture only engaged in institutionalized assistance to African Americans, their input was valuable despite their lack of involvement in more direct efforts regarding social equality. Some members of the Philadelphia Quaker meeting clearly believed that African Americans had equal capabilities and helped advance vocational opportunities and civil rights. While the activism and institutional support of the Philadelphia Quakers may not apply to all Quaker meetings, it shows that the broad generalizations and the unimportance placed on the institutionalized assistance to African Americans in some scholarly literature may not apply.[79] While Quakers may not have contributed to racial justice in an acceptable manner by today's norms, no matter the motivations, some Quakers had a lasting impact on the lives of some of the most influential African Americans in nineteenth-century Philadelphia.

NOTES

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1. Richard Humphreys, a Quaker Philanthropist, left a bequest in his will for $10,000 to fund a school for African Americans. The African Institute was founded in 1839 and was a farm school for 'criminal' African American boys. Because it was not fulfilling the goals of founder Richard Humphreys, the school moved to center city Philadelphia in 1852 and was renamed the Institute for Colored Youth. In 1903 the school was moved 25 acres outside Philadelphia and was renamed Cheyney University. This paper focuses on the Institute for Colored Youth because of its Philadelphia location, relationship to the goals of Richard Humphreys and because it was a secondary school rather than a farm school or university. Additionally, the use of the term paternalism does not refer to Eugene Genovese's definition, but instead describes the well intentioned but belittling efforts of many Philadelphia Quakers to assist African Americans.

2. Cadbury, H.J., 'Negro Membership in the Society of Friends', *Henry Cadbury Journal of Negro History* 21 (1936), pp. 151-213. Sarah Mapps Douglass was an African American member of the Society of Friends, a critic of the segregation within the Philadelphia Meeting, and a long time teacher and activist at the Institute for Colored Youth.

3. Critiques of the relationship between African Americans and the Society of Friends have a long tradition, from both historians and African Americans involved with the Society of Friends. Henry Cadbury is one of the most well-known critics, and Vanessa Julye and Donna McDaniel have written one of the lengthiest and most recent critiques. Historians' such as Theodore Hershburg and Ryan P. Jordan intervene historiographically to make arguments about the racism and segregation underlying much of the Quaker Philanthropy regarding African Americans. Ryan P. Jordan claims in *Slavery and the Meetinghouse: The Quakers and the Abolitionist Dilemma, 1820–1865*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007, that the Quakers were sometimes idolized as heroes for their opposition to slavery and aid to African Americans because they still lived in the society that was greatly dependent on slavery.

Theodore Hershburg argues in 'Free Blacks in Antebellum Philadelphia: A Study of Ex Slaves, Free Born, and Socioeconomic Decline', in *African Americans in Pennsylvania: Shifting Historical Perspectives*, ed. Joe William Trotter Jr. *et al.* that the Quaker population in Philadelphia did not actually help the situation of African Americans in Philadelphia by vehemently opposing slavery because they made it seem like Philadelphia was less racially hostile than it actually was.

3. My argument is in no way meant to diminish these critiques, but is an attempt to critically examine the dominant narrative of Quaker prejudice and African American isolation. By primarily focusing on issues of segregation and isolation within Quaker meetings, the accomplishments and effort made by some Quakers regarding African American education and abolition are overlooked or delegitimized.

4. Julye, V., and McDaniel, D., *Fit for Freedom, Not for Friendship: Quakers, African Americans, and the Myth of Racial Justice*, Philadelphia: Quaker Press, 2009.

5. Biddle, D.R., and Dubin, M., *Tasting Freedom: Octavius Catto and the Battle for Equality in Civil War America*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010, p. 2.

6. Biddle and Dubin, *Tasting Freedom*, p. 2.

7. Waskie, A., 'Biography of Octavius Catto: "Forgotten Black Hero of Philadelphia"', *Afrolumens Project*, 1997–2007. Online: http://www.phila.gov/phils/NationalHistoryDayPhilly/afroLumensCattoBioPg1.htm.

8. Richard Humphreys was born on a plantation in the West Indies and moved to Philadelphia in 1764. Humphreys is best known as a Quaker Philanthropist.

9. Conyers, C., *A History of the Cheney State Teachers College, 1837–1951*, Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1975, pp. 29-32.

10. Edmonds, F.S., *History of the Central High School of Philadelphia*, Nabu Press, 2010, p. 46.

11. Woody, T., *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania*, New York: Columbia Teachers College, 1920, p. 239.

12. Moss, H.J., *Schooling Citizens: The Struggle for African American Education in Antebellum America*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 7.

13. Moss, *Schooling Citizens*, p. 71.

14. Moss, *Schooling Citizens*, p. 71.

15. Pennsylvania passed its gradual emancipation bill in 1780.

16. See Kennedy, T.C., *A History of Southland College: The Society of Friends and Black Education in Arkansas*, Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2009.

17. Baltzell, E.D., *Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1979, p. 246.

18. Baltzell, *Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia*, p. 246.

19. See Julye and McDaniel, Cadbury and Jordan.

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30. Richard Humphreys Foundation, 'Charter', p. 2.

31. Miller, R., 'That God in Everyone: The Spiritual Basis of Quaker Education', in Miller, J., and Nakagawa, Y. (eds.), *Nurturing Our Wholeness: Perspectives on Spirituality in Education*, Brandon, VT: Foundation for Educational Renewal, 2002, p. 1.

32. Richard Humphreys Foundation, 'Charter', p. 2.

33. Richard Humphreys Foundation, 'Charter', p. 1.

34. Board of Managers, *Objects and Regulations of the Institute for Colored Youth with a List of Officers and Students and the Annual Report of the Board of Managers for the Year 1860*, Philadelphia: Rihaw & Thompson, 1860, p. 30. Richard Humphreys Foundation Records, 1837–1982. Box 7, Pennsylvania: Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

35. Board of Managers, *Annual Report 1860*, p. 30.

36. Board of Managers, *Annual Report 1860*, p. 20.

37. Board of Managers, *Annual Report 1860*, p. 21.

38. Board of Managers, *Objects and Regulations of the Institute for Colored Youth with a List of Officers and Students and the Annual Report of the Board of Managers for the Year 1862*, Philadelphia: C. Sherman & Son, 1862, p. 17. Richard Humphreys Foundation Records, 1837–1982. Box 7, Pennsylvania: Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

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40. Board of Managers, *Annual Report 1862*, p. 13.

41. Board of Managers, *Annual Report 1862*, p. 13.

42. Board of Managers, *Annual Report 1862*, p. 13.

43. Board of Managers, *Annual Report 1860*, p. 20.

44. Board of Managers, *Objects and Regulations of the Institute for Colored Youth with a List of Officers and Students and the Annual Report of the Board of Managers for the Year 1859*, Philadelphia: Merrimew & Thompson Steam Power Printing Office, 1859, p. 30. Richard Humphreys Foundation Records, 1837–1982. Box 7, Pennsylvania: Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

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