BOOKER T. WASHINGTON IN SOUTH CAROLINA, MARCH 1909

DAVID H. JACKSON JR.*

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, THE PREEMINENT AFRICAN AMERICAN leader of his day, gained many followers on "educational tours" through several states. He began these statewide tours by traveling across Arkansas and the Oklahoma and Indian Territories in 1905, and they won him much support for his agenda. However, early on his most successful tour took place in Mississippi in 1908. Directed by Charles Banks, it set the standard for Washington's subsequent tours throughout the South. On his Mississippi trip, Washington spoke to an estimated forty to eighty thousand people. Over the years, Washington probably reached a million black and white people on these campaigns. He stated that he took the tours to "meet the masses of my people and to instruct them as far as I can through speaking to help them in their industrial and moral life."[1]

After completing the rewarding Mississippi tour, Washington realized even more the value of these educational endeavors and traveled through nine additional southern states including South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, and Tennessee in 1909; Delaware and North Carolina in 1910; Texas in 1911; Florida in 1912; and Louisiana in 1915.[2] This essay focuses on Washington's 1909 tour of South Carolina. It explores the racial climate in the state at the time as well as the psychology and philosophy of Washington and his supporters, culminating with a detailed discussion of the tour's twelve major stops. Historians have already documented Washington's tours of Mississippi, Tennessee, North Carolina, Texas, Florida, and Louisiana in scholarly journals and books, but they have not examined

* David H. Jackson Jr. is professor of history and chair of the Department of History, Political Science, Public Administration, Geography, and African American Studies at Florida A&M University. The author wishes to acknowledge the research assistance of Lawrence Brown. He dedicates this article to his late intellectual mentor, South Carolina native Theodore "Ted" Hemmingway.

[1] Booker T. Washington to Charles Banks, October 23, 1907, Washington to I. T. Harahan, September 16, 1908, Booker T. Washington Papers, 1853–1946, microfilm (hereafter cited as BTWPF); Booker T. Washington, *My Larger Education: Being Chapters from My Experience* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1911), 183–184 (see esp. chap. 8, entitled "My Educational Campaigns through the South and What They Taught Me"); Theodore Hemmingway, "Booker T. Washington in Mississippi: October, 1908," *Journal of Mississippi History* 46 (February 1984): 29–42.

[2] "The Washington Tour in Florida," *Southern Workman*, April 1912, 198.

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his tour of South Carolina.[3] This article will fill that void, revealing more on how the South Carolina wing of the Tuskegee Machine, especially the South Carolina State Negro Business League, functioned in the Palmetto State and profiling some of its key leaders.[4]

Although not the wealthiest African American, Washington became the most influential black leader in the nation through his control over the black press, his role as advisor to Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William H. Taft, his support among white philanthropists and W. E. B. Du Bois's "Talented Tenth" of African Americans, and his creation of Tuskegee Institute, the Tuskegee Farmer's Conference, and the National Negro Business League. Washington's close connections with black businessmen, ministers, lawyers, educators, and heads of secret societies, among others, also gave him an inordinate amount of power. Critics referred to this extensive network as the "Tuskegee Machine."[5]

Booker T. Washington, the so-called "Wizard of Tuskegee," remained acutely aware of the oppression and violence blacks experienced in the South. For that reason, he and other members of the Tuskegee Machine practiced the artful use of dissemblance, which this writer calls a "black survival strategy," whereby they were often deferential and conciliatory toward whites on the surface, but did not reveal their true thoughts, feelings, and motives to them. According to scholar Louis Harlan, "while Washington publicly seemed to accept a separate and unequal life for black people, behind the mask of acquiescence he was busy with many schemes for black strength, self-improvement, and mutual aid." Furthermore, historian Bobby Lovett notes that "Washington was masterful when playing on whites' racial prejudices. He knew which of their strings to pull; which ones to leave alone; and which battles to fight."[6]

[3] Charles Vincent, "Booker T. Washington's Tour of Louisiana, April, 1915," *Louisiana History* 22 (Spring 1981): 189–198; Hemmingway, "Booker T. Washington in Mississippi," 29–42; David H. Jackson Jr., *Booker T. Washington and the Struggle against White Supremacy: The Southern Educational Tours, 1908–1912* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

[4] Louis R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856–1901* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 254–255, 271.

[5] Jackson, *Booker T. Washington and the Struggle against White Supremacy*, 8–9.

[6] Louis R. Harlan, "The Secret Life of Booker T. Washington," *Journal of Southern History* 37 (August 1971): 393–416; Bobby L. Lovett, *The African-American History of Nashville, Tennessee, 1780–1930: Elites and Dilemmas* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1999), 239; Pete Daniel, "Up from Slavery and Down to Peonage: The Alonzo Bailey Case," *Journal of American History* 57 (December 1970): 654–670; Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South, 1901–1969* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 65–81. For examples of "black survivalism" in South Carolina, see Omar H. Ali, "Standing Guard at the Door of Liberty: Black Populism in South Carolina, 1886–1895," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 107 (July 2006): 190–203,

By the turn of the twentieth century, South Carolina blacks lived perilous and uncertain lives due to the strictures of Jim Crow. Facing segregation on all fronts, many understood that they had a clearly defined "place" in society. More often than not, Jim Crow customs dictated not only separation but also exclusion, preventing interracial activity at weddings, public facilities, funerals, courtrooms, and other places of social gathering where integration might have implied equality.[7]

In addition to segregation, black South Carolinians were subjected to occupational and economic discrimination. In this regard, whites established black codes to ensure the presence of a pliable and exploitable labor force. Designating employers as "masters" and employees as "servants," these codes prevented African Americans from loitering or vagrancy, effectively forcing them to work. Among other things, black codes restricted African Americans from drinking alcohol, using firearms, intermarriage, and renting or purchasing property in certain areas. They also permitted corporal punishment for a host of offenses. White supremacists wanted to keep blacks in a subordinate position.[8]

Dating back to the era of slavery, blacks in South Carolina were no strangers to intolerance, racial exploitation, and intimidation. However, after whites produced a new state constitution in 1895 that legitimized segregation and then the U.S. Supreme Court rendered its famed *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision in 1896, establishing the legal principle of "separate but equal," South Carolina more steadily and rigidly began to codify its segregation laws. African Americans could no longer be treated at "white" hospitals, stay at "white" hotels, attend "white" schools, or be buried in "white" cemeteries. Blacks and whites may have been separate, but they definitely were not equal. The disparate funding of public education in South Carolina is a case in point. In 1900 the state spent $3.17 for each white child, but only $.55 for each black child, a five-to-one differential. Fifteen

esp. 195–197; Darlene Clark Hine, "The Corporeal and Ocular Veil: Dr. Matilda A. Evans (1872–1935) and the Complexity of Southern History," *Journal of Southern History* 70 (February 2004): 3–34, esp. 5–6, 12–13, 26, 32–33.

[7] See Theodore Hemmingway, "Beneath the Yoke of Bondage: A History of Black Folks in South Carolina, 1900–1940" (Ph.D. diss., University of South Carolina, 1976), 51–185; George B. Tindall, *South Carolina Negroes, 1877–1900* (1952; repr., Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 233–276.

[8] See Darlene Clark Hine, William C. Hine, and Stanley Harrold, *The African American Odyssey: Combined Volume*, 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2003), 272, 308–330; John Hope Franklin and Alfred Moss Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans*, 7th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994), 225, 259–263; Darlene Clark Hine, "Black Professionals and Race Consciousness: Origins of the Civil Rights Movement, 1890–1950," *Journal of American History* 89 (March 2003): 1280.

years later, conditions had worsened still, with the state spending $13.98 per white student and $1.30 per black student, a twelve-to-one difference.[9]

Moreover, in South Carolina and the rest of the South, thousands of African Americans were charged and arrested for numerous crimes, but only sometimes were they actually tried and convicted. For example, a group of whites in Beaufort whipped a black man just for being charged with stealing a hog in order to save the expense of a trial.[10] Many black convicts were leased as laborers and exposed to harsh living and working conditions. Along with oppression by the criminal justice system, the new state constitution disfranchised black voters so completely that U.S. senator Benjamin R. Tillman of South Carolina gleefully proclaimed: "We have done our level best. We have scratched our heads to find out how we could eliminate the last one of them. We stuffed ballot boxes. We shot them. We are not ashamed of it."[11]

Racial violence against blacks always loomed in South Carolina. In 1911 in Honea Path, for instance, a mob led by state representative Joshua W. Ashley lynched seventeen-year-old Willis Jackson, a resident of Ashley's district, simply for being accused of rape. Ashley's son, editor of a local newspaper, took part in Jackson's grisly dismemberment and boasted to his readers that he "went out to see the fun without the least objection to being a party to help lynch the brute."[12] South Carolina governor Coleman L. Blease, who later became a U.S. senator, praised Representative Ashley for his actions. "You did just what I told you," he wrote, "and you need not worry about the results."[13] Blease was even known at times to celebrate this sort of savage murder in public with "a bizarre death dance. Through his grotesque gestures, he invited his audience to participate vicariously in the spectacle of vigilante justice," relates historian Bryant Simon.[14] Even

[9] See Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 259–263, 268; Theodore Hemmingway, "Richard Carroll: A Portrait of a Black Leader," *Negro History Bulletin* 42 (Winter 1979): 12; Hemmingway, "Prelude to Change: Black Carolinians in the War Years, 1914–1920," *Journal of Negro History* 65 (Summer 1980): 212–213.

[10] Kurt J. Wolf, "Laura M. Towne and the Freed People of South Carolina, 1862–1901," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 98 (October 1997): 402–403.

[11] Quoted in Rayford W. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1997), 91; Wolf, "Laura M. Towne and the Freed People of South Carolina," 402–403.

[12] See Leon F. Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999), 296. Litwack spells Josh's last name as "Ashleigh."

[13] Quoted in Hemmingway, "Beneath the Yoke of Bondage," 88–89.

[14] Bryant Simon, "The Appeal of Cole Blease of South Carolina: Race, Class, and Sex in the New South," *Journal of Southern History* 62 (February 1996): 57–86, esp. 82–85.

without gubernatorial assurance, "Coley" Blease's words to Ashley rang true for most whites suspected of lynching blacks.

On another occasion, Lake City whites became infuriated when Frazier B. Baker, a "burly and black" schoolteacher, received a federal appointment in 1897 as postmaster for the town. They resented Baker's assignment because his presence made the post office "not a responsible place for white gentlemen, much less ladies." Indeed, across the South whites opposed blacks holding postmaster positions since the arrangement required direct and regular contact between the races. At first, whites in Lake City rebelled by burning down the post office in January of the next year. However, when it reopened on the outskirts of town, they decided to totally eliminate the problem. Without fear of reprisal, in the middle of the night on February 21, 1898, a white mob of around three hundred men surrounded the new post office (which doubled as the Baker family's home) and set it on fire. As the family attempted to flee, the mob began firing shots into the house, killing Baker and his infant daughter Julia. Baker's wife and three of his five older children were critically wounded in the attack. To add insult to injury, local whites did not offer the maimed survivors medical treatment for three days after the lynching.[15]

Ultimately, Baker's assassination occurred simply because Lake City whites and others, including Senator Tillman, were enraged by his federal appointment. They could not tolerate a black man holding a public office, either elected or appointed. This act of terrorism reminded all African Americans (including Booker T. Washington and his supporters) of their precarious situation in the South. "Lynch mobs that sought to punish such strivers were often spurred into action by the idea that successful blacks represented just as keen a threat to Southern life as the black rapist," historian Philip Dray concludes.[16]

The incidents at Honea Path and Lake City were striking examples of race-based violence. Even though the number of blacks lynched in the Palmetto State was lower than in some other southern states like Georgia

[15] Terence Finnegan, "Lynching and Political Power in Mississippi and South Carolina," in *Under Sentence of Death: Lynching in the South*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 208–209; Philip Dray, *At the Hands of Persons Unknown: The Lynching of Black America* (New York: Random House, 2002), 116–122; Willard B. Gatewood Jr., *Theodore Roosevelt and the Art of Controversy: Episodes of the White House Years* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), 62–89, 104; Paula J. Giddings, *Ida: A Sword among Lions; Ida B. Wells and the Campaign against Lynching* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 384–389, 403–405.

[16] Finnegan, "Lynching and Political Power in Mississippi and South Carolina," 208–209; Dray, *At the Hands of Persons Unknown*, 61, 116–122; Giddings, *Ida: A Sword among Lions*, 384–389, 403–405.

and Mississippi, between 1882 and 1937 South Carolina recorded 180 lynchings, a figure nearly double that of North Carolina and Virginia.[17] Overall, blacks in Jim Crow-era South Carolina were subjected to terrorism, segregation, lynching, black codes, disfranchisement, mob rule, educational discrimination, and economic exploitation—an all-around assault on their citizenship and humanity. Seeking a better life, many southern blacks migrated to the North.

Leading up to Washington's South Carolina trip, the tour coordinators announced several major, somewhat overlapping objectives for the visit by the Tuskegee leader: First, to stimulate the commercial and educational activities of blacks in South Carolina and emphasize the availability of mechanical and agricultural jobs.[18] Next, to assess the educational and industrial circumstances surrounding black people in the state; to arouse the commercial spirit of the race; to encourage the building of schools, churches, and homes and the establishment of business enterprises; and to reassure African Americans that they had the potential to become vital participants in the economic life of the region.[19] And lastly, Washington wanted to study social conditions firsthand and make suggestions that might improve race relations, promote harmony, and unify the forces that directly impacted the state's ethical and economic growth.[20]

It also is important to understand that Washington did not use these educational tours merely to promote himself and his personal agenda. They were intended to address the "Negro problem" and counter white racist notions about blacks degenerating and regressing into barbarism after slavery. Tillman, who had served two terms as governor before being elected to the U.S. Senate and was one of the South Carolina's most virulent racist demagogues, made this argument, asserting that the black race "had retrograded" since freedom. "Under slavery," Tillman alleged, "the Negro was exceedingly well behaved. The uplifting influence of that institution was so marked that there were 'more good Christian men and women and ladies and gentlemen' among the Southern slaves than in all Africa." But since emancipation, the African American population had become "inoculated with the virus of equality" and turned into "a fiend, a wild beast, seeking whom he may devour." In an attempt to explain his paranoia that blacks would mistreat whites as they had been mistreated,

[17] Kerstyn M. Haram, "The *Palmetto Leader*'s Mission to End Lynching in South Carolina: Black Agency and the Black Press in Columbia, 1925–1940," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 107 (October 2006): 311n6.

[18] *Freeman* (Indianapolis, Ind.), February 20, 1909.

[19] *New York Age* (New York, N.Y.), March 18, 1909.

[20] Washington *Bee* (Washington, D.C.), April 3, 1909.

Tillman claimed that African Americans "planned to kill all the white men, marry their women, and use white children as servants."[21]

It is clear that Washington, along with other Bookerites, worked to subvert and discredit such arguments. The Wizard of Tuskegee undermined prevailing notions and ridiculous stereotypes about African Americans by placing black doctors, lawyers, teachers, bishops, businessmen, journalists, college presidents, undertakers, ministers, and the like on display.[22] If Washington could expose the fallacy of the words of Tillman and his ilk, he could make it more difficult for racists to seize upon African American suffering and oppression to perpetuate myths of white superiority and black inferiority.

Through his tour of South Carolina, then, Washington wanted to demonstrate that black men were accomplished in various endeavors, had black wives, and did not desire white ones. He intended to show too that educated and successful African Americans had nice homes and churches that were well maintained, and when left unmolested, they could lead productive lives. Indeed, this represented the Victorian definition of manhood. The Tuskegean aimed to publicize the incongruence between what people heard from men like Tillman and what they would see if they actually looked, what some people wrote versus what southern blacks were actually accomplishing.

When Washington visited South Carolina, twenty-five to thirty distinguished African Americans accompanied him at different points. Among the so-called "foreigners" from out of state were Washington's personal secretary, Emmett Jay Scott, of Tuskegee, Alabama; Robert R. Moton, commandant of cadets at Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia; Bishop George Wylie Clinton of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Charlotte, North Carolina; Dr. John A. Kenney, resident physician at Tuskegee Institute; Whitfield McKinlay, a wealthy realtor from Washington, D.C.; John Merrick and Charles C. Spaulding, president and vice president, respectively, of the Durham-based business that later would become North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company; national newspaper correspondent Richard W. Thompson of Washington, D.C.; sociologist and magazine writer Dr. Robert E. Park of Boston; stenographer Nathan Hunt of Tuskegee; Charles Stewart, Chicago newspaper correspondent; the Reverend Charles T. Walker, president of Walker Baptist Institute, Augusta, Georgia; and Bishop Benjamin

[21] Francis B. Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian* (1944; repr., Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002), 398–400; Hemmingway, "Prelude to Change," 213; Stephen Kantrowitz, *Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 259.

[22] J. Stanley Lemons, "Black Stereotypes as Reflected in Popular Culture, 1880–1920," *American Quarterly* 29 (Spring 1977): 102–116.

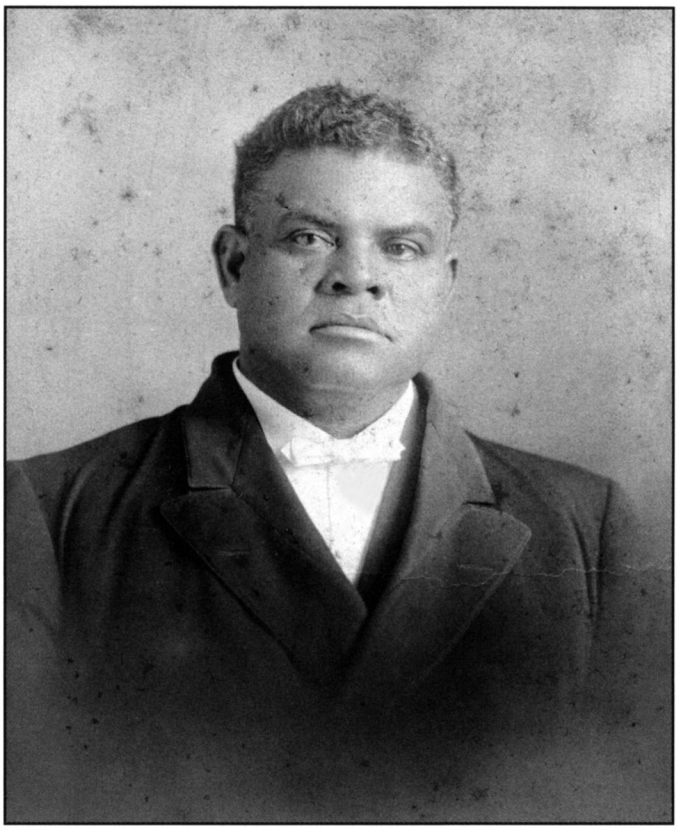
Franklin Lee of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Wilberforce, Ohio.[23] The black South Carolinians who joined Washington on the tour included attorney William T. Andrews of Sumter; Dr. Charles Catlett Johnson of Aiken; Dr. James Richelieu Levy of Florence; Dr. L. A. Earle of Anderson; the Reverend Jacob Javan Durham, M.D., of Aiken; the Reverend Edward D. White of Rock Hill, secretary of the Baptist State Convention; the Reverend John Lewis Dart, principal of the Charleston Normal and Industrial Institute; the Reverend M. M. Mouzon of Charleston; C. P. T. White, editor of the *Rock Hill Messenger*; editor C. F. Holmes of the Orangeburg *Recorder*; Casper George Garrett, editor of the Columbia *Light*; and the Reverend Richard Carroll of Columbia. This long and wide-ranging list of Washington supporters showed people throughout the United States not only that the Tuskegee leader's philosophy and agenda was endorsed by many white Americans, but also that he had the backing of those blacks identified as being among the Talented Tenth.[24]

The South Carolina State Negro Business League (SCSNBL), state affiliate of Booker T. Washington's National Negro Business League (NNBL), sponsored the tour. Washington had founded the NNBL in Boston in 1900 to stimulate black business development, and it operated as a black chamber of commerce.[25] The general aims of the NNBL included economic development

[23] *New York Age*, March 18, 1909; *Afro-American Ledger* (Baltimore), March 6, 1908, March 9, 1912; Indianapolis *Freeman*, February 20, 1909; *Plaindealer* (Topeka, Kan.), April 9, 1909. For further reading on Bishop Lee, see William N. Hartshorn, *An Era of Progress and Promise, 1863–1910: The Religious, Moral, and Educational Development of the American Negro since His Emancipation* (Boston: Priscilla Pub. Co., 1910), 389; Frank L. Mather, *Who's Who of the Colored Race: A General Biographical Directory of Men and Women of African Descent* (Chicago: n.p., 1915), 174–175. For more on Charles T. Walker, see Hartshorn, *Era of Progress and Promise*, 495; Clement Richardson, ed., *National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race* (Montgomery, Ala.: National Pub. Co., 1919), 141; Samuel William Bacote, *Who's Who among the Colored Baptists of the United States* (Kansas City, Mo.: Franklin Hudson Pub. Co., 1913), 43–46.

[24] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, March 6, 1908; Indianapolis *Freeman*, February 20, 1909; Topeka *Plaindealer*, April 9, 1909. For more on Charles C. Johnson, see Arthur Bunyan Caldwell, ed., *History of the American Negro*, vol. 3, *South Carolina Edition* (Atlanta: A. B. Caldwell Pub. Co., 1919), 485–488. For further reading on James Levy, see John A. Kenney, *The Negro in Medicine* (Tuskegee Institute, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1912), 23–24. For more on John L. Dart, see Caldwell, *History of the American Negro: South Carolina*, 210–212, and Hartshorn, *Era of Progress and Promise*, 462. On Casper Garrett, see Caldwell, *History of the American Negro: South Carolina*, 316–319.

[25] "Proceedings of the First Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League, August 23–24, 1900," 213–214, in the National Negro Business League Papers, microfilm; Michael B. Boston, *The Business Strategy of Booker T. Washington: Its Development and Implementation* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010), 96.



Rev. Richard Carroll (1860–1929) of Columbia. A Baptist minister known for his conservative approach to politics and racial progress, Carroll was sometimes referred to as the "Booker T. Washington of South Carolina." Along with Sumter attorney William T. Andrews, he coordinated Washington's 1909 tour of the Palmetto State. Courtesy of the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

and independence, racial pride, and self-help.[26] Significantly, the NNBL served as both a stimulus for business in the African American community and an incubator for other black organizations like the National Negro Bankers' Association, the National Negro Funeral Directors' Association, the National Negro Bar Association, the National Association of Negro

[26] David H. Jackson Jr., *A Chief Lieutenant of the Tuskegee Machine: Charles Banks of Mississippi* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 91; Jackson, "Booker T. Washington's Tour of the Sunshine State, March 1912," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 81 (Winter 2003): 260–263.

Insurance Men, and the National Negro Press Association. Businessmen ranging from doctors and lawyers to bankers, barbers, and farmers all participated in the league.[27]

While black and white newspapers began printing stories of Washington's tour of South Carolina months in advance, the SCSNBL, led by the Reverend Richard Carroll and attorney William T. Andrews, arranged a busy schedule for the Tuskegean and his entourage.[28] The itinerary included Rock Hill, Winnsboro, Columbia, Denmark, Orangeburg, Camden, Sumter, Florence, Charleston, Anderson, Greenville, Gaffney, and a number of whistle stops along the way. The seven-day tour lasted from March 14 through 21. A writer for the *State*, the leading daily in the capital city, encouraged Columbia whites to go hear the famed educator and declared that his speeches were always uplifting, inspiring, and helpful, yet the same newspaperman also opined that all costs associated with Washington's visit should be shouldered exclusively by African Americans. For the most part, the local Negro Business Leagues did cover the expenses of the trip. Washington insisted that he had no intention of touring the state to make money and assured the public that any funds collected would be used strictly for actual expenses and nothing else.[29]

In 1898 the South Carolina legislature passed a law requiring segregation on railroad coaches. The legislature extended the law to steam ferries in 1904, electric cars in 1905, and train depots in 1906. Eventually, the law required whites to sit at the front and blacks at the back of carriers. Employees and conductors were authorized to make arrests to enforce the statutes, which doubtless led to many abuses of power.[30] To avoid the humiliation of Jim Crow travel, the SCSNBL arranged for Washington and his party to have their own special rail car.[31]

The trip began in Charlotte, North Carolina, where the vast majority of the party spent Saturday night being "royally entertained" at the home of Bishop George W. Clinton. Born a slave in Lancaster County, Bishop Clinton attended the University of South Carolina from 1874 until 1877, when Reconstruction ended and the doors of the university were closed to blacks. He then matriculated at Brainard Institute in Chester and Livingstone College in Salisbury, North Carolina, where he studied theology and

[27] Emmett J. Scott and Lyman Beecher Stowe, *Booker T. Washington: Builder of a Civilization* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1916), 221.

[28] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, March 6, 1909; *News and Courier* (Charleston), December 10, 1908.

[29] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, March 6, 1909; Indianapolis *Freeman*, February 20, 1909; Washington *Bee*, March 27, 1909; *State* (Columbia, S.C.), March 15, 1909.

[30] Hemmingway, "Beneath the Yoke of Bondage," 57–58, 66–67.

[31] Washington *Bee*, April 3, 1909; Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, March 27, 1909.

received ordination in 1879. In 1889 he founded the *A.M.E. Zion Quarterly Review* and edited the denomination's weekly publication, the *Star of Zion*, from 1902 to 1906. Clinton accumulated some wealth during his lifetime, possessing between eighteen and twenty-five thousand dollars in property holdings alone. He remained a staunch supporter of Booker T. Washington, defending him against growing attacks by his adversaries, whom Clinton once called "would be leaders." He also traveled with Washington entourages through five other states.[32]

Clinton reportedly had a beautiful, well-furnished two-story house with fourteen rooms. A reporter with the group noted that the bishop "was able to care for them all" and described Clinton's wife as "a fine entertainer." Washington brought residences such as these to public notice because he felt that white men knew almost nothing about the better class of blacks' homes. Also, he said that "the best evidence of the progress which the race has made since emancipation is the character and quality of the homes which they are building for themselves." Forty to fifty people mingled at Clinton's house, met with Washington, shook his hand, and then had supper.[33]

Having a nice house was important to the black middle class, and they oftentimes appeared to spend a disproportionate amount of financial resources on their residences. One reason for large homes was because African Americans could not secure hotel accommodations in the South, so guests commonly stayed with friends and family when traveling. Therefore, if a prominent person like Washington came to visit, a leading family in town would put him up at their house. This occurred during Washington's tour of South Carolina, as he and his party stayed at the private homes of important individuals throughout the state. Second, considerable status came along with owning a sizeable residence. One could look at a person's home and draw certain conclusions about his wealth and position. Other than church-related events, many of the social and fraternal activities of the black middle class took place inside their homes. When elite African Americans hosted weddings, receptions, and dinner parties, their houses became conspicuous examples of black progress for all to see.[34] Booker T. Washington articulated this point in his magnum opus, *Up from Slavery*

[32] Richardson, *National Cyclopedia*, 412; Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, March 27, 1909. See also biographical sketch in BTWPF, roll 4, p. 21, n.1. Janette T. Greenwood states that Clinton "never advocated Washington's strategy." Greenwood, *Bittersweet Legacy: The Black and White "Better Classes" in Charlotte, 1850–1910* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 225. This writer obviously disagrees with Greenwood's interpretation.

[33] Washington *Bee*, April 3, 1909; Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, March 27, 1909.

[34] See Booker T. Washington, "Negro Homes," *Century Magazine*, May 1908, 71–79; Carla Willard, "Timing Impossible Subjects: The Marketing Style of Booker T. Washington," *American Quarterly* 53 (December 2001): 651–655; Michael Bieze,

(1901): "I have found, too, that it is the visible, the tangible, that goes a long ways in softening prejudices. The actual sight of a first-class house that a Negro has built is ten times more potent than pages of discussion about a house that he ought to build, or perhaps could build."[35]

The party arrived at Rock Hill from Charlotte early in the morning of Sunday, March 14, escorted by Carroll and Andrews, who took them in carriages to various homes of principal blacks in the city. Carroll acted as Washington's point person in South Carolina. Born in Barnwell County, near what is now Denmark, on November 2, 1860, Carroll spent his early years in slavery on a plantation where his mother worked as a house servant. After graduating from Benedict College in Columbia, he attended Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, and Chicago's Moody Bible Institute before being ordained as a Baptist minister. Carroll was an excellent orator, and during the course of his career, he was invited to speak all over the country. In fact, one source stated that "he has preached in more white churches in the South than any Negro preacher and sometimes in his home state of South Carolina preaches for two or three months at a time in the white churches, which is unusual."[36]

After serving as a chaplain during the Spanish-American War, Carroll returned to Columbia. He began a home for black orphans and delinquents called the South Carolina Industrial Home for Negroes, managed the Negro State Fair, and instituted an annual race conference in 1907 that put him in association with many of the state's black leaders. He later served as an evangelist for black southerners under the direction of the white-controlled Southern Baptist Home Mission Board in Atlanta. Residents of Columbia considered Carroll their own Booker T. Washington, and he presided over most of the African American gatherings in the city during his lifetime.[37] Historian Theodore Hemmingway describes Carroll as being "pragmatic to the core, he embraced no single philosophy, but utilized several to achieve his objectives. Like Washington, Carroll was a keen observer of the times,

Booker T. Washington and the Art of Self-Representation (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 31, 46–49. Also see Jackson, *A Chief Lieutenant*, 19.

[35] Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery* (1901; repr., New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 154.

[36] Richardson, *National Cyclopedia*, 449; Caldwell, *History of the American Negro: South Carolina*, 311–313; Margaret Kime Eubanks, *March On: Stories of Negro Men and Women of America* (Atlanta: Home Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, 1946), 40–46. For a critical view, see Hemmingway, "Richard Carroll," 12–13.

[37] Richardson, *National Cyclopedia*, 449; Caldwell, *History of the American Negro: South Carolina*, 311–313; Eubanks, *March On*, 40–46; Hemmingway, "Richard Carroll," 12–13; John Hammond Moore, *Columbia and Richland County: A South Carolina Community, 1740–1990* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), 373–376.

and he kept his hand on the pulse of white South Carolina as few blacks have done before or since."[38]

At Rock Hill, the group had breakfast and then disbursed to different local churches where members of Washington's entourage spoke at the morning services. Afterwards, the party gathered at Friedman's Hall to hear the main speaker.[39] By 1:30 P.M., a crowd had assembled awaiting the Tuskegean's address. People from all walks of life were there—rich and poor, black and white.[40]

An hour and a half later, the program began with newspaper editor C. P. T. White of the *Rock Hill Messenger* serving as master of ceremonies and the mayor of Rock Hill, J. H. Roddy, offering the welcome. In his remarks, the mayor spoke of Washington's greatness and called him an honest and good man. "The most rigid investigation fails to disclose the slightest flaw in his make-up. He is genuine to the core . . . It is possible to fool some of the people some time, but it was out of the question to fool all the people all the time," he declared. These comments show how effectively Washington practiced "black survivalism" and made whites believe what he wanted them to believe. Indeed, he was a master manipulator. Before taking his seat, the mayor announced that Washington was showing all people the true solution of the "Negro question," which both races were anxious to solve.[41]

After Mayor Roddy helped to set the tone for the program, Richard Carroll introduced Washington. During his introduction, Carroll "put everybody in a good humor by his witty sallies and bluff, hearty, frank way of putting things before his audience." Carroll knew how to talk to whites. According to one source, he had a certain eloquence that made it possible for him to "tell white people the truth about certain significant things in the relation of the two races without giving offense." He did this with such tact that white audiences frequently wanted to hear him speak again. Before Washington's speech, Ella M. Toole rendered a solo and directed a few other selections. Finally, Washington approached the podium and began his talk by announcing that he wanted nothing more than to have the mayor's words inscribed as an epitaph on his gravestone.[42] Like other

[38] Hemmingway, "Beneath the Yoke of Bondage," 140–147.

[39] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, March 27, 1909; Indianapolis *Freeman*, April 3, 1909. Some sources refer to the hall where Washington spoke as "Friedham's." See Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, April 3, 1909; *State*, March 15, 1909.

[40] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, March 27, 1909.

[41] *New York Age*, March 18, 1909; Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, March 27, 1909; Washington *Bee*, April 3, 1909.

[42] Washington *Bee*, April 3, 1909; Indianapolis *Freeman*, April 2, 1909; Richardson, *National Cyclopedia*, 449; Kantrowitz, *Ben Tillman*, 210.

African American leaders of the era, Washington knew how to speak to blacks and whites in an inoffensive, non-threatening fashion, while still effectively conveying his points.

Even during the height of Jim Crow segregation, integrated crowds numbering in the thousands listened to Washington's messages at these events. Mayors, city council members, aldermen, and other municipal officers vied with each other to meet and greet the black visitors and make them feel welcome. Many of these whites also participated in the programs, often sitting on the rostrums with blacks. The *Washington Bee* called the South Carolina trip a "glittering success" and noted that the Tuskegean's party left behind good feelings and stronger harmony.[43]

Washington basically gave the same speech at each stop, but he cleverly changed the emphasis to suit the peculiar localities and situation of the blacks in the area. Nonetheless, the Rock Hill address provides the main thread of his message throughout the tour. Washington discussed the dignity of labor and the imperative for proper education, the necessity of maintaining good relations with the "best whites" in the community, the benefits that could come from agricultural endeavors, the need for good citizenship, and the advantages of meeting all obligations.[44]

Moreover, the *Washington Bee* related that in Rock Hill, Washington "effectively 'laid' the ghost of 'social equality'—held up as the bugaboo by tricky politicians and showed that while the races might live and have their being separately in matters social, there are many relations and interests which all may have in common and which concern everybody, regardless of the color line." Specifically, the Alabaman referred to common concerns such as sanitation and health, agricultural development, farm work, and manufacturing.[45] This advice sounds reminiscent of Washington's message at the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition, the 1895 address that catapulted him to fame. "In all matters social we can be as separate as the fingers," he said, "but one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."[46]

Washington wanted his race to remain optimistic and never lose faith in their ability to overcome the obstacles facing them. "Look upon the bright side of the darkest picture," he exhorted. Washington told blacks in the audience at Rock Hill that they could realize their ambition for civil equality sooner by being law abiding, patient, and industrious rather than complaining about the things withheld from them because of the country's racial caste. Most importantly, "make the best of your opportunities and

[43] Washington *Bee*, March 27, 1909.
[44] Ibid., April 3, 1909.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Washington, *Up from Slavery*, 221–222.

be worthy of the best," he said.[47] Doubtless, the Tuskegean's reference to eventual "civil equality" resonated with African Americans in attendance.

Washington filled his address with humor, understandable illustrations, and timely comments about the weaknesses and follies of both races. Progressive blacks were commended while idle and transient ones, who always moved from place to place "producing nothing, accumulating nothing," were roundly criticized. Washington had a message for whites as well. He told them that they could not keep African Americans down in the ditch without remaining there themselves.[48] A reporter traveling with the group stated that Washington "spoke and spoke, and he said some good things for us, and talked plain to both sides of the house."[49] Another person at Rock Hill concluded that the effect of the Tuskegean's address "upon both races was electrical."[50]

The *New York Age* surmised that Washington's Rock Hill speech was encouraging in nature and dealt with the importance of developing the black race along agricultural and commercial lines, urging land acquisition, improved farming methods, and better relations with whites.[51] This initial gathering was important not only because of Washington's message but also on account of the enthusiasm expressed by those who came to hear him. The fact that the mayor of Rock Hill, a white man, offered the welcoming remarks and participated in the program added to the affair, sending a message that respectable citizens, black and white, embraced the Tuskegee lecturer's message of racial uplift.

The group had "a toothsome dinner" at a black-owned inn named, appropriately enough, the Booker T. Washington Hotel, prior to leaving Rock Hill at around 5:30 P.M. for Winnsboro, where Negro Business League members had scheduled a meeting for that evening. The Reverend W. B. Fleming took charge of the group at this point. They encountered heavy rain in Fairfield County, and shortly before their arrival at Winnsboro, a fire had destroyed the town's lighting plant. Thus, they had to navigate their way through the wet, dark streets to Saint Paul Baptist Church, where Fleming served as pastor. Washington spoke to about nine hundred people at this venue. In line with the existing code of racial etiquette, whites were segregated in the church balcony, and blacks filled the pews below.[52]

Available records do not reveal much about the event in Winnsboro except that for the first time on the trip, Major Robert Moton, who had a

[47] Washington *Bee*, April 3, 1909.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, March 27, 1909.
[50] Washington *Bee*, April 3, 1909.
[51] *New York Age*, March 18, 1909.
[52] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, March 27, April 3, 1909.

wonderful tenor voice, led the crowd in the singing of jubilee songs such as "Swing Low Sweet Chariot," "We Are Climbing Jacob's Ladder," "Steal Away," and "If You Love God Serve Him." From that point forward, there was a constant demand for folk songs "by the silver-voiced Major, who in the portrayal of the heart throbs of our ancestors on the Southern plantations 'befo' de wah,' has no equal on the continent."[53] It had been a long, exhausting day, and after his talk, Washington and the others retired for sleep.

The next day, before proceeding to the state capital, the group made a whistle stop at Chester. There, three thousand people were gathered at the station awaiting the famous Tuskegean. Washington spoke from the rear platform of his private car to individuals sitting and standing all around—on freight cars, on the tops of houses, in tree branches—as far away as his voice could be heard. One observer marveled at how both races intermingled without the white people seeming to "fear the black rubbing off" onto them.[54] Although his remarks were brief, Washington admonished blacks to discourage all forms of lawlessness and immorality and avoid associating with the unproductive and criminal element of their race. In addition, he told them that "the white people of the South are the best friends of the negro and are ready at all times to encourage the negroes along the right lines," the *State* reported.[55] This serves as an example of how Washington said things for white consumption even when he knew they were not true, but he used his words to soften white hatred and animosity toward local blacks. He had mastered the art of dissemblance and was adept at delivering his messages to mixed southern audiences.

More is known about Washington's second and final stop on Monday at Columbia, the hometown of Richard Carroll, where the Baptist preacher purportedly "holds the people, black and white, in the hollow of his hands, because they know him, love him and have confidence in his integrity and lofty public spirit."[56] A delegation met the party at the train depot. After a performance by the Benedict College band, they traveled "in spick and span carriages" to several different homes. Washington and a select few went to Carroll's "suburban mansion," where they ate one of the "best dinners ever cooked in a South Carolina home." The reverend's wife, Mary Sims Carroll, and his daughter Ruth Carroll, a physician, prepared the meal.[57]

A reception for Washington took place in the afternoon at First Calvary Baptist Church, pastored by Dr. E. A. M. Cheek. The Tuskegean spoke to fifteen hundred people and then shook hands with many admirers. Next,

[53] Ibid., April 3, 1909; Indianapolis *Freeman*, April 3, 1909.
[54] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, March 27, April 3, 1909.
[55] *State*, March 18, 1909.
[56] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, April 3, 1909.
[57] Ibid.

the party toured the principal thoroughfares of the city and the growing suburbs, observing the homes, schools, businesses, and other imposing structures constructed by black contractors. After viewing a large tract of land designated for black homebuyers called Booker Washington Heights, they also toured Benedict College, Carroll's orphanage, and the Taylor Lane Hospital and Training School for Nurses, a black institution founded in 1901 under the direction of Dr. Matilda Arabelle Evans. A graduate of the Women's Medical College of Philadelphia, a skilled surgeon, and one of the organizers of the Negro Health Association of South Carolina, Evans served an upper-class interracial clientele. She specialized in not only surgery but also pediatrics, gynecology, and obstetrics. The Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger* observed that Dr. Evans, Dr. C. W. Burney, and Dr. C. W. Rhodes, all Columbia physicians, owned new automobiles, each valued at one thousand dollars, and the paper commented on how pleasing it was to see them driving up and down the streets, looking after their many patients.[58]

On Monday night, with Carroll presiding over the program, Washington spoke to more than twenty-two hundred people at the Columbia Theater. The indomitable Reverend J. J. Durham gave the invocation. Durham, often referred to as "the Daniel Webster of his race" due to his eloquence as a debater, was one of the most erudite men traveling with Washington's party. Born in Woodruff on April 14, 1849, he struggled to secure an education after emancipation. He first attended the University of South Carolina until being forced out after his sophomore year because of his race, then Atlanta University for his junior year, and finally Fisk University in Nashville, where he graduated with an A.B. degree in 1880. Two years later, he graduated from Nashville's Meharry Medical College and began practicing medicine in Columbia. Durham later earned A.M., D.D., and LL.D. degrees and once taught school. He also worked as a Baptist minister, became a founder of Morris College in Sumter, and reportedly could read the Bible in English, Greek, Latin, German, and Hebrew.[59]

After Dr. Durham's prayer, Carroll presented Bishop George W. Clinton, who introduced Washington as "the foremost man of his race in all the world." The seats in the theater allotted to whites had filled over an hour ahead of time, and the place was packed from "pit to dome." The audience greeted Washington with a Chautauqua salute. During his address, the

[58] Ibid; Indianapolis *Freeman*, April 3, 1909; Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 468–469; Hemmingway, "Beneath the Yoke of Bondage," 147–148. For more on Evans, see Hine, "Corporeal and Ocular Veil," 3–34.

[59] Caldwell, *History of the American Negro: South Carolina*, 90–93; Richardson, *National Cyclopedia*, 250.

Tuskegee leader refuted the notion of blacks wanting to thrust themselves into the social lives of whites. He noted that throughout his travels, he had not known African Americans to force themselves upon people and into places where they were not wanted. Washington insisted that "the right minded Negro is just as proud of his racial integrity as any white man can be of his own antecedents, history or ideals." While conceding that "the Negro is not an aspirant for social equality of any kind," he affirmed that "he is seeking protection."[60] After putting whites in the audience at ease, the Wizard essentially made a statement favoring racial pride and against the violent terrorism blacks faced in South Carolina.

Washington's Columbia speech touched on many of the points he made at previous stops with some minor deviations. He noted how both races in the South suffered at the hands of public opinion because the world heard of "our difficulties . . . of crime . . . of mobs and lynchings," but it was unaware of the goodwill and racial friendship that existed in the majority of communities. Washington likewise asserted that he did not know of another place on earth where races so dissimilar in many respects got along better than they did in the South. He said, "When we consider all that has taken place during the past 40 years, I believe that we have every reason to congratulate ourselves that things have gone on as well as they have, that they are no worse than they are."[61]

Washington went on to say that to a large extent, the southern "Negro problem" continued to be a labor problem. In order to secure satisfactory and effective labor from any race, he averred, two prerequisites were necessary: first, people must be taught a love for work and the dignity of labor along with proper skills; second, they needed their minds stimulated so that their ambitions would increase. "No individual labors except as he has a motive for doing so," Washington exclaimed. He then pointedly told whites some of the desires of African Americans: good land, comfortable homes, furniture, books, newspapers, and education for their children. He asserted that as their aspirations increased, blacks would become more willing to work to attain the things they wanted.[62]

Washington also explained to whites how important it was for them to do their part in making life for blacks in rural areas equally as attractive and safe as in the cities: "He [the black man] has an ambition to improve the life of his family. If he finds in the city as he usually does, a school well equipped with good teachers either by missionary effort or by public school funds that is in session eight or nine months in the year, the negro is tempted to move to the city where he can educate his children. This is

[60] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, March 20, April 3, 1909.
[61] *State*, March 16, 1909.
[62] Ibid.

natural, and . . . our white friends can help the negro and help themselves at the same time, by seeing to it that the negro family is with just as good school accommodations in the country as in the city." Workers would move to plantations and stay if the plantation owners provided schools and churches for them, Washington continued. The planters "will not have to seek labor," he contended, "but labor will seek them." In closing, Washington said he knew of no better place in the country for his race to live and work than the South.[63]

Washington's speeches could be interpreted in different ways by the people in his audiences. Whites heard that blacks should strive for better lives in the South and were not interested in being involved with them socially. At the same time, blacks in the audience picked up on his calls for more and higher-quality schools, longer school terms, opportunities for landownership and homeownership, better churches, an end to racial violence, and an improved overall quality of life if they remained in the South. This is why the Tuskegean's messages went over so well, met with frequent applause, and resonated at each stop.

After Washington finished speaking, Carroll introduced the distinguished individuals traveling with the party. This was followed by Robert Moton leading the audience in several black spirituals "with that peculiar swinging melody and rhythm that is the sole property of the American Negro."[64] Those with Washington and the blacks who came out to hear him understood that these songs had special meaning. Indeed, historian James Cone writes that the jubilee songs were coded to convey one thing to whites, but something totally different to blacks. They could only be fully comprehended by those who shared in the experience that created them.[65]

A reporter traveling with the party commended Moton on his singing abilities: he "knows the jubilee songs and he can sing them too . . . He could take an audience of 1500 people and in a few minutes have every one [*sic*] singing."[66] The gathering closed with comments and another song led by the Reverend Edward D. White, who was described as "the blackest and best man in the State." Interestingly, White commented to the crowd that during his thirty years of public service in the South, he had never once received an affront from a white man. As noted above, White's willingness to make this claim publicly and in that setting is important because it confirms that black people said things strictly for the benefit of whites.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, March 20, 1909.

[65] James H. Cone, *The Spirituals and the Blues: An Interpretation* (New York: Seabury Press, 1972), 32; Jackson, *Booker T. Washington and the Struggle against White Supremacy*, 44–46.

[66] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, March 27, 1909.

Early-twentieth-century photograph of Booker T. Washington Hospital on the campus of Voorhees Industrial School. Completed in 1905, the building was designed by Professor Wilson Cooke from Claflin College in Orangeburg and constructed entirely by African American workmen. Courtesy of the Wright-Potts Library, Voorhees College, Denmark.

White knew of the terror blacks experienced in his state and surely realized that his personal encounters could not be generalized onto the rest of the African American population. However, he really was speaking in terms of the type of conduct he wanted to see from the white community and not just his actual experiences per se. The Tuskegean's party left the state capital for Denmark on Tuesday morning, March 16.[67]

On the way to Denmark, a whistle stop occurred at Blackville, where Washington spoke to five hundred people including black firemen, engineers, brakemen, and railyard employees who lived or worked in this small railroad-junction town. Denmark was as an important stop on the tour because Tuskegee Institute graduate Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, a frail but determined woman, had founded the Voorhees Industrial School there. The party visited the impressive Voorhees campus, which consisted of fifteen buildings on four hundred acres of land, and found that the "Tuskegee Spirit" abounded at the school. In fact, one of the newest structures was a thirty-room brick hospital named for Booker T. Washington. Buggies, wagons, and horseback riders lined the road leading to Voorhees for several miles, and many more came on foot to hear the great Alabaman. His speech

[67] Ibid., March 20, 1909.

took place after dinner on a platform located near the main building. The stage was decorated with the American colors, and samples of fresh farm products such as large cabbages, sweet potatoes, onions, corn, and turnips were exhibited.[68]

Professor G. B. Miller acted as master of ceremonies for the affair at Voorhees. After a scripture reading and prayer, former state senator S. G. Mayfield, the wealthiest white landowner in the county, spoke. A benefactor of the school, Mayfield praised Washington, Elizabeth Wright, and the present head of the school, Professor Martin A. Menafee, who was Wright's husband and also a Tuskegee graduate. At this stop, Washington "spoke with unusual plainness to his farmer friends for more than an hour, and fervent 'amens' were heard from the lips that recognized the truth of his homely philosophy." After Washington finished his message, the group collected thirty dollars and donated it to Voorhees.[69]

Reloading the train, the party made a brief stop at Bamberg and later Branchville, where the mayor welcomed them and Washington addressed hundreds of people. Reverend White offered remarks as well. However, the next major stop was Orangeburg, home of Claflin University, an institution of the northern Methodist Episcopal Church that was open to blacks. Shortly after the travelers arrived, a meeting occurred in Webster Hall. With Carroll presiding, short addresses were made by the Reverend William Henry Moses of the Foreign Missionary Board of the National Baptist Convention, Charles Stewart, William Taylor Burwell Williams, and others. Following the final speech, the group had supper and retired for the evening.[70]

On the morning of Wednesday, March 17, Richard W. Thompson, Bishop Clinton, and Stewart spoke at the chapel of the Colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural, and Mechanical College of South Carolina (later renamed South Carolina State University), considered by some to be one of the finest educational institutions in the South for African Americans. Thomas E. Miller, a graduate of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and distinguished educator, served as its first president. Of the many people in attendance for the speech, some eight hundred were white. Two of the highlights of this stop were a splendid rendition of the famous sextet from the opera *Lucia di Lammermoor* and a solo by Flora Wallace. The party also

[68] Ibid., April 3, 1909; Indianapolis *Freeman*, April 3, 1909.

[69] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, April 3, 1909.

[70] Ibid., March 20, April 3, 1909; Indianapolis *Freeman*, March 27, 1909. For more on William H. Moses, see Bacote, *Who's Who among the Colored Baptists*, 224–226. For further reading on William T. B. Williams, see J. W. Gibson and William H. Crogman, *Progress of a Race; or, The Remarkable Advancement of the American Negro* (Naperville, Ill.: J. L. Nichols and Co., 1925), 452–453.

toured Orangeburg, and Washington visited the home of a Mr. Levy, one of the city's most successful businessmen.[71]

Later that same day, they left Orangeburg for Camden, reputedly "the oldest, poorest, and proudest town in the State." Although the train arrived in Camden two hours late, interested listeners filled the auditorium and waited patiently until Washington and his entourage appeared. The Alabama educator held the people spellbound for an hour and a half. According to the Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, Camden whites were especially demonstrative "in voicing their approval of the Tuskegean's hard, common sense policies." Carroll likewise gave a memorable talk that had "his usual bit of fun with his white friends, who always like to hear his witticisms, even if he 'knocks' them a bit in some tender places."[72]

The following morning, on March 18, the party arrived at Sumter. One of the two primary coordinators of the trip, William T. Andrews, hailed from Sumter. He was born there on March 25, 1864, the son of a Methodist minister who taught at the school that young William attended. Andrews matriculated at Fisk University and graduated in 1890. Two years later, he completed Howard University Law School. After returning home, Andrews became a school principal and later worked as a real-estate broker, lawyer (he was admitted to the South Carolina Bar Association in 1894), and editor of a weekly newspaper, the *Defender*. Andrews also was politically active, having served as a delegate to all state Republican conventions in South Carolina since 1894 as well as the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1908. At the 1912 convention in Chicago, he went as an at-large delegate.[73]

Washington and his guests had breakfast at Andrews's house. One person described the meal, which was provided by Andrews's wife, Anna Lee, as "fit for a king—it was a gastronomic triumph." Thereafter, the group visited Morris College, an institution founded the year before by the Baptist Educational and Missionary Convention of South Carolina. Its first president was Washington supporter Edward MacKnight Brawley. Born in Charleston on March 18, 1851, Brawley earned A.B. and A.M. degrees from Bucknell University, where he was the first African American graduate, and a D.D. degree from State University in Louisville, Kentucky. Having previously served as the first president of Selma University in Selma, Alabama, Brawley

[71] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, April 3, 1909; Indianapolis *Freeman*, April 3, 1909; Tindall, *South Carolina Negroes*, 56.

[72] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, April 3, 1909; Indianapolis *Freeman*, April 3, 1909.

[73] Hartshorn, *Era of Progress and Promise*, 473–474; Mather, *Who's Who of the Colored Race*, 174–175.

went on after Morris to preside over five different Baptist congregations in Alabama, Florida, and South Carolina along with the prestigious White Rock Baptist Church in Durham, North Carolina.[74]

After Washington spoke briefly to the students at Morris College, the party moved on to the Presbyterian-affiliated Kendall College. Kendall's president, Dr. A. U. Frierson, doubled as pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Sumter. Washington addressed the Kendall students, who were lined up in front of one of the buildings on campus and accompanied by pupils from the local graded school, encouraging them to live honorably. Like at many of the stops on the tour prior to Sumter, the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Negro Business League was responsible for dinner, and they served a scrumptious meal in the college's dining hall.[75]

Later that day, a crowd gathered at the Sumter Opera House, a venue too small to accommodate all of the people seeking to hear the famous Tuskegean. They had started coming in from the surrounding areas around dawn. By 10:00 A.M., the doors of the opera house were jammed and the assembly filled the street for nearly a block. Approximately twenty-five hundred people managed to get inside, including more than five hundred of the "best quality" white citizens segregated in the balcony. The stage too was segregated by race, with Andrews presiding and delivering the welcome. The Reverend C. C. Brown, pastor of the leading white church of the city, introduced Washington. After discussing Washington's life and work, Brown declared that he was "proud of the honor conferred on him in asking him to present to Sumter's citizens so noble and unselfish a friend of humanity." Following the speech by Washington, Moton led the audience in the singing of jubilee songs, and the party toured the black residential section of town, observing many beautiful homes owned by African Americans. Afterwards, the local Negro Business League once again provided an enjoyable banquet.[76]

An editorial in the *Sumter Daily Item*, a white newspaper, commented on Booker T. Washington's visit. As a public speaker, Washington had marked ability and spoke fluently, interestingly, and earnestly, the writer began. The *Item* further reported that the speech by the man from Tuskegee

[74] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, April 3, 1909; Indianapolis *Freeman*, April 3, 1909; Arthur Bunyan Caldwell, ed., *History of the American Negro*, vol. 4, *North Carolina Edition* (Atlanta: A. B. Caldwell Pub. Co., 1921), 470–471.

[75] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, April 3, 1909; Indianapolis *Freeman*, April 3, 1909; Caldwell, *History of the American Negro: North Carolina Edition*, 470–471; State Historic Preservation Office, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, *African American Historic Places in South Carolina* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives and History Center, 2009), 63.

[76] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, March 20, April 3, 1909.

was full of wisdom and good advice and peppered with so much humor that it pleased all who heard him.[77]

Leaving Sumter, the group headed to Florence. On the way, Washington made five-minute whistle stops at Mayesville and Cartersville. At Florence crowds lined the streets from the train station to the opera house where Washington was scheduled to speak. The venue became so packed with people that "the balcony made a box of sardines look roomy in comparison," stated one observer. A. A. Cohen, a white alderman and prominent businessman, offered the welcome, and the Reverend W. B. Oliver, a local white minister, gave the invocation. Washington's words were warmly received. The next morning, his party toured the city to survey racial progress before starting out for Charleston.[78]

The Reverend Daniel J. Jenkins's well-drilled Jenkins Orphanage Band, which had gained recognition from participating in William Howard Taft's presidential inauguration parade and performing overseas, met the entourage at the Union Station in Charleston on Friday, March 19. Next on the itinerary for Washington's party was dinner "in the true Charleston elegance." Members of the group were struck by the peculiar dialect, customs, and architecture of the historic city along with Charleston's use of black policemen. Unlike African American law-enforcement officers in other southern cities, these policemen were not relegated to segregated black wards, nor were they given duties that minimized their interaction with whites. Dr. William D. Crum served as host for Washington in Charleston, while Dr. John L. Dart, Dr. J. P. Sims, and other prominent black citizens took care of the rest of the visitors.[79]

Born in Charleston on February 9, 1859, Crum attended the city's elite Avery Institute and the University of South Carolina on scholarship until blacks were forced out of the school after his junior year. Undaunted, he graduated from Howard University Medical College in 1880 and had practiced medicine in Charleston for nearly thirty years by the time of Washington's tour. Crum gained a national reputation not only because his peers viewed him as a top physician and one of the most distinguished men of color in South Carolina, but also on account of the political controversy

[77] This newspaper editorial was reprinted in the Washington *Bee*, March 27, 1909.

[78] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, April 3, 1909.

[79] Indianapolis *Freeman*, April 3, 1909; Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, March 20, 1909. For more on Charleston's black policemen, see John Oldfield, "On the Beat: Black Policemen in Charleston, 1869–1901," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 102 (April 2001): 153–168, esp., 163. For further reading on the Reverend Daniel J. Jenkins and the Jenkins Orphanage Band, see Nathan Johnson, " 'In the Name of All That Is Just and Honest': Reverend Daniel J. Jenkins, the Jenkins Orphanage, and Black Leadership in Charleston, South Carolina, 1891–1937" (Master's thesis, University of South Carolina, 2009), esp. 39–40.

Dr. William D. Crum (1859–1912) of Charleston. The physician, who also held a federal appointment as customs collector for the port, was the most influential black Charlestonian of his day. Crum hosted Booker T. Washington during his stopover in the city on March 19, 1909. From Charles Alexander's *One Hundred Distinguished Leaders* (1899).

that occurred after President Theodore Roosevelt, at the urging of Booker T. Washington, appointed him collector of the port of Charleston. Facing constant obstruction and opposition from Senator Tillman and other South Carolina whites, President Roosevelt initially had to give Crum a recess appointment when the Senate was not in session in March 1903. Although Roosevelt declared that he would stand behind the appointment, whites remained determined to eliminate all blacks from office holding in the South, including Crum. After a long and heated battle, the Senate finally

confirmed him on January 6, 1905. Crum managed to serve in the post for six years, but white South Carolinians were unrelenting in their protests against him. By 1910, only a year after Washington's visit, Republicans had tired of the complaints, dropped the fight, and granted Crum an appointment as minister to Liberia, where he died in 1912.[80]

After dinner, the guests were taken on a streetcar ride to the U.S. Navy Yard where they enjoyed a delightful view of Charleston Harbor. That night, a large crowd completely filled the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher Bennett's Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church to hear Washington. As before, many whites were in attendance. Among them were an unnamed member of the state supreme court of Pennsylvania and Charleston mayor Robert Goodwyn Rhett, described as a man "who comes from the bluest blood stock [*sic*] in the South." Rhett was a lawyer and banker and had a controlling interest in the city's foremost paper, the Charleston *News and Courier*.[81]

Rhett provided the opening remarks and confessed that he had wanted to hear Washington speak for a long time. The mayor went on to praise African Americans in Charleston for their orderliness, thriftiness, and intelligence. He also stated that he aimed "to be the Mayor of all the people, Republicans and Democrats, rich and poor, black and white," and on behalf of these constituents, he welcomed Washington to the city. Notwithstanding these flattering comments, Rhett held the same racist views as other southern whites. For instance, when he ran for the U.S. Senate in 1908, just a year before Washington's tour, Rhett boasted of his loyalty to the Democratic Party and record of white supremacy. He had opposed Crum's collectorship appointment as well.[82]

After the talk by Washington, an elaborate banquet took place in the lecture hall of the church, during which Crum acted as toastmaster. In the early morning hours of Saturday, March 20, the party left Charleston by Pullman for Anderson on the opposite end of the state. En route they made whistle stops at Newberry, Greenwood, Honea Path, Belton, and Williamston, where crowds ranging from three hundred to one thousand

[80] Gatewood, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Art of Controversy*, 90–134; Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 309; Hartshorn, *Era of Progress and Promise*, 427; Daniel S. Lamb, *Howard University Medical Department, Washington, D.C.: A Historical, Biographical and Statistical Souvenir* (Washington, D.C.: R. Beresford, 1900), 161; Hemmingway, "Beneath the Yoke of Bondage," 123.

[81] Indianapolis *Freeman*, April 3, 1909; Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, April 3, 1909. For more on Henry W. B. Bennett, see Richard R. Wright Jr., *The Centennial Encyclopaedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia: Book Concern of the A.M.E. Church, 1916), 38.

[82] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, April 3, 1909; Gatewood, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Art of Controversy*, 130–131.

people turned out to hear five-minute talks by Washington. He received bouquets of flowers from women along the way, and in Newberry students and teachers from the Hoge Public School met the train carrying banners that bore significant quotes and large pictures of the Tuskegean. When Washington's entourage finally reached Anderson, they were escorted to the amphitheater of Buena Vista Park without delay. M. H. Gassaway, principal of the local graded school, presided over the meeting. Following a prayer by the Reverend W. H. Frazier and welcome by banker J. J. Frewell, Washington spoke to a mixed crowd of three thousand people.[83]

Some felt that the Tuskegee leader gave his most felicitous speech at Anderson. When it was over, Emma Young and M. C. Fant performed a duet, and Richard Carroll provided remarks. The program closed with Robert Moton leading the audience in spirituals. The visitors had "a toothsome turkey dinner" at Gassaway's school that was provided by caterer W. W. Williams of the Chiquola Hotel in Anderson. Washington and special invited guests were honored at the elegant home of the city's only black physician, Dr. L. A. Earle, before the group departed for Greenville. Unfortunately, they arrived at Greenville two hours late after an engine broke down on a connecting rail line. Nevertheless, the audience waited patiently at the opera house until 10:00 P.M. A local brass band escorted Washington's entourage to the venue. "The streets were crowded all along the line of march by whites and blacks," a journalist reported, "and cries of 'that's him' wer[e] heard on every side as the Doctor was recognized."[84]

The Reverend P. F. Maloy presided over the assembly at the Greenville Opera House, and Moton gracefully introduced the speaker. Washington based his remarks largely on the labor aspect of the race problem and referred more particularly to Tuskegee than he had at any other time during the journey. The group stayed overnight in Greenville and had a formal dinner the next day. At about 2:00 P.M. on Sunday, March 21, they left for Gaffney, where the invitation to visit had been extended by the city council and mayor. At the opera house in Gaffney, as at the previous eleven stops on the tour, Washington gave a dynamic address, which was well received. The press referred to the Gaffney meeting as a "veri[t]able love feast." After a few Negro spirituals by Moton, including "God Be with You till We Meet Again," and closing comments by Richard Carroll, the Washington party bid the crowd adieu and brought to a close a week of enlightening travel.[85]

[83] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, April 3, 1909; Indianapolis *Freeman*, April 3, 1909.

[84] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, April 3, 1909; Washington *Bee*, August 11, 1906.

[85] Baltimore *Afro-American Ledger*, April 3, 1909; Indianapolis *Freeman*, April 3, 1909; Topeka *Plaindealer*, April 9, 1909.

In an article entitled "Dr. Washington Wins South Carolina," the Indianapolis *Freeman* provided an interesting analysis of the tour. The writer said that people in other parts of the country had so often heard Tillman's tirades about African American incompetency and worthlessness and racial conflicts in South Carolina that these "evil reports" led many "to believe that nothing good could come out of such a region—a modern Nazareth, as it were." Consequently, some anticipated trouble for Washington and his comrades. However, instead of a cold reception, large numbers of blacks and whites joined in heartily welcoming the Tuskegean to the Palmetto State. This effort "has gone far to place Tillman and his crowd of mischief-makers into the muck heap as discredited politicians, whose day in court is nearing a disastrous end," the newspaper concluded.[86]

Over the course of a grueling seven-day schedule, Washington spoke to an estimated fifty thousand people in numerous cities and towns across South Carolina, many of whom were white. At each major venue, he made sure that both races were accommodated. Washington received endorsements from many newspapers covering his tour, and having these stories reported in the mainstream white media as well as leading black periodicals worked well for the Wizard of Tuskegee, especially since the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had been established on February 12, 1909, only one month before the tour. The timely trip through South Carolina provided Washington with the forum he needed to show blacks and whites alike that he reigned as the most important black leader in America. The Tuskegean calculated how to maintain his national power and prestige, and tours such as this one became a vehicle for doing so, guaranteeing that his ideas, philosophy, and solutions to the race problem would be plastered time and again in newspapers all around the United States.

While it is difficult to measure the long-term impact of Washington's trip on black South Carolinians, one perceptive individual averred that the Tuskegean's speeches "struck the mark with a force and effectiveness that appealed to the intelligence, to the self-interest and to the sense of justice of every real white man in the State. They aroused in the Negro a new ambition to rise to the possibilities that the 'Wizard' held so temptingly before their wide-open eyes." Moreover, this person believed that after hearing Washington, many African Americans were able to see new advantages of living in the South, and the "best" whites were "awakening to the fact that, in their acquiescence in an illogical and crushing industrial system they have not been getting out of the brain and muscle of their Negro neighbors

[86] Indianapolis *Freeman*, April 3, 1909. See also the brief mention in Washington *Bee*, March 27, 1909.

the values that need only encouragement and training to develop into a veritable gold mine."[87]

Booker T. Washington achieved his objectives in South Carolina. He sold his agenda for racial uplift, attracted new followers, and likely inspired African Americans to greater educational and business development in the state.[88] On the tour, Washington also furthered his efforts to counter negative racial stereotypes by exposing black progress and the world of the African American professional class to the public eye. In sum, Washington successfully pricked the conscience of white listeners while elevating the black community.[89]

[87] Indianapolis *Freeman*, April 3, 1909.

[88] Boston, *Business Strategy of Booker T. Washington*, 129–143.

[89] Topeka *Plaindealer*, April 9, 1909; Hemmingway, "Beneath the Yoke of Bondage," 51–185.