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## Public Lands of the United States for Education.

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*Taken from the annual report for 1873 of W. A. RUFFNER, Superintendent Public Instruction of Virginia.*

By a treaty made in 1763, the middle of the Mississippi river was made the western boundary of the British American Colonies. When the war of the Revolution occurred, all the territory east of the Mississippi, south of the lakes and north of the 31st parallel of latitude, was either included within the limits of "the old thirteen" States, or was claimed as belonging to some of them. Virginia owned by far the largest and best part of the unsettled regions. What is now Kentucky formed a part of the State proper, and all that magnificent region included in the present States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois belonged to Virginia, and was called her "North West Territory." In the year 1780, at a most critical period of the Revolutionary war, when the new and struggling government was without a sound currency, almost without property or credit, and was rapidly accumulating a debt, the Continental Congress urgently begged the Legislature of Virginia to cede her North West Territory to the general government, as a measure essential to the public credit, and perhaps to the independence of the colonies. Virginia made the sacrifice, and thus ceded to the government nearly 130,000 square miles of territory, containing nearly 83,000,000 acres of the richest land upon earth; but she gave it on the express condition that the lands thus ceded were to be held "*for the use and benefit of all the States*" in the Union.

I repeat this statement (already made in my report of 1871, and familiar to readers of history) specially because in the recent documents issued by officials—even those professing to give a complete history of the public domain—there is no such allusion to this grant in any terms indicating that Virginia had done anything in the matter of ceding territory different from what was subsequently done by several other States.

The territory lying west of the Mississippi was acquired from France, chiefly by the statesmanship of Thomas Jefferson, which culminated in the treaty of 1803, whereby the ancient province of Louisiana was ceded to the United States. The cession of Florida by Spain followed in 1819. The treaties with England made in

1783, in 1819, and 1848, treaties with the Indians, and the acquisition from Mexico in 1853, account for the rest, excepting the late purchase of Alaska.

In the first act of Congress, passed in 1785, for the disposition of these lands, it was determined that the public lands should be laid off into townships, and that lot No. 16 in every township should be reserved *for the maintenance of public schools, and that two townships in every new State should be set apart for the support of a university.*

This policy was the result of a sentiment in that direction which had been slowly growing among the colonies, both north and south, from the first settlement of the country. It had been inaugurated in Virginia soon after its first settlement, as I showed in my report for 1871 (p. 86). Massachusetts and Connecticut soon followed. In 1784 the legislature of Georgia set apart 20,000 acres of land for the endowment of a college. The next year an act was passed establishing a university, and one of the trustees of that university, William Houston, was at that time a member of Congress from that State, and was one of the committee which reported to Congress the bill which was passed and which set apart the above-mentioned portion of the public domain for public education. William Grayson, of Virginia, was on the same committee.

The Commissioner of the General Land office in 1846, and the Secretary of the Treasury (R. J. Walker) in 1847, recommended larger grants for education in the new States and Territories, and it was owing partly perhaps to this influence that sections No. 63 in each township, in addition to No. 16, was set apart for school purposes in the acts which created the Territories of Oregon and Minnesota (in 1848 and 1849 respectively.) Owing to this policy Minnesota is now enjoying as large a school income from Federal bounty, as Virginia is painfully extracting from her people by a State tax, and it lately had nearly 3,000,000 acres of her school lands yet unsold! Whilst Virginia, who endowed the Federal government with 83,000,000 acres of land for the *common use and benefit*, has never received anything for any purpose, except her small distributive share of the Land Scrip for technical education.

Excepting Texas, which refused to give her public lands to the government, and excepting those States which were formed from the territory included in, or claimed by some of the older States, every new State and Territory which has been created since 1785, has received its share of public lands for educational purposes: and besides this, 189,219,886 acres have been given away for roads and canals.

The practical importance of this subject is so vast, that I shall be pardoned for repeating some facts and figures to which I have already on several occasions called attention.

TABLE I.  
PUBLIC LANDS.

Original States.	AREA.		No. acres re- ceived for Uni- versities and Schools, prior to 1867.	No. acres re- ceived for Agri- cultural Colleges under act of July 2, 1862.	No. acres re- maining unsold and unappropri- ated July 30, 1867.
	Square Miles.	Acres.			
New Hampshire.....	9,280	5,932,200		150,000	
Massachusetts.....	7,800	4,992,000		360,000	
Rhode Island.....	1,306	835,840		120,000	
Connecticut.....	4,750	3,040,000		180,000	
New York.....	47,000	30,080,000		990,000	
New Jersey.....	8,320	5,324,000		210,000	
Pennsylvania.....	46,000	29,440,000		760,000	
Delaware.....	2,120	1,356,800		90,000	
Maryland.....	11,124	7,119,360		210,000	
Virginia (exc. W. Va.)	38,352	24,545,280		300,000	
North Carolina.....	50,704	32,450,560		270,000	
South Carolina.....	34,000	21,760,000		180,000	
Georgia.....	58,000	37,120,000		270,000	
Total orig. States.	318,756	204,003,840			
<i>States Admitted.</i>					
Kentucky.....	37,680	24,115,200		330,000	
Maine.....	35,000	22,400,000		210,000	
Tennessee.....	45,600	29,184,000		300,000	
Texas.....	274,376	175,600,640		180,000	
Vermont.....	10,212	6,535,680		150,000	
West Virginia.....	23,000	14,720,000		150,000	
Alabama.....	50,722	32,462,080	948,854	240,000	4,930,893.56
Arkansas.....	52,198	33,406,720	932,540	150,000	11,757,662.54
California.....	188,981	120,947,840	6,765,404	150,000	106,062,392.13
Colorado.....	104,500	66,880,000	3,715,555		62,870,665.83
Florida.....	59,268	37,931,520	1,000,663	90,000	17,540,374.00
Illinois.....	55,410	35,462,400	1,031,046	480,000	2,000.00
Indiana.....	33,809	21,637,760	696,397	390,000	2,000.00
Iowa.....	55,045	35,228,800	951,224	240,000	3,113,464.18
Kansas.....	81,318	52,043,520	2,937,386	90,000	43,148,876.44
Louisiana.....	41,346	26,461,440	632,124	210,000	6,582,841.54
Michigan.....	56,451	36,128,640	1,113,477	240,000	5,180,640.63
Minnesota.....	83,531	53,459,840	3,016,070	120,000	36,776,170.89
Mississippi.....	47,156	30,179,840	883,664	210,000	4,930,893.56
Missouri.....	65,350	41,824,000	1,245,219	330,000	1,835,692.71
Nebraska.....	75,995	48,636,800	2,748,124	90,000	42,523,627.36
Nevada.....	112,090	71,737,741	4,031,510	90,000	67,090,382.62
Ohio.....	39,964	25,576,960	773,608	630,000	500.00
Oregon.....	95,274	69,975,360	3,375,786	90,000	52,742,078.36
Wisconsin.....	53,224	34,511,360	1,050,809	240,000	10,016,700.87
Total States adm't'd.	1,778,200	1,138,048,000	38,049,560		479,082,245.60
<i>Territories.</i>					
Arizona Ter.....	113,916	72,906,304	4,050,350		68,855,954.00
Dakota.....	240,597	153,982,080	8,554,560		145,295,284.97
Idaho.....	90,932	58,196,480	3,233,137		54,963,343.00
Indian.....	68,991	44,154,240			44,154,240.00
Montana.....	143,776	92,016,640	5,112,035		86,904,605.00
New Mexico.....	121,201	77,568,640	4,355,448		73,005,192.00
Utah.....	88,056	56,355,635	3,176,949		51,139,646.00
Washington.....	69,994	44,796,160	2,534,755		41,627,464.39
Alaska.....	577,390	369,529,600			369,529,600.00
Grand total.....	3,611,809	2,092,733,779	69,066,794		1,414,567,574.96

## WHAT SHOULD BE DONE WITH THE REMAINING PUBLIC LANDS ?

They are sought by internal improvement companies, and if Congress would be favorable no doubt we should have Pacific railways, *credit mobiliers*, and financial panics, in any number. But it is easy to see that all such uses open the door to endless corruption, legislative waste, and popular dissatisfaction. There is only one object on which it is possible to unite, and that is popular education. Hence, as Governor Walker has wisely suggested, the first movement should be simply and solely to induce Congress to pass a joint resolution setting apart the public domain forever *for the purposes of education among the States*. All the friends of education can unite upon this resolution and pass it promptly, without encumbering it with any of those details which create parties.

It is well known that bills disposing of the public lands for educational purposes came near being passed in Congress both last winter and the winter before. The first movement aimed to secure the entire amount for common school education. Subsequently the friends of the colleges which had received the land scrip made an effort to obtain the whole for those colleges. Finally, the parties representing these two interests agreed to amend their respective bills so as to give to each one-half the annual proceeds of the land sales, and both to unite in passing the two bills as thus amended. Had the two interests been embodied in one bill there is little room for doubting that the bill would have passed; but owing to the near approach of the adjournment, and possibly to some distrust existing among the leaders of rival interests, the movement failed at the crisis.

## OBJECTIONS MADE TO ASKING FOR THE PUBLIC LANDS FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES.

Some persons dread certain conditions which might possibly be attached to such a grant, as for example the fatal condition of mixed schools, and fear also that it might occasion an increase of Federal authority over the States, which may well be deprecated. But whilst such objections suggest points which will need to be watched, I hope that there is no serious danger of abuse or humiliation; and that some strikingly good ends might be incidentally accomplished.

## CONDITIONS OF THE PROPOSED GRANT.

The terms required of the States should be extremely simple, and be confined to a designation of the object for which the grant is made, and subsequent evidence that the terms of the grant are observed. It would seem best, at least whilst there is so much dishonesty in some of our State governments to apportion only the

annual proceeds of sales, in amount ranging from one to three millions, so that perversion may be guarded against by the reserved power of withholding the annuities. It is expected that an annual report of school statistics to the Bureau of Education at Washington will be required as a condition of the grant, and although some feeling of aversion to this may arise at the first blush, there is really nothing portentous in it, and it is to my mind a valuable feature in the scheme.

Those who have to deal practically with this matter of State education know what need there is of some central depot of information, where educational facts from all parts of the world may be gathered, digested and distributed over the country, as is done by the present Bureau of Education. This is a work too large and costly for any State office, and yet is important to all. This Bureau is intended to occupy a position on educational matters similar to that occupied in their respective spheres by the Bureaus of Agriculture and of statistics; and should never be allowed to go beyond this.

It may as well be remarked here, that although there is a small party desiring to establish the National University so urgently advocated by General Washington, there is no party, or even individual known to me who desires to see a national system of education. I presume that if such a project were started, it would soon be put down not only by the indignant frown of the whole country, but not less by the opposition of all enlightened educators, for educational reasons.

The separate State is the largest unit that will ever be wanted for a school system, and the inevitable tendency in the future will be toward a *decentralization* of school operations; because every sound theory of education tends toward private and individual action as rapidly as the increase of general intelligence will admit of it. There will always be some things which the State can do better than individuals, and hence the State should be the patron and systematizer of educational operations; but her authoritative interference will tend to diminish rather than increase.

#### ON WHAT PARTICULAR OBJECTS SHOULD THE GRANT BE BESTOWED?

Considerable difference of opinion is found to exist on this point; the special friends of primary, secondary, and agricultural and mechanical education, all being in pursuit of the prize. If it be determined to go outside the public free school systems of the several States, it would, in my opinion, be best to designate schools under State control, giving free education, primary, secondary, or technical, and allow the legislatures to distribute the funds in due proportion among these three classes of schools.

As soon we leave the great popular school interest, and direct our attention to any other department of education, we not only behold

an arena covered with contestants, representing partial as contrasted with general interests, but we find a great diversity in the actual wants of the different States, and in the different wants of different schools of the same class in the same State, whether those schools be secondary or upper, technical or gymnastic. Cornell university, for example, has a vested fund of near \$4,000,000, besides property worth perhaps \$750,000: and whilst it is one of the grandest institutions in the world, how could one justify legislation which would bestow upon that institution an additional share of the public domain in the presence of such frightful educational want and co-existent pecuniary distress as are afflicting many parts of the land! But such would have been the result if the bills of last winter had been passed.

The conviction is rapidly spreading that the use made of the congressional bounty of 1862 in most cases has not been in accordance with either the letter or the spirit of the grant, and no doubt a vigorous opposition will be made to further indiscriminate grants in the same direction. The evident design of Congress in apportioning that land scrip, and the only design which would have justified an act of the kind, was to bring the best results of science and of the world's experience, to bear *immediately* upon practical agriculture and the mechanic arts, and thus raise up a class of trained farmers and mechanics. In many cases, however, the fund was bestowed upon institutions of general learning, which simply gave a somewhat fuller development to scientific studies, pure and applied, such as already existed in all our best colleges.

There were a number of exceptions to this statement, and I am happy to be able to say, that Virginia is among the exceptions, and it is because I regard such really technical schools as we have established as possessing so much more practical value for the industrial classes than institutions for general culture, that I should like the States, and particularly the Southern States, to have an opportunity to correct their errors. The southern negroes above all things need just such training as is given at our Hampton Institute, where handicraft constitutes a large element in teaching. Our working farmers generally need to be taught the secrets of Holland and Belgium; and our mechanics should learn to win medals at every world's exposition.

#### THE BASIS OF APPORTIONMENT.

I do not see how any fair mind can question the proposition that if the lands are to be divided among all the States, Congress should first set apart for each of the States that have received nothing a share of land bearing the same proportion to her territory that *lot* 16 in each township and the two university townships bore to the States receiving these lots. This self-evidencing claim is strengthened by the fact that several of the old States who have received nothing are in grievous straits, whilst most of the newer States are easy and thriving. And what is equally true though not equally

obvious, is the fact that the cheap lands, large endowments and light taxes of the endowed States have exerted a constant influence in draining the older States of their population. Perhaps it is too much to hope for, but how noble a moral spectacle it would be to see the representatives of the whole 37 States and 10 territories, taking up this great land account, patiently reviewing all the transactions connected with it from the beginning, and agreeing upon a final settlement and distribution, which would do full justice to the claims of each and all! If this basis of division be not adopted, then must be heard another set of equities scarcely second, possibly superior, to the one just presented.

### THE SPECIAL WANT OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.

The special reasons why the Southern States might hope to receive extra aid in educating her people, arise from several circumstances, such as the peculiar lack, necessity and desire for popular education, and the often mentioned, though not half understood, poverty which renders the expense in most cases so heavy a burden as to be almost, if not altogether, beyond the ability of the people to accomplish the work. To these should be added the unhappy civil condition of most of the Southern States. The evil already wrought, the anxiety as to the future, the ever existing danger of some overwhelming catastrophe, and the helplessness of the substantial and enlightened classes in some of the States, present a picture so melancholy that patriots of all sections and all parties might wisely waive discussion and crimination as to the past, and unite in rescuing the good that remains.

The tables given below indicate that the registered adult illiterates constitute nearly one-half the adult population. But the proportion is always greater than reported, because even illiterate men do not like to attest their own ignorance, and often claim to have a knowledge of letters, when they have no amount of knowledge, which entitles them to a place among the lettered, although they may be so registered. On this point, Gov. Campbell, of Virginia, during his incumbency, collected facts which led him to declare his belief that the real illiteracy in a State could be approximated only by adding 40 per cent. to the figures of the census. Horace Mann put the ratio at 30 per cent., and at this rate it is commonly placed by educational statisticians. But it requires not nearly so high a rate as this to give the illiterates a decided majority in every Southern State.

But there is this precious beam of hope relieving the darkness—this mass of ignorance craves the light. And what is equally encouraging, the intelligent substantial minority of the people desire to have general education, plainly seeing that in this is the only hope

of deliverance. But look at the mighty task imposed upon feeble hands! How can they possibly accomplish it without help! In order that the magnitude of the work as contrasted with the feebleness of the means may be properly comprehended, I have prepared the following series of tables, whose significant lesson should be deeply pondered.

TABLE II.  
*Showing population of Northern and Southern States.*

WHOLE POPULATION.			
	<i>White.</i>	<i>Colored.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
In eleven Southern States.....	5,544,488	3,939,032	9,487,386
In Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia.....	3,731,318	533,653	4,265,213
	<u>9,275,806</u>	<u>4,472,685</u>	<u>13,752,599</u>

SCHOOL POPULATION.			
	<i>White.</i>	<i>Colored.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
In eleven Southern States.....	2,245,784	1,595,850	3,841,634
In Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, West Virginia.....	1,476,545	219,725	1,696,270
	<u>3,722,329</u>	<u>1,815,575</u>	<u>5,537,904</u>

WHOLE POPULATION.			
	<i>White.</i>	<i>Colored.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
In Northern States.....	23,927,272	362,422	24,363,027

SCHOOL POPULATION.			
	<i>White.</i>	<i>Colored.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
In Northern States.....	8,673,643	127,751	8,837,394

*Per cent. of illiterates from 10-21 to population of same age.*

In Southern States (including Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and West Virginia).....	44.08
In Northern States (including Western).....	6.11

*Per cent. of illiterate males, 21 and over, to male population of same age.*

In the 15 Southern States.....	33.19
In the 22 Northern States.....	7.43

And the painful fact must be stated, that even among the *whites*, in the eleven southern States proper, the percentage of illiteracy increased from 7.1 in 1860 to 9.8 in 1870—owing no doubt to the war.

THE COST OF THE EDUCATIONAL WORK NEEDED.

Twenty-four per cent. of the whole population of the northern States proper are enrolled in their public schools. To educate

twenty-four per cent. of the population of the southern States, for eight months in the year, at the rate of seventy-five cents per month for the tuition of each scholar enrolled, would cost annually as follows :

[TABLE III.]

Alabama.....	\$1,435,668	48
Arkansas .....	697,638	24
Florida .....	270,357	12
Georgia.....	1,705,116	96
Louisiana.....	1,046,757	60
Mississippi.....	1,192,207	68
North Carolina.....	1,542,759	84
South Carolina.....	1,016,072	64
Tennessee .....	1,812,268	80
Texas .....	1,178,753	76
Virginia .....	1,764,234	72
Total.....	\$13,661,835	84

## THE PECUNIARY REVERSES OF THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE.

The next table shows that between 1860 and 1870 the Southern people lost *more than half their wealth*. So gigantic a reverse, coming simultaneously upon eleven adjoining States in so short a time, is perhaps unequalled in modern times. The loss in the ten years amounted to \$2,940,057,515. About one-half the property lost consisted of slaves. Even the half was almost equal in value to all the property in New England, excepting Massachusetts. But the slave property was not only marketable wealth, but was the most convertible of all the forms of property; and it was so widely diffused that it entered as a large element into the pecuniary arrangements of every man of property, and into all forms of production. Hence the magnitude of the reverse far exceeds the amount indicated by figures, because the destruction of one-half the capital decreased the production of the other half. Indeed, it may be said without exaggeration, that the majority of the Southern property-holders were ruined by the change. A large portion of the real estate is still held by men who can neither sell nor use it to advantage, and prosperity can return only by a slow and painful process. How poorly prepared, then, are the Southern people to carry on a work which for its proper performance will require them to raise annually an amount equal to a tax of fifty cents on every hundred dollars' worth of property left in the eleven States.

TABLE IV.  
*Value of Property in the Southern States in 1860 and in 1870.*

	1860.			1870.		
	ASSESSED.		TRUE.	ASSESSED.		TRUE.
	Real Estate.	Personal Estate.	Total.	Real Estate.	Personal Estate.	Total.
Alabama.....	155,034,089	927,164,673	382,198,769	117,223,043	38,359,552	155,582,595
Arkansas.....	63,254,740	116,956,590	180,211,330	63,169,264	31,496,739	94,666,003
Florida.....	21,722,441	47,206,875	68,929,315	20,197,691	12,243,152	32,440,843
Georgia.....	179,801,441	438,480,346	618,282,387	143,943,216	63,271,263	207,214,519
Louisiana.....	280,764,966	135,682,247	416,447,213	191,343,376	62,028,314	253,371,690
Mississippi.....	157,836,737	351,636,175	509,472,912	118,278,469	59,000,430	177,278,899
North Carolina.....	116,366,573	175,931,029	292,297,602	83,322,012	47,056,610	130,378,622
South Carolina.....	129,772,694	353,546,444	483,319,122	119,494,675	64,418,652	183,913,327
Tennessee.....	219,991,180	162,594,020	382,585,200	223,695,375	30,748,786	254,444,161
Texas.....	112,476,013	155,316,322	267,792,335	97,166,568	52,546,361	149,712,929
Virginia.....	384,463,876	532,633,976	917,117,852	279,116,017	86,323,900	365,439,917
Total.....	1,821,445,131	2,722,409,327	4,543,854,458	1,456,247,737	567,461,869	2,023,709,546

NOTE.—The counties now composing West Virginia were excluded from the calculation for 1860. Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri are omitted because of the almost equally divided interests of the people during the decade under consideration.

## THE COMPARATIVE WEALTH OF THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN PEOPLE.

The most impressive picture of all is given in the next table, where the case is brought down to the individual. In the decade under consideration, the Northerners individually more than doubled their wealth, whilst ruin was coming upon the South. At the beginning, the individual Southerner was worth double as much as the Northerner. Now the Northerner is worth three times as much as the Southerner. "What is one man's meat is another man's poison."

[TABLE V.]

*True value of Real and Personal Property in the Northern and Southern States, per head of free population.*

Northern States.	In 1860.	In 1870.	Southern States.	In 1860.	In 1870.
California.....	\$547 07	\$1,140 15	Alabama.....	8936 25	\$202 46
Connecticut.....	965 50	1,441 29	Arkansas.....	676 15	322 82
Delaware.....	418 79	777 35	Florida.....	929 12	235 23
Illinois.....	509 21	835 34	Georgia.....	1,084 45	226 46
Indiana.....	391 60	875 46	Louisiana.....	1,600 94	444 51
Iowa.....	366 47	601 12	Mississippi.....	1,712 94	252 67
Kansas.....	292 22	518 36	North Carolina.....	543 21	243 38
Maine.....	302 75	555 34	South Carolina.....	1,819 76	294 94
Massachusetts.....	662 22	1,463 03	Tennessee.....	592 07	396 00
Michigan.....	343 21	607 40	Texas.....	866 95	194 00
Minnesota.....	309 96	520 59	Virginia.....	1,149 71	334 31
Nebraska.....	316 76	563 26			
Nevada.....	386 20	732 71			
New Hampshire.....	479 39	793 67			
New Jersey.....	696 27	1,038 48			
New York.....	474 99	1,483 27			
Ohio.....	510 32	838 72			
Oregon.....	551 42	567 00			
Pennsylvania.....	487 40	1,081 31			
Rhode Island.....	775 04	1,366 00			
Vermont.....	388 69	711 99			
Wisconsin.....	352 72	665 90			
Average.....	\$461 63	\$974 73	Average.....	\$1,016 09	\$288 66

## WHAT THE SOUTH IS NOW DOING FOR EDUCATION AS COMPARED WITH THE NORTH.

[TABLE VI.]

*Statistics of Public Schools as given in Reports for 1871 or 1872 (the latest accessible).*

Total pupils in the 11 southern States.....	982,223
"    "    23 northern States.....	5,912,816
"    in Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri.....	566,619
"    in the 8 territories.....	52,503
Total in States and territories.....	7,514,161

Per cent. of whole population enrolled in public schools :

In 10 southern States.....	12
In 23 northern States.....	21.5
In Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri.....	14.3
In 8 territories.....	12.9

Average per cent. for United States.....20.1

Average length of school term :

In 8 southern States.....	4 mo. 15 d.
In 23 northern States.....	6 mo. 12 d.
In Maryland and Missouri.....	7 mo.
In 8 territories.....	5 mo. 14 d.

Average for United States.....6 mo. 3 d.

*Note.*—There is no report from Tennessee, and there are other defects which mar the perfect accuracy of the above summary; but it is a close approximation.

Here we find that within seven years after the besom of destruction had swept over this southern land its public schools included proportionally four-sevenths as many children—and these of both races, as do the schools of the North, and were continued three-fourths as long! And when these facts are considered in connection with the comparative wealth of the two sections, it is seen that the South, with one-third of the ability, is doing about two-thirds as much educating as the North; or, in other words, *for every one per cent.* on his property that *the Northerner* pays for public education, *the Southerner* pays two per cent. And the statement is intensified tremendously when it is remembered that about half the Southern people (including freedmen) own no property at all; so that it may be safely said that the average Southern property-holder is to-day paying *three times* as heavy a school-tax as the Northern property-holder. And yet this great work to which the Southern people have been tasked by the inexorable necessity of self-preservation *is yet only half done!* Can it be possible that these eloquent facts will be disregarded in the distribution of national subsidies!

#### THE FREEDMEN.

In 1870 the eleven southern States which have been grouped together in this discussion contained 3,942,898 negroes, without education and without property. Yet among these people there is a greater desire for education than has probably ever before existed among illiterates, as is abundantly attested by the educational statistics.

With regard to their education I remark :

1. The negroes must be educated *ab extra*, or not at all. That is to say, their poverty and unthrift will consign them to hopeless ignorance, if not to ultimate barbarism, unless the earlier gene-

rations at least are educated by other means than their own. So that the question is narrowed to this alternative: either their late owners, who have been well-nigh ruined by losing them, must educate these people, or the Government which set them free must do it. I may as well here make some statements needed to remove certain wrong impressions, which have prejudiced this cause in Congress.

(a.) The ex-slaveholders as a class have not the least expectation of being paid for their slaves. They do not pretend to think that according to the laws of government, or war, the destruction of their property in slaves was justifiable. But there is no serious thought of ever re-opening the question.

(b.) The Southern people do not expect the payment of any part of the public war debts, Confederate, State, or local. They are not ignorant of the law of post-liminy, and will probably for generations view the subject very differently from the way in which it is viewed by the people of the North. But all such opinions of necessity have passed into the region of abstractions.

(c.) Nor do individuals who were identified with the Confederate cause, expect pay for the supplies consumed by the Federal armies, or for the robberies committed. All these have gone to the account of profit and loss.

(d.) There is no prevailing disposition among the whites to oppress or cast out the negroes, or to deny to them education, or their constitutional rights. But in spite of the political contests on the race-line, the personal relations between the white and colored people are not only friendly, but are more free and genial than commonly exist between the corresponding classes of whites.

Upon the whole, I mean to say that I know of nothing in the general sentiment at the South which may justly be used to complicate the matter. And now I add that the cost of educating 24 per cent. of these people for 8 months, would be about \$5,700,000; an amount which the white people are in no condition to spare every year.

2. The relations of the Federal Government to the freedmen for the first five years were quasi-parental. The creation of the Freedman's Bureau and the enormous amount of money placed in its hands for educational as well as other purposes was a distinct official recognition of the fact that the government in removing these poor, ignorant Africans from the care of their masters, assumed the relation of at least a *guardian to a ward*, as was freely declared at the time in authoritative quarters. But could it justly be expected that in five years a slave population could make such advance as to dispense with aid from its guardian government? I am aware that the ballot was expected to be the talisman which would cure all

evils. But every enlightened American knows that Pandora's box is the better figure for the ballot in the hands of ignorance, whether existing in one race or another. To say the least, the ballot makes nobody rich, and may make everybody poor, if wrongly used. If by the ballot the illiterate be made strong enough to command the property of the country, how could anything be expected but a common ruin, in which education would perish with everything else. In other words this talisman would not be a cure-all but a kill all!

3. In view of such facts, the sober judgment of the country must and will settle upon these two points: 1st. That the sudden wholesale enfranchisement of the Southern illiterates was a blunder, and 2nd. That the only effective remedial measure now within the power of the Federal Government is the most liberal provision for enlightening the growing crop of voters.

It is said that after one of the civil wars among the Swiss Cantons, the victors made common cause with the vanquished, by consolidating the entire cost of the war on both sides, and making it a common debt. As already said, nothing of this sort is expected by the Southern people, but there is one agonizing desire; it is *for honest, enlightened local government*, and for deliverance, not only from the actual incubus, but from the constant dread of semi-barbarous rule.

THE TOTAL PUBLIC BURDENS OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.

In January of this year, Gov. Walker ascertained from the best sources, that the debts of the whole 37 States do not exceed \$300,000,000. How astonishing to find that one-half of this amount is owed by these 11 Southern States! How they came to owe so much is a question which might well be considered in connection with the main point under consideration. None of it is war debt. Many millions of it are post-war debt, created by villainy put into power *by ignorance*. Leaving out contingent liabilities, which amount to over \$20,000,000, I give the following statement of

[TABLE VII.]

THE PUBLIC DEBT OF THE 11 SOUTHERN STATES.

Alabama.....	\$8,478,018 00	North Carolina.....	36,681,467 15
Arkansas.....	5,545,000 00	South Carolina.....	7,665,909 00
Florida.....	1,288,697 00	Tennessee.....	31,585,322 08
Georgia.....	8,186,500 00	Texas.....	2,289,716 87
Louisiana.....	24,093,407 90	Virginia.....	32,000,000 00
Mississippi.....	2,670,618 68		
			\$160,484,656 68
			Deducting certain assets.....
			10,484,656 00
			\$150,000,000 00

If these debts bear on an average six per cent. interest, then \$9,000,000 will be required annually for this purpose. I have no means of ascertaining what is the cost of maintaining the various State governments in their ordinary operations, or what is the amount of county, city, township and other local taxation, but it cannot be less than \$3,000,000 on the average to each State; which would give \$33,000,000. To this add what was paid for public free education according to the latest reports.

[TABLE VIII.]

## EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION.

Alabama .....	\$640,627	North Carolina.....	217,409
Arkansas.....	625,053	South Carolina.....	425,000
Florida.....	129,430	Tennessee.....	no report
Georgia.....	292,000	Texas.....	1,217,101
Louisiana.....	554,973	Virginia.....	993,318
Mississippi.....	1,213,248		
			\$6,308,159

Finally, add

[TABLE IX.]

## FEDERAL TAXES IN 1872.

Alabama.....	\$238,160 14	North Carolina.....	1,108,524 79
Arkansas.....	94,301 22	South Carolina.....	199,181 49
Florida.....	99,455 64	Tennessee.....	766,840 20
Georgia.....	583,160 18	Texas.....	322,359 20
Louisiana.....	1,627,782 26	Virginia.....	4,939,027 93
Mississippi.....	133,675 44		
			\$10,112,468 49

## SUMMARY OF ANNUAL EXPENSES OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.

Interest on State debts.....	\$ 9,000,000
State and local expenses for general purposes.....	33,000,000
Expenses for public free education.....	6,308,159
Federal taxation.....	10,112,468

Total annual expenses.....\$58,420,627

The true value of all the real and personal property in these States being \$2,738,689,037, and the assessed value only \$2,023,709,546, it will be seen that the amount now demanded for current uses represents a taxation on property of over 2 per cent. on true value, and nearly 3 per cent. on assessed value; which is certainly more than the property yields.

In a word, instead of dreaming that these eleven States can add to their present burdens some seven millions for education, or for any other purpose, we should recognize the distressing fact that,

viewed as a whole, *they are already on the decline*, and must soon be in a condition of hopeless bankruptcy, unless they repudiate their debts, or else receive help. This is not true of every one of them. It is not true of Virginia, because we have lighter taxes, more resources, and a better State government than the most of our unfortunate sisters. Nor is it true of a few others; but it is strictly true of many, if not of the most of them. Thriving commercial communities like that of New York city may find the payment of 2 or 3 per cent. on their property for public objects even a paying investment, but on broken down agricultural communities it is killing. Cotton, the only paying crop, has thus far saved the planting States from utter despair; but the over-production which will soon result from this state of things will break the last prop of the cotton States. Industry must perish when its profits all go to the tax-gatherer; and as enterprise dies indebtedness grows, until there is no alternative but the miseries of pauperism or the deep disgrace of repudiation.

What man with a spark of patriotism, or even humanity in his soul, can look upon these struggling communities without an impulse to help them! Can anybody as a national policy advocate the barbarizing of eight or ten States! The nicest sense of honor can do nothing in the clutches of inexorable necessity; and if the worst should come to the worst in even two or three States, the coldest selfishness can foresee the worthlessness of American credit in the markets of the world! What financial occurrence within this generation so shook American credit as the repudiation of her debt by the State of Mississippi; and when Pennsylvania for a brief season postponed her engagements, what a shudder ran through the monetary world! With such a debt as the United States Government has to manage, can she afford to allow even one of these States to perish? The application of these remarks to the subject in hand is easily seen. Without including Tennessee, which also has a school system, these southern States in all their poverty are paying now over \$6,000,000 a year for the free, impartial education of her people, white and black; which, as has been said, is far more in proportion to means than the Northern people are paying, but still they are not paying half enough to accomplish the objects fully. Seven millions dollars more are wanted; and wanted for whose benefit? Let us see.

In 1870 the colored population of the 11 Southern States numbered 3,939,032; we may now say 4,000,000. To educate 2½ per cent. of these for 8 months in the year would cost nearly \$6,000,000 for merely current expenses. The total annual income to the General Government from the sale of the public lands has not usually exceeded \$1,500,000, and sometimes does not go beyond a million, although for a year or two it has exceeded \$3,000,000. But why divide this pittance among 37 States when such a spectacle of want is before the country!

tend the benefits of this department to the South as largely as is consistent with a faithful discharge of duty. Apart from the consideration of the sacrifice of human life, the Northern States were benefitted by the war; whilst all evil consequences have been visited upon the South. I do believe that Northern men generally now sympathize with the Southern people in their present condition, and I believe their representatives in Congress would do anything for their relief which was within their constitutional power."

[Dec. 15.—Whilst this report is passing through the press, I add that the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives, on the 9th instant, *unanimously* reported through its chairman, Mr. Hoar of Massachusetts, a bill setting apart the entire income from the public lands for the use of *public free schools in the States*, without any unpleasant conditions; *provided*, that for the *first five years* the apportionment shall be made on the basis of *illiteracy* of population of ten years and over. Good! I should regret the cutting off of our technical schools from all possible benefit, and hope the bill may be amended in their favor, according to the views expressed heretofore.

It is very desirable that our people should manifest an interest in this great movement, which promises so much benefit to the Southern States. The Hon. Thomas Whitehead, of Virginia, is on the above-named committee, and is acting vigorously in behalf of the bill. The following table will be useful as a basis of calculation:]

[TABLE X.]

*Number of Illiterates ten years old and over.*

Alabama.....	383,012	Nevada.....	872
Arkansas.....	133,339	New Hampshire.....	9,926
Florida.....	71,803	New Jersey.....	54,687
Georgia.....	468,593	New York.....	230,271
Louisiana.....	276,158	Ohio.....	173,172
Mississippi.....	313,310	Oregon.....	4,427
North Carolina.....	397,690	Pennsylvania.....	222,356
South Carolina.....	290,379	Rhode Island.....	21,921
Tennessee.....	364,697	Vermont.....	17,706
Texas.....	221,703	Wisconsin.....	55,441
Virginia.....	445,893	Total of States.....	5,552,488
Kentucky.....	332,176	<i>Territories.</i>	
Maryland.....	135,499	Arizona.....	2,753
Missouri.....	222,411	Colorado.....	6,823
West Virginia.....	81,490	Dakota.....	1,563
California.....	31,716	District of Columbia.....	28,719
Connecticut.....	29,616	Idaho.....	3,388
Delaware.....	23,100	Montana.....	918
Illinois.....	133,584	New Mexico.....	52,220
Indiana.....	127,124	Utah.....	7,363
Iowa.....	45,671	Washington.....	1,307
Kansas.....	24,550	Wyoming.....	602
Maine.....	19,052	Total of territories.....	105,656
Massachusetts.....	97,742	Grand total.....	5,658,144
Michigan.....	53,127		
Minnesota.....	24,413		
Nebraska.....	4,861		



## NORTHERN SENTIMENT ON THE SUBJECT.

Gen. Eaton, the United States Commissioner of Education, who was appointed by Gen. Grant, has in his published Reports strongly recommended special aid to the Southern States. The same recommendation was made by the National Educational Association which met in St. Louis two years ago. Similar sentiments have been expressed on the floor of Congress by Northern men, and in many other influential quarters. Among the latest and most decided expressions is by no less influential a person than Rev. Henry Ward Beecher in a speech delivered November 5th, (of this year) in New York at the anniversary of the American Missionary Association. The following extract from that speech is worthy of careful attention, especially the latter part :

"We have done much for the freedmen of the South, but we have not done one tithe of what we should have done. \* \* \* \* \* The work of educating and thereby elevating the poor freedmen of the South is imperative. *It must be done.* We may labor for this from motives of benevolence or not, but *we must do the work!* Suppose we allow the element of selfishness to influence our action? The peace and order of the nation demand that every man shall be educated."

"Of course, I do not object to having the top of society educated, but what house-wife is so foolish as to build the fire on the top of the big kettle. We must not neglect the poor and degraded—we dare not neglect them. Our energies are too much directed to the education of the upper classes. What we want is to put our schools under the bottom. Then we shall have such growth and strength among the now stunted and weak as shall make the heart of the world glad at the change."

"So deeply am I interested in this subject ; so important do I deem the improvement of the colored race, *that I do not hesitate to give it as my deliberate conviction that it would not be impolitic or unsafe or extravagant for the nation to expend all its funds in the education of the negroes. For the interest of the South, as being the interest of all the States, there can be no better thing to do, than to lay the foundation of a universal education system for the former slaves.*"

After finishing this discussion, which in respect to its statements concerning the condition of the Southern States, is based largely on the census of 1870, I sought for the latest information concerning these States, by addressing the Hon. Frederick Watts, United States Commissioner of Agriculture, who is in constant correspondence with all parts of the country in reference to their industrial, and particularly agricultural interests. I acquainted him in a general way with the statements in this report, and with my object in making them. His reply is dated December 1, 1873, and as is shown by the following extract, confirms what I have said as to the wretched condition of the Southern States generally, and as to the growing disposition of the Northern people to recognize this fact in substantial ways.

"My position here has brought me into an extensive correspondence with the Southern States, and there can be no doubt of the truth which you state, that they are in a most deplorable condition financially, and otherwise. My attention is constantly called to this state of things, and hence my effort has been to ex-



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