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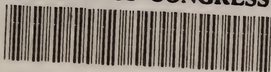
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FROM SERVITUDE TO SERVICE

Being the Old South Lectures on the History and Work of Southern Institutions for the Education of the Negro

BOSTON
AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION
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INTRODUCTION

IN a recent public address the Reverend Bishop Charles B. Galloway, of Mississippi, made the following statement: "We must insist that the Negro have equal opportunity with every American citizen to fulfil in himself the highest purpose of an all-wise and beneficent Providence." This quotation indicates the spirit in which this book should be studied.

The Negro is greatly in evidence, through incidents of various sorts having small relation to the important questions concerning him that should command the earnest thought and intelligent action of every American. Prevailing indifference to the subject is very apparent and painfully abundant.

When the slavery issue was intense the Negro, as the subject of it, was interesting; but now that the dramatic conditions of a great political crisis and vast military operations have faded into distant perspective, and the sentimental and heroic situations are replaced by obligations of simple duty to a great mass of plain people; only the in-

difference of many, the languid interest of some, and the active earnestness of a small righteous remnant remain.

In many localities there appears a settled determination to let the Negro take care of himself under conditions as they have come to exist. It is not exceptional for descendants of abolitionists to say, "Our fathers wrought for and secured the freedom of the Negro, and now that he is free let him work out his own salvation — we have no farther duty in the matter."

But the question will not down. The Negro supplies a stock asset in politics, literature, and daily news. The interests of each naturally lead to inaccuracy and exaggeration. These expressions inevitably produce opposing expressions equally unreliable. And so, when types and talk are abundant and misleading, sanity and intelligence are much to be desired.

It is clear to all reasonable minds that the worst about the Negro is widely exploited. The coming in large numbers of the least desirable Negroes to the northern cities presents a forbidding front that gives shallow foundation to much unkind opinion.

The tendency in both North and South to dismiss the whole question to the limbo of indifference, or worse, by a judgment founded upon partial information drawn from the least favorable conditions, is a misfortune of the entire case.

A renascence of the national conscience in respect of the Negro is needed. It is important that questions of personal duty should not be obscured and bomb proofs created for cowardly minds by abstract discussions of fine distinctions, or of questions that are forever settled, concerning slavery and the Negro.

The moral responsibility for slavery, the comparative intellectual capacities of Anglo-Saxon and Negro, the alleged mistakes in Negro education, the vast political questions of which the emancipated race is the centre are not without importance, but they have nothing to do with questions of personal duty and obligation to a struggling race of American born people.

Slavery was a costly legacy for which the nation has paid dearly in numerous ways. Our forbears could have settled it all justly and cheaply. Our question, as an incident of the unwelcome bequest, is what will we do with it for our descendants. The adjustments that will keep peace and harmony between the two races living side by side, when the darker race will number twenty and forty millions, must be made now. Forty years ago American Negroes numbered about four millions, but now they count about ten millions. Our children will doubtless see the latter number doubled, and their children may see it doubled again.

The duty of the hour to the Negro is far plainer to the men of to-day than it was to our forbears in the slavery years of a century ago.

One of the writers in this book stated in an eloquent public address that the Negro question needed for its solution a triple alliance that should combine the best intelligence and conscience of the South, the North, and the Negro. He is right.

Each element of this threefold combination, and all people represented by each, needs to know the *best* about present Negro conditions. Only when this comes about can the best be done to help the Negro to help himself. The debt due by the country to the formerly enslaved race must be paid by education and opportunity. The obligation of society to the best Afro-Americans for service rendered in the public interest needs to be understood and appreciated. The vast contribution to material production, law and order and individual happiness made by the teachers of the Negro race, despite great limitations, has never been recognized at its true value.

The situation demands truth about Negro educational prospects and progress, clearly stated. And now comes the valuable symposium of this book as a response to that demand. Experienced men of both races contribute the several chapters. They are not theoretical enthusiasts, but thought-

ful workers of the second generation in the field of Negro education. To the inheritance from predecessors they are adding the results of richly matured experience. Their facts are reliable, their deductions logical. They point the pathway of duty leading to the goal of honorable national peace between the races. They cheerfully contribute the self-sacrifice, patience, heroism, intelligence demanded by the service of leadership.

Respected in the South, trusted in the North, enjoying the confidence of the best Negroes, they present the stories of their several institutions. The eloquent appeal of these united statements commends itself by the very absence of specific demand.

Some of the institutions described herein have made great contributions to the general cause of education quite aside from special race service. The particular interest served by them is national, and their work peculiarly their own.

It is painful that the principals of these great schools are compelled to leave their educational work, spending on the road the time that should be passed in close contact with daily executive duty, humbly seeking the money with which to sustain their several organizations. A partial offset to this loss appears in the education of the North. Their work is not merely in education, for it also includes the solution of the greatest

social and economic problem that confronts the nation. American pride and Christian civilization are seriously compromised by the demands upon the physical, mental, and spiritual strength of the men and women who carry vicariously the duty of the country to the Negro.

Robert C. Ogden.

New York, September, 1905.

I

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

BY

PROFESSOR KELLY MILLER

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

As the writer of the first chapter of this book on Southern Institutions, it devolves upon me, perhaps, more than upon those who are to follow, to lay the basis and background, of which each of the institutions treated is but a special emergence. They are the outcome of that patriotic and humanitarian movement, which blotted out the foul stain of slavery from our national escutcheon, wrote the last three Amendments to the Federal Constitution, and made that document a charter of liberty, indeed.

When the smoke of war had blown away, when the cessation of strife proclaimed the end of the great American conflict, when "the war drum throbbed no longer, and the battle flags were furled," there emerged from the wreck and ruin of war four millions of human chattels, who were transformed, as if by magic, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, from slavery to freedom, from bondage to liberty, from death unto life. These people were absolutely ignorant and destitute. They had not tasted of the tree of knowledge which is the tree of good and evil. This

tree was guarded by the flaming swords of wrath, kept keen and bright by the avarice and cupidity of the master class. No enlightened tongue had explained to them the deep moral purpose of the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount. They were blind alike as to the intellectual and moral principles of life. Ignorance, poverty and vice, the trinity of human wretchedness, brooded over this degraded mass and made it pregnant. The world looked on and wondered. What is to be the destiny of this people? Happily at this tragic juncture of affairs, they were touched with the magic wand of education. The formless mass assumed symmetry and shape. Order began to rise out of chaos. Contrast that day with this day. Turn back forty pages of the leaves of history. Look on this picture, and then on that. The words of prophecy are fulfilled: "Though ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold." Nowhere in the whole sweep of history has the transforming effect of intelligence had a higher test of its power.

The circumstances amid which this work had its inception read like the swift-changing scenes of a mighty drama. The armies of the North are in sight of victory. Lincoln issues his im-

mortal emancipation proclamation; Sherman, with consummate military skill, destroys the Confederate base of supplies and marches through Georgia triumphant to the sea; Grant is on his road to Richmond; the Confederate flag has fallen; Lee has surrendered; the whole North joins in one concerted chorus: "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord." These thrilling episodes will stir our patriotic emotions to the latest generations. But in the track of the Northern army there followed a band of heroes to do battle in a worthier cause. Theirs was no carnal warfare. They did not battle against flesh and blood, but against the powers of darkness intrenched in the ignorance of a degraded race. A worthier band has never furnished theme or song for sage or bard. These noble women — for these noble people were mostly of the female sex — left homes, their friends, their social ties, and all that they held dear, to go to the far South to labor among the recently emancipated slaves. Their courage, their self-sacrificing devotion, sincerity of purpose and purity of motive, and their unshaken faith in God were their pass keys to the hearts of those for whom they came to labor. They were sustained by an unbounded enthusiasm and zeal amounting almost to fanaticism. No mer-

cenary or sordid motive attaches to their fair names.

They gave the highest proof that the nineteenth century, at least, has afforded that Christianity has not yet degenerated into a dead formula and barren intellectualism, but that it is a living, vital power. Out of the abundance of their zeal and enthusiasm they established the Negro college and university. Their works do follow them. What colored man is there in all this land who has not felt the uplifting effect of their labors? Their monument is builded in the hopes of a race struggling upward from ignorance to enlightenment, from corruption into purity of life. These are they who sowed the seed of intelligence in the soil of ignorance and planted the rose of virtue in the garden of dishonor and shame. It is said that gratitude is the fairest flower which sheds its perfume in the human heart. As long as the human heart beats in grateful response to benefits received, these men and women shall not want a monument of living ebony and of bronze.

Howard University is the outgrowth of this sentiment and is broadbased upon the principles of equal rights and knowledge for all, a doctrine which must now be stoutly defended against

derogatory dogma about inferior races and lesser breeds of men.

The Negro is scarcely ever considered with reference to the primary problems of life. Those needs of the human race which do not depend upon temporary conditions and circumstances, are not generally deemed predicable of him. The African is not regarded in his own rights, and for his own sake, but merely with reference to the effect which his presence and activity produce upon the dominant Aryan. He is merely a co-efficient which is not detachable from the quantity whose value it may increase or diminish. The black object is always projected against a white background, producing a grotesque and gloomy silhouette. The whole history of the contact of the races deals with the Negro as a satellite whose movements are secondary to those of the central orb about which it revolves. Civilization was not thought possible for the sons of Ethiopia. The sable livery of the tropics was deemed impervious to ennobling influences. The Negro could only contribute to the wants and welfare of the higher, or, I had rather say, the haughtier race. With a self-debasement surpassing the vow of anchorite, he was expected to bow down to his white god and serve him, ascribing unto him "the

kingdom, the power, and the glory, forever." The whole scheme of the subjugation and oppression of the African by the Aryan is based upon the theory that the Negro represents an inferior order of creation, and therefore his needs are secondary to, and derivable from those of his white lord and master. The ordinary attributes and susceptibilities of the human race were denied him. When it was first proposed to furnish means for the development of the nobler side of the Negro race, those who possessed the wisdom of their day and generation entertained the proposition either with a sneer or with a smile. Ridicule and contempt have characterized the habitual attitude of the American mind toward the Negro's higher strivings. The African was brought to this country for the purpose of performing manual and menial labor. His bodily powers alone were required to accomplish this industrial mission. No more account was taken of his higher susceptibilities than of the mental and moral faculties of the lower animals. The white man, as has been said, saw in the Negro's mind only what was apparent in his face —" darkness there and nothing more." His usefulness in the world is still measured by physical faculties rather than by qualities of mind and soul. Even after the wonderful trans-

formation of the past thirty years, many claim to discern no function which he can fill in society, except to administer to the wants and wishes of others by means of bodily toil. The merciless proposition of Carlyle — "the Negro is useful to God's creation only as servant"— still finds wide acceptance. It is so natural to base a theory upon a long established practice that one no longer wonders at the prevalence of this belief. The Negro has sustained servile relations to the Caucasian for so long a time, that it is easy, as it is agreeable, to Aryan pride, to conclude that servitude is his ordained place in society.

As the higher susceptibilities of the Negro were not needed their existence was, at one time, denied. The eternal inferiority of the race was assumed as a part of the cosmic order of things. History, literature, science, speculative conjectures, and even the Holy Scriptures were ransacked for evidence and argument in support of this theory. It was not deemed inconsistent with Divine justice and mercy that the curse of servitude to everlasting generations should be pronounced upon a race because their assumed progenitor utilized as an object lesson in temperance the indulgent proclivity of an ancient patriarch. Science was placed under tribute for

the support of the ruling dogma. The Negro's inferiority was clearly deducible from physical peculiarities. In basing the existence of mental, moral, and spiritual qualities upon the shape and size of the skull, facial outline, and cephalic configuration, the anti-Negro scientists out-distanced the modern psychologists in assuming a mechanical equivalent of thought.

But in spite of scientific demonstration, learned disquisitions, prohibitive legislation, and Divine intendment, the Negro's nobler nature persisted in manifesting itself. The love, sympathy, and tender fidelity, and vicarious devotion of the African slave, the high spiritual and emotional fervor manifested in the weird wailings and lamentations of the plantation melodies, the literary taste of Phylis Wheatly, the scientific acumen of Benjamin Banneker, the persuasive eloquence of Frederick Douglass, were but faint indications of the smothered mental, moral, and spiritual power. The world has now come to recognize that the Negro possesses the same faculties, powers, and susceptibilities as the rest of mankind, albeit they have been stunted and dwarfed by centuries of suppression and ill usage. The Negro, too, is gradually awakening to a consciousness of this great truth. The common convergance of religious and secu-

lar thought is toward the universal fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. This universality of kinship implies commonality of powers, possibilities, and destiny.

It is a matter of prime importance for the Negro to feel and to convince his fellow men that he possesses the inherent qualities and therefore the inherent rights that belong to the human race.

Carlyle, though blinded by narrow prejudice, when handling the Negro in the concrete, is nevertheless a true philosopher when dealing with general principles. The same author who regards the Negro as an "amicable blockhead," and amenable only to the white man's "beneficient whip," also exclaims: "that one man should die ignorant who had the capacity for knowledge, this I call a tragedy, were it to happen more than twenty times in the minute." When it is granted that the Negro has capacity for knowledge and virtue, all of his other problems flow as corollaries from the leading proposition. The basal needs of the human race are identical. The fundamental, natural, social, and spiritual laws apply alike to all.

Howard University is dedicated to this proposition. This Institution is by no means the least conspicuous among the higher institutions

of learning at the national capital. Located on a hill, it overlooks the whole city and from its dome the visitor gets a bird's view of Washington and its surroundings, not exceeded even by that afforded by the top of Washington Monument. This institution may be regarded as the national university of the colored race, and has for its constituency one-eighth of the American people. It is the sole surviving offspring of the ill-starred Freedman's Bureau and, except the Theological Department, is partly cared for and fostered, as at least a step-child, by the national government. Howard University was chartered by Congress in 1867 as an institution of "liberal culture" and has ever since stood as the Mecca of ambitious colored youth who hunger and thirst after knowledge. General O. O. Howard, the Christian philanthropist and soldier, was its first president. Although this Christian hero of many battles has rendered varied and signal service in behalf of his country, his enduring monument will be the Negro institution to which he gave his most earnest and enthusiastic endeavor, as well as his ancient and illustrious name. General Howard was succeeded by Rev. W. W. Patton, D.D., LL.D., a man of deep and varied knowledge, as well as an author of wide

repute. The next president of the University was Rev. J. E. Rankin, D.D., LL.D., whose hymn "God be with you till we meet again" is sung around the world. Dr. Rankin was, perhaps, America's most famous sacred poet. The present head of the institution, Rev. John Gordon, D.D., is a lineal descendent of Jonathan Edwards, and belongs to a family which has furnished presidents to Yale and Princeton.

The aim of Howard University is to lift the Negro to the level of modern civilization. Civilization may be defined as the sum total of those influences and agencies that make for knowledge and virtue. This is the goal, the "ultima Thule" of all human strivings. The essential factors of civilization are knowledge, industry, culture, and virtue. Knowledge comprehends the facts of the universe; industry embodies them in concrete form; culture leads to rational enjoyment; virtue preserves and makes eternal. The African was snatched from the wilds of savagery and thrust into the midst of a mighty civilization. He thus escaped the gradual process of evolution. Other men have labored and he must enter into their labors. Education must accomplish more for a backward people than it does for those who are in the forefront of progress. It must not only lead to the unfoldment of

faculties, but must fit for a life from which the recipient is separated by many centuries of development. The fact that a backward people are surrounded by a civilization which is so far in advance of their own is by no means an unmixed advantage. In the tempestuous current of modern life the contestant must either swim on the surface or sink out of sight. He must either conform or succumb to the inexorable law of progress. The African chieftain who would make a pilgrimage from his native principality to the city of Washington, might accomplish the first part of his journey by the original modes of transportation — in the primitive dug-out and upon the backs of his slaves — but he would complete it upon the steamship, the railway, the electric car and the automobile. How swift the transformation! and yet how suggestive of centuries of toil, of struggle, and of mental endeavor! It required the human race thousands of years to bridge the chasm between savagery and civilization, but now it must be crossed by a school curriculum of a few years' duration. The analytic process is always more rapid than the synthetic. The embryologists tell us that the individual, in developing from conception to maturity, must pass in rapid succession all the stages traversed by the race in its struggle up-

ward. We are also informed that social evolution must take a somewhat similar course. The European child is supposed to absorb the civilization of his race in about twenty-five years of formative training. The Negro is required to master, " de novo " the principles of civilization in a similar, and, indeed, a shorter time.

Howard University believes that the first need of the Negro is that the choice youth of the race should assimilate the principles of culture and hand them down to the masses below. This is the only gateway by which a new people may enter into modern civilization. Herein lies the history of culture. The select minds of the backward race or nation must first receive new culture and adapt it to the peculiar needs of their own people. Did not the wise men of Greece receive the light from Egypt? The Roman youth of ambition completed their education in Athens; the noblemen of northern Europe sent their sons to the Southern peninsulas in quest of larger learning; and up to the present day, American youth repair to the European universities for a fuller knowledge of the culture of the old world. Japan looms up as the most progressive of non-Aryan races. This wonderful progress is due, in a large measure, to their wise plan of procedure. They send their picked

youth to the great centers of Western knowledge; but before this culture is applied to their own needs it is first sifted through the sieve of their native comprehension. The wisdom of this policy has been vindicated at Mukden and Port Arthur.

The graduates of Howard and other institutions of like aim are forming centers of civilizing influence in all parts of the land, and we confidently believe that these grains of leaven will ultimately leaven the whole lump.

That mere contact with a race of superior development cannot of itself unfold the best possibilities of a backward people is a proposition, which, I think, no student of social phenomena will be inclined to dispute. For four hundred years the European has been brought in contact with feebler races in all parts of the earth, and, in most cases this contact has been as the blighting finger of death. Nowhere do we find a single instance in which a people has been lifted to civilization thereby. Outward conformity may be enforced by a rigid discipline; but outward forms and fair practices are of little or no avail if the inward appreciation be wanting. Civilization is centrifugal, and not a centripetal process. It cannot be injected hypodermically. Healthy growth cannot be secured by feeding a

child when it is not hungry, or by forcing upon it a diet which it can neither digest nor assimilate. This truth applies not only to the two backward races in our own country, but also to our "new caught sullen peoples," in the distant oriental seas.

Aside from political ambition and commercial exploitation, the chief motive of the European in treating with feebler races has been to civilize and enlighten them. The conversion of the Indian to the Christian faith was the chief motive assigned for the early colonization of America, and yet the influence of such schools as Hampton and Carlisle has, perhaps, done more to uplift the red man than all of the contact with the white race since Columbus first planted his Catholic cross in the virgin soil of the New World. Indeed, the superficial, the frivolous, and the vicious qualities are most easily communicable. The substantial qualities of mind and soul can only be developed by independent activity.

For four centuries the Portuguese have been touching the life of the east coast of Africa with their missionary propagandism, commercial enterprise, and governmental policy; but according to the highest testimony they have made no abiding impression upon the life of that

continent than one might make upon the surface of the ocean with the dent of his finger.

The Negro has now reached a critical stage in his career. The point of attachment between the races which slavery made possible has been destroyed. The relation is daily becoming less intimate and friendly and more formal and business-like. It thus becomes all the more imperative that the race should gain for itself the primary principles of knowledge and culture.

Howard University is primarily an institution of liberal culture. It has Preparatory, Normal, Collegiate, Theological, Law and Medical Departments, the variety and extent of whose curricula are quite abreast with the approved standards in similar institutions for the white race. There are chemical, physical, biological, dental, and pharmaceutical laboratories, and its general conveniences and facilities of instruction are up to the requirements of the educational world. Howard students frequently change to New England colleges and professional schools without loss of class standing. There are about one thousand students in the University, making the largest body of colored pupils to be found any where in the world, pursuing higher academic and professional studies. They come from the higher departments of public schools, and from

various private institutions, whose graduates come to Howard to receive the finishing touches. There is to be found in every community a lad of exceptional endowment, who, to his simple rustic neighbors, passes as a marvel of learning. These rural prodigies somehow find their way to Howard University, where they receive a poise and balance by being pitted against like celebrities from other communities. If any are still skeptical as to the intellectual capacity of the Negro, they would have their doubts speedily dispelled by a visit to Howard University where they might observe the Negro youth a few years removed from the cotton field and the cane brake, handling the intricate problems of Greek syntax and analytical geometry with the aptness and facility of the most favored white collegian. Students frequently come from the Northern and Western states where there is no racial bar against their entering local institutions. There seems to be a certain consciousness of kind, if not of color, even in the pursuit of knowledge. Frequently young men take their Degree of Bachelor of Arts at Northern colleges and pursue their course in law or medicine at Howard University. Students who come to Howard University are for the most part very poor, and are dependent upon their own effort for support.

The most strenuous incidents in the biography of Booker T. Washington could be multiplied a hundred times in the experience of Howard students. One of the most distinguished graduates the University has ever turned out walked all the way from Alabama to Washington in order to enter school. The late Henry George might have found among these pupils numerous striking illustrations of "Progress and Poverty."

Howard University promotes the higher aims and aspirations of the Negro race by employing colored men on the teaching force and governing board. All of the faculties are composed of white and colored instructors in about equal numbers. Colored men teach higher mathematics, classics, metaphysics, and the various topics of law, theology and medicine. These instructors are competent and thorough in the work as tested by the best approved teaching requirements and methods. Several of the colored professors are members of learned societies and are acceptable contributors to current thought and discussion along the lines of their special work.

Self-reliance is the first requisite of American citizenship which the school must in a large measure supply. Slavery made the Negro as de-

pendent upon the intelligence and foresight of his master as a soldier upon the will of his commander. He had no need to take thought as to what he should eat or drink or wherewithal he should be clothed.

Knowledge necessarily awakens self-consciousness of power. When a child learns the multiplication table he gets a clear notion of intellectual dignity. Here he gains an acquisition which is his permanent, personal possession, and which can never be taken from him. It does not depend upon external authority; he could reproduce it if all the visible forms of the universe were effaced. It is said that the possession of personal property is the greatest stimulus to self-respect. When one can read his title clear to earthly possessions, it awakens a consciousness of the dignity of his own manhood. And so when one has digested and assimilated the principles of knowledge he can file his declaration of intellectual independence. He can adopt the language of Montaigne: "Truth and reason are common to everyone, and are no more his who speaks them first than his who speaks them after; 'tis no more according to Plato than according to me, since he and I equally see and understand them."

Primary principles have no ethnic quality.

We hear much in this day and time of the white man's civilization. We had just as well speak of the white man's multiplication table. Civilization is the common possession of all who assimilate and apply its principles. England can utilize no secret art or invention that is not equally available to Japan. We reward ingenuity with a patent right for a period of years upon the process that has been invented; but when an idea has been published to the world it is no more the exclusive property of the author than gold after it has been put into circulation, can be claimed by the miner who first dug it from its hiding place in the earth. No race or nation can pre-empt civilization any more than they can monopolize the atmosphere which surrounds the earth, or the waters which hold it in their liquid embrace.

I have often noticed a young man accommodate his companion with a light from his cigar. After the spark has once been communicated, the beneficiary stands on equal footing with the benefactor. In both cases the fire must be continued by drawing fresh supplies of oxygen from the atmosphere. From whatever source a nation may derive the light of civilization, it must be perpetuated by their own faculties. Self-reliant manhood is the ultimate basis of

American citizenship. Training in patriotic principles and American ideals is a part of the work of Howard University.

The work of the educated colored man is largely that of leadership. He requires, therefore, all the discipline, judgment and mental equipment that long preparation can afford. The more ignorant and backward the masses the more skilled and sagacious the leaders should be. If a beneficial and kindly contact between the races is denied on the lower plane of flesh and blood, it must be sought in the upper region of mental and moral kinship. Knowledge and virtue know no ethnic exclusiveness. If indeed races are irreconcilable, their best individual exponents are not. All dignified negotiation must be conducted on the high plane of individual equality.

"For east is east, and west is west, and never the
twain shall meet,
'Till earth and sky stand presently at God's
great judgment seat;
But there is neither east nor west, border nor
breed nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, though
they come from the ends of the earth."

The irreconcilable becomes reconciled only after each has manifested the best possibilities of a common nature. The higher education tends to develop superior individuals who may be expected to exercise a controlling influence over the multitude. The individaul is the proof, the promise and the salvation of the race. The undeveloped races, which in modern times have faded before the breath of civilization, have probably perished because of their failure to produce commanding leaders to guide them wisely under the stress and strain which an encroaching civilization imposed. A single red Indian with the capacity and spirit of Booker T. Washington might have solved the red man's problems and averted his impending doom.

Again, the higher education should be encouraged because of the moral impotency of all the modes of education which do not touch and stir the human spirit. It is folly to suppose that the moral nature of the child is improved because it has been taught to read and write and cast up accounts, or to practice a handicraft. Tracing the letters of the alphabet has no bearing upon the Golden Rule. The spelling of words by sound and syllable does not lead to the observance of the Ten Commandments. Drill in the multiplication table does not fasci-

nate the learner with the Sermon on the Mount. Rules in grammar, dates in history, sums in arithmetic, and points in geography do not strengthen the grasp on moral truth. The ability to saw to a line or hit a nail aplomb with a hammer does not create a zeal for righteousness and truth. It is only when the pupil comes to feel the vitalizing power of knowledge that it begins to re-act upon the life and to fructify in character. This is especially true of a backward race whose acquisitive power out runs its apperceptive faculty.

The social separation of the races in America renders it imperative that the professional classes among the Negroes should be recruited from their own ranks. Under ordinary circumstances, professional places are filled by the most favored classes in the community. In a Latin or Catholic country, where the fiction of "social equality" does not exist, there is felt no necessity for Negro priest, teacher or physician to administer to his own race. But in America this is conceded to be a social necessity. Such being the case, the Negro leader, to use the familiar term, requires all the equipment of his white confrere, and special knowledge of the needs and circumstances of his race in addition. The teacher of the Negro child, the preacher

of a Negro congregation, or the physician to Negro patients, certainly requires as much professional skill as do those who administer to the corresponding needs of the white race. Nor is the requirement of the situation one whit diminished because the bestower is of the same race as the recipient. The Negro has the same professional needs as his white confrere and can be qualified for his function only by courses of training of like extent and thoroughness. By no other means can he be qualified to enlighten the ignorant, restrain the vicious, care for the sick and afflicted, plead in litigation the cause of the injured, or administer solace to weary souls. This is the work to which Howard University is devoted.

According to the census of 1900, there were 72 cities in the United States with a population of more than 5,000 persons of color, averaging 15,000 each, and aggregating 1,000,000 in all. The professional needs of this urban population for teachers, preachers, lawyers and physicians call for 5,000 well-equipped men and women, not one of whom would be qualified for his function by the three R's or a handicraft.

The supreme concern of philanthropy is the welfare of the unawakened rural masses. To this end there is need of a goodly sprinkling

of well educated men and women to give wise guidance, direction and control. Let no one deceive himself that the country Negro can be uplifted except through the influence of a higher contact. It is impossible to inaugurate and conduct a manual training school or an industrial school without men of sound academic, as well as technical knowledge. The torch which is to lighten the darksome places of the South must be kindled at the centers of light.

Rational enjoyment, through moderation, is perhaps as good a definition as can be given of culture. The reaction of culture upon conduct is a well known principle of practical ethics. The Negro race is characterized by boisterousness of manner and extravagant forms of taste. As if to correct such deficiencies, his higher education, hitherto, has largely been concerned with Greek and Latin literature, the norms of modern culture. It is just here that our educational critics are likely to become excited. The spectacle of a Negro wearing eye-glasses and declaiming in classic phrases about the "lofty walls of Rome," and the "wrath of Achilles" upsets their critical calmness and composure. We have so often listened to the grotesque incongruity of a Greek chorus and a greasy cabin, and the relative value of a rosewood piano and a patch of

early rose potatoes, that if we did not join in the smile to encourage the humor, we should do so out of sheer weariness. And yet we cannot escape the conviction that one of the Negro's chief needs is a higher form of intellectual and esthetic taste.

Whenever the higher education of the Negro is broached, industrial training is always suggested as a counter irritant. Partisans of rival claims align themselves in hostile array and will not so much as respect a flag of truce. These one-eyed enthusiasts lack binocular vision. The futile discussion as to whether industrial or higher education is of greater importance to the Negro is suggestive of a subject of great renown in rural debating societies: "Which is of greater importance to man, air or water?" We had as well attempt to decide whether the base or the altitude is the more important element of a triangle. The two forms of training should be considered on the basis of their relative, not rival, claims. This ardent discussion is both mischievous and silly. The question is merely one of ration and proportion and can never be made a matter of fundamental controversy. There is need of one Howard to ten Hamptons. Howard can take no part in the prevailing controversy as to the modes of train-

ing, for it believes in all modes of education in their proper place and proportion. The institution endeavors to affiliate the various departments into which its work is divided and to keep them all in harmony with its leading aim, namely, to raise men's bodies by raising their souls. All sensible men must not only approve but applaud the work of the industrial schools. But if all were hands where were the head? After making provision for the few people of any race who are capable to direct, there will be left sufficient to toil. The value of the triangle depends upon its altitude as well as upon its base. The Negro race comprises some nine million souls, with varied capacities, aptitudes, opportunities and responsibilities, and it is plainly evident that no single program is adequate to such a wide circle of needs.

In competing for public favor institutions devoted to higher reaches of knowledge are always placed at a disadvantage as compared with those that are on a more concrete and material basis. They have little to display that appeals to the eye or captivates the fancy. The nature of their work does not so readily lend itself to graphic description or pictorial illustration. Intellectual development cannot be shown by a photograph, like the productions of the manual

arts. Because of the comparative lack of picturesqueness and display, the higher institutions of learning, devoted to the Negro race, are apt to be regarded as too theoretical, without tangible methods and results. There has recently sprung into prominence a class of educational philosophers who seem to maintain that only such information as will be honored at the corner grocery, or is convertible, at sight, into cash equivalent, is of practical value. But there is a deeper philosophy. All knowledge which clarifies the vision, refines the feelings, broadens the conceptions of truth and duty, and ennobles the manhood, is of the highest and most valuable form of practicability. An institution which sends into the world a physician to heal the sick, a lawyer to plead the cause of the injured, a teacher to enlighten the mind of the ignorant, a leader to give wise direction to the simple, or a preacher to administer spiritual solace to hungry souls, is rendering just as practicable a service as those schools which prepare men to engage in the agricultural or mechanical arts.

Indeed, one of the strongest claims for the higher education of the Negro is that it will stimulate dormant industrial capacities of the race. The surest way to incite a people to meet the material demands of life is to teach them

that life is more than meat. The unimaginative laborer pursues the dull routine of his daily task, spurred only by the immediate demands of life and the task-master's stern command. To him it is only time and the hour that run through the whole day. The Negro lacks enlightened imagination. He needs prospect and vista. He does not make provision because he lacks prevision. Under slavery he toiled as an ass, dependent upon the daily allowance from his master's crib. To him the prayer " Give us this day our daily bread " had a material rather than a spiritual meaning. If you would perpetuate the industrial incapacity of the Negro, then confine him to the low grounds of drudgery and toil and prevent him from casting his eyes unto the hills whence come inspiration and promise. The man with the hoe is of all men the most miserable unless, forsooth, he has hope. But if imbued with hope and sustained by an ideal, he can consecrate the hoe as well as any other instrument of service, as a means of fulfilling the promise within him. When a seed is sown in the ground it first sends its roots into the soil before its blades can rise out of it. But is it not actuated by the plant consciousness to seek the light of heaven? For what is the purpose for sending its roots below, if it be not in order

to bear fruit above? The pilgrim fathers in following the inspiration of a lofty ideal developed the resources of a continent. Any people who attempt to reach the sky on a pedestal of bricks and mortar will end in confusion and bewilderment as did the builders of the Tower of Babel on the plains of Shinar, in the days of Eld. It requires range of vision to stimulate the industrial activities of a people. The most effective prayer that can be uttered for the Negro is "Lord, open thou his eyes." He cannot see beyond the momentary gratification of appetite and passion. He does not look before and after. Such stimulating influence can be brought to bear upon the race only through the inspiration of higher culture.

It requires men of sound knowledge to conceive and execute plans for the industrial education of the masses. The great apostles of industrial education for the Negro have been of academic training or its cultural equivalent. The work of Hampton and Tuskegee is carried on by men and women of a high degree of mental cultivation.

Doctor Booker T. Washington (note the title) is the most influential Negro that the race under freedom has produced. He is the great apostle of industrial training. His great success is but

the legitimate outcome of his earnestness and enthusiasm. And yet there is no more striking illustration of the necessity of wise, judicious and cultivated leadership as a means of stimulating the dormant activity of the masses than he who hails from Tuskegee. His success is due wholly to his intellectual and moral faculties. His personal opportunities of association and contact have been equivalent to a liberal education. Two of America's greatest institutions of learning have fittingly recognized his moral and intellectual worth by decorating him with their highest literary honors. Mr. Washington possesses an enlightened mind to discover the needs of the masses, executive tact to put his plans into effective operation, and persuasive ability to convince others as to the expediency of his policies. He possesses no trade or handicraft. If so he has never let the American people into the secret. Nor can it be easily seen what benefit such trade or handicraft would give him in the work which has fallen to his lot. Tuskegee was built on intellect and oratory. If Mr. Washington had been born with palsied hands, but endowed with the intellectual gifts and powers of persuasive speech, Tuskegee would not have suffered one iota by reason of his manual affliction. But on the other hand, had he come

into the world with a sluggish brain and a heavy tongue, whatever cunning and skill his hand may have acquired, he never could have developed the institution which has made him justly famous throughout the civilized world.

Slavery taught the Negro to work, but at the same time to despise those who worked. To them all show of respectability was attached to those whom circumstances placed above the necessity of toil. It requires intellectual conception of the object and the end of labor to overcome this mischievous notion. The Negro mechanics produced under the old slave regime are rapidly passing away because they did not possess the power of self-perpetuation. They were not rooted and grounded in rational principles of the mechanical arts. The hand could not transmit its cunning because the mind was not trained. They were given the knack without the knowledge.

It is often charged that the higher education lifts the Negro above the needs of his race. The thousands of graduates of Negro Schools and Colleges all over the land are a living refutation of this charge. After the mind has been stored with knowledge it is transmitted to the place where the need is greatest and the call loudest, and transmuted into whatever mode of

energy may be necessary to accomplish the imposed task.

The issues involved in the race question are as intricate in their relations and as far reaching in their consequences as any that have ever taxed human wisdom for solution. No one can be too learned or too profound in whose hands are entrusted the temporal and eternal destiny of a human soul. Even if the educated Negro desired to flee from his race, he soon learns by bitter experience that he will be thrown back upon himself by tho expulsive power of prejudice. He soon learns that the Newtonian formula has a social application: "The force of attraction varies directly as the mass."

Howard University is a standing refutation of this charge; it has touched the life of, perhaps a majority, the most eminent colored men in America. She reckons among her alumni many of the leading Afro-Americans in all lines of endeavor. Douglass, Langston, and Bruce were members of its governing board. Hon. Judson W. Lyons, Register of the United States Treasury, whose signature is necessary to validitate our national currency, is an alumnus of Howard, as is also Hon. Geo. H. White, the last Negro member of Congress, whose pathetic benediction on leaving that body made such a

deep impression upon the country. Mr. T. Thomas Fortune, the redoubtable editor of the *New York Age*, is also a Howard product. Prof. Hugh M. Brown is principal of the Institute for colored youth in Philadelphia, whose leading purpose is to prepare teachers industrially for work in the South. Mr. Brown taught for a number of years at Hampton Institute, and his advocacy of manual training as a means of race development is scarcely less emphatic than that of Booker T. Washington himself. Prof. William H. H. Hart, who walked from Alabama to Washington, is founder and principal of the Hart Farm School which takes neglected waifs from the slums and alleys of the city and transforms them into useful and enthusiastic agricultural workers. Mr. Hart's school is located near Fort Washington, Maryland, and is looked upon by students of social subjects as a most significant movement for the welfare of the colored race. Hon. John H. Smyth, ex-minister to Liberia, is founder and manager of the Juvenile Reformatory of Virginia. The institution has two thousand acres of land, where juvenile offenders are sent by the state of Virginia, so as to separate them from the hardened criminal adults in the state prison, and also to reform their evil tendencies and de-

velop in them intelligent industrial habits. Mr. Smyth has about one hundred wards, and his success has received the highest commendation of the state authorities.

Mr. William E. Benson is the promoter of an industrial settlement at Kowaliga, Alabama. He has secured seven thousand acres of land and is developing a thriving Negro community on the basis of industrial thrift and co-operation. Ex-Congressman Geo. H. White, has secured two thousand acres of land near Cape May, New Jersey, and has established a town which bears his own name, as a sort of refuge for thrifty Negroes who are dissatisfied with conditions in the South. Prof. James M. Gregory is principal of the state Industrial School of New Jersey, for the education of colored youth. These are but a sample of the alumni of Howard who are devoting their energies to the social and industrial betterment of the masses.

Colored youth in increasing numbers are entering Northern Universities, and are gaining distinction both in the intellectual and the athletic arena. Some go so far as to deprecate the existence of distinct higher institutions for the Negro, claiming that the few capable colored men can find accommodation in the larger white schools. It is by no means certain just how

many Negroes would be received by a Northern College before the strenuous protest would arise that the black element is becoming "too numerous." The Northern College is not apt to inspire the Negro with enthusiasm and zeal for the work which Providence has assigned him. Neither is the Negro student likely to develop initiative and self-reliance. He is rather prone to regard himself as a recipient, rather than a partaker, rather a looker-on than a promoter. Harvard has not yet produced a Booker T. Washington, although it has adopted him and honors his name above every other name among colored men. It is true that the Negro needs the benefit of contact and comparison and the zeal for truth and knowledge that the Northern Institutions impart. The Northern College gives the Negro his diploma and its benediction on the same day. Were it not for the colored school there would be little scope for the exploitation of acquired knowledge. On the other hand, Howard University furnishes stimulus and encouragement to Negro youth all over the land, affording colored men opportunity to occupy places of honor and distinction, and thus to gain reputation and standing in the educational world. A people is inspired by the exaltation of individuals of its own blood.

The Medical Department of the University has had the largest and most conspicuous success. Perhaps one-third of all the colored doctors in the country are graduates of this institution. As an illustration of the wide-spread influence of this department, in the city of Charleston, S. C., there are eight colored physicians, every one of whom is an alumnus of Howard. Among these may be numbered Dr. W. D. Crum, upon whom national attention has been focussed on account of the persistency with which President Roosevelt has sent his name to the Senate as collector of customs for the Port of Charleston. The city of Charleston has a Negro population of 30,000 and the death rate among them is something awful to contemplate. The Negro Physician is really a missionary of good health. He is rendering a patriotic service by checking the threatening physical decline of the race, and thus adding to the effective economic and industrial strength of the nation. The Negro physician is shown every professional courtesy by his white confrere, with whom he freely and frequently consults. The Freedmen's Hospital at Washington, where colored surgeons perform operations which tax the highest surgical skill, and which attract wide attention throughout the profession, is under the

direction of Dr. W. A. Warfield, a graduate of Howard. Although the Freedmen's Hospital containing some 300 beds, is wholly supported by the national government, yet it is so closely affiliated with Howard University as to be practically a part of it. The Medical faculty and students are thus afforded exceptional hospital facilities. The last session of Congress appropriated $300,000 for a modern, up-to-date hospital building whose professional management is lodged in the medical faculty of the University. It is interesting to know that the bill carrying this provision was introduced in the Senate by Senator Benjamin R. Tillman, of South Carolina. The facilities of the Freedmen's Hospital and of the Medical College are utilized as a training school for colored nurses. The services of these nurses are in great request by the best white families. The ignorant, uncouth Negro woman by sheer force of natural affection was able to take the children of her refined and cultivated mistress and beget for herself an attachment and a fondness beyond that they bore for their own parents. This natural affection is not destroyed by cultivation but reappears in a more refined form. The colored nurse is noted for the tenderness, sympathy and sacrificial attention which she bestows upon the

sufferers committed to her care. This relation is of wide importance at the time of almost sudden sundering of the ties of attachment and endearment which once held the races together.

The function of the Negro lawyer is generally under-estimated. He is usually regarded as a charlatan or a pettifogger, with little comprehension or serious purpose concerning the weighty matters of the law. Any set of men whose clientele falls mainly among the criminal classes is apt to acquire an unsavory reputation. The highest function of the colored lawyer is to teach the race the sacredness of an obligation, to inculcate a sense of civic duty. The lawyer is the natural leader of the people in general movements, and directs their energies along lines of public and civic endeavor. He renders a patriotic service by interpreting the beneficent purpose and intendment of legally constituted order, which lies at the basis of all orderly society.

Howard University has furnished the colored race with about half of its lawyers. Careful investigation shows that they are generally successful, and useful men in their several communities. Seventy replies to ninety-three letters of inquiry, show that their income ranges from $600.00 to $5,000.00 per year, with an average of $1,350.00. These men all report that they

meet with uniform courtesy by their white fellow jurist consults. There is no case on record where a white lawyer has refused a retainer because a colored man was his adversary at the bar. Perhaps the most conspicuous success among Howard's alumni is D. Augustus Straker, of Detroit, Michigan, who was twice elected to a judicial position by white votes of that city, and who is also the author of several law books of recognized merit. Mr. Straker is regarded as one of the strong lawyers of the Detroit Bar.

The Theological Department of Howard University is unique among theological seminaries. It is of an undenominational character; faculty and students represent the various modes of belief and forms of worship that prevail in the Protestant Church. The Theological graduates are among the most influential members of the different denominations represented by Negro churches, and some of them are engaged in missionary work both at home and in the foreign fields.

The charge has recently been made that money spent on the higher education of the Negro has been wasted. Does this charge come from the South? When we consider that it was through Northern Philanthropy that a third of its population received their first impulse toward better

things; that these higher institutions prepared the 30,000 Negro teachers whose services are utilized in the public schools; that the men and women who were the beneficiaries of this philanthropy are doing all in their power to control, guide, and restrain the South's ignorant and vicious masses, thus lightening the public burden and lifting the general life to a higher level; that these persons are almost without exception earnest advocates of peace, harmony and good will between the races; to say nothing of the fact that these vast philanthropic contributions have passed through the trade channels of Southern merchants, it would seem that the charge is strangely incompatible with that high-minded disposition and chivalrous spirit which the South is so zealous to maintain. Does this charge come from the North? It might not be impertinent to propound a few propositions for their consideration. Is it possible to specify a like sum of money spent upon any other backward race that has produced greater results than that spent upon the Southern Negro? Is it the American Indian, upon whom four centuries of missionary effort has produced no more progress than is made by a painted ship on a painted sea? Is it the Hawaiian, who will soon be civilized off the face of the earth? Is it the Chinese upon whom

the chief effect of Christian philanthropy is to incite them to breathe out slaughter against the stranger within their gates? It is incumbent upon him who claims that this money has been wasted to point out where, in all the range of benevolent activity the contributions of philanthropy have been more profitably spent.

It is true that forty or fifty millions of dollars have been thus spent, but when we consider the magnitude of the task to which it was applied, we find that it would not average one dollar a year for each Negro child to be educated. Why should we marvel, then, that the entire mass of ignorance and corruption has not put on enlightenment and purity?

But wisdom is justified of her children. The complainant is always craftily careful to avoid a bill of particulars. He does not specify any particular institution of which the charge is true, but contents himself with damaging generalities. Howard University has cost between two and three millions of dollars for foundation and maintenance during the past thirty-eight years. As returns on this investment, it has sent into the world, in round numbers, 200 ministers of the gospel; 900 physicians, pharmacists and dentists; 400 lawyers; 400 teachers; 100 trained nurses; and 500 men and women with general

collegiate and academic training, together with thousands of some-time pupils who have shared the partial benefit of its courses. These twenty-five hundred graduates and ten thousand some-time pupils are to be found in every state and territory, in every town and county where the Negro population resides. They occupy the highest positions of usefulness and honor allotted colored men, as well as fill the humbler spheres of sacrificial service. These men and women are advocates of peace and harmony between the races, and are preaching, teaching, practicing, hoping, praying, pleading for the upbuilding of the Negro race. Where can it be shown that a like sum of money has been expended so as to produce a more wholesome or wide-spread influence upon the social betterment of the people?

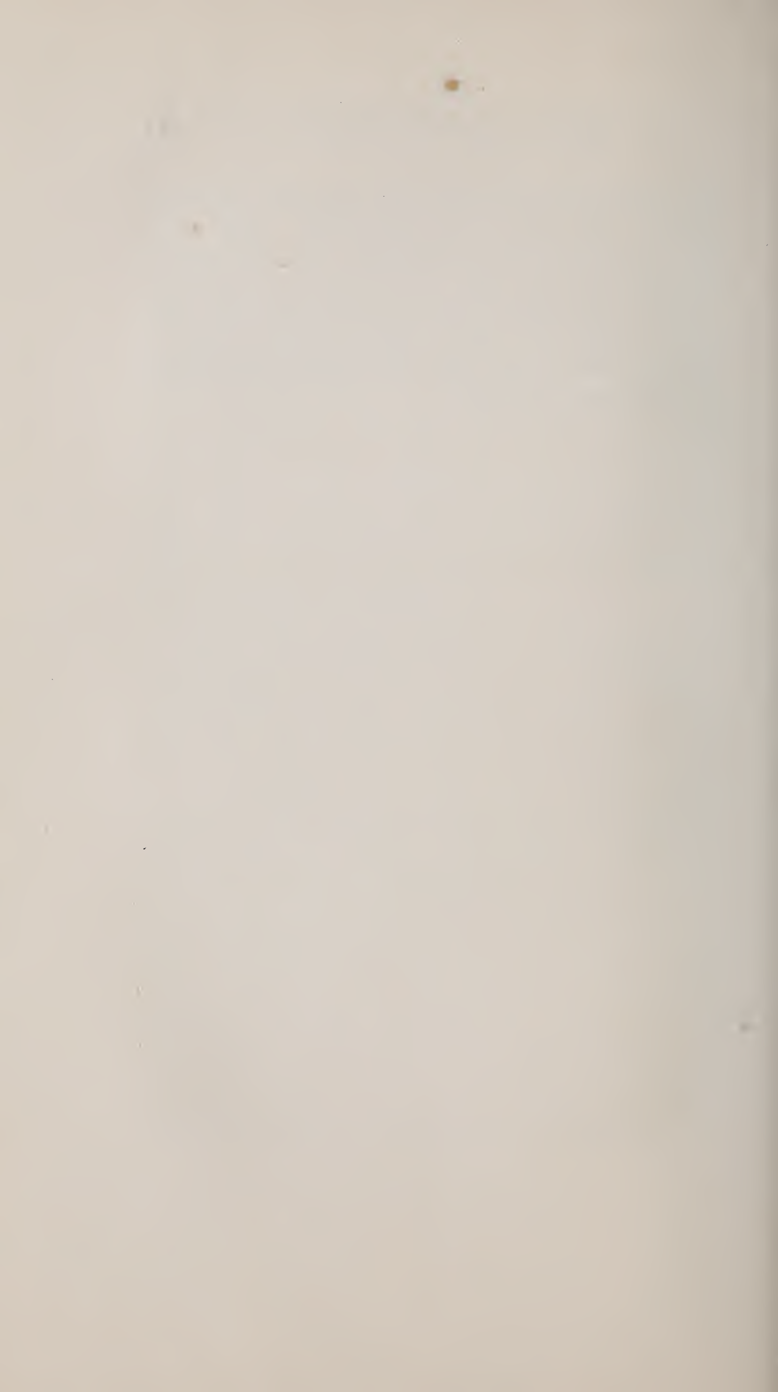
While the Negro constitutes the main body of students of Howard University, yet the Institution is broadbased upon the principles of humanity, and makes no distinction on account of race, sex, or religion. Many white students recognize and avail themselves of the excellence of its courses. Among the student body may be found representatives of Japan, Corea, Bulgaria, Burmah, Cuba, Africa, Porto Rica, and the British West Indian Isles. As our country ex-

tends its influence over the weaker peoples of the earth, there will be felt more and more the necssity of some institution where they can be trained in the principles and practice of Western civilization and American citizenship.

Howard University, located at the national capital, with facilities equal to the best educational demands, affording opportunity for close observation of the machinery of the government, and with a student body in natural sympathy with the "lesser breeds," seems destined to become, in a broader and wider sense, the national university of the colored race.

From this unique center of advantage and opportunity, her lines go out to the remotest ramifications of our national domain. From this wide area she draws in the picked youth of an awakening race and sends them forth equipped with requisite knowledge and imbued with a sense of service. She holds a peculiarly important place in the educational scheme of the Negro race and in its general social development. Her widespread influence goes out and reaches down and lifts up. A university, adequately equipped, capably administered, whose courses and methods are in harmony with the best approved standards, and whose tradition and ideals evoke the highest enthusiasm and aspiration of

its constituents, typifies and expresses the chief hope in the progress of any people. This is the aim of Howard University; and to this end she appeals for sympathy, encouragement and support to all who believe that in the scheme of human development the mind must quicken and stimulate the masses.



II

BEREA COLLEGE

BY

PRESIDENT WILLIAM G. FROST

BEREA COLLEGE

Among the educational institutions of the South Berea College claims three distinctions, each of which touches national concerns.

In the first place, it was founded by anti-slavery Southerners before the civil war. It is perhaps the most conspicuous and the last example of that Southern spirit which survived from Revolutionary days and uttered its unawed protest down to the very time of the Rebellion.

In the second place, it discovered the American Highlanders. Berea's founders and teachers first observed that the mountain region of the South formed one of the grand divisions of our country. They first noted the sociological distinction of the people inhabiting the rugged country where the backyards of eight states come together, and they led the way in devising educational adaptations which should make the mountain region a better place to be born in — make it something like what Scotland is in Great Britain, a storehouse of national vigor and patriotism.

And in the third place, Berea has proved the

practicability of the ideal. On the old soil of slavery it freely admitted white and colored students and taught them in the same classes, without contamination or reproach. The story of such an enterprise is crowded with interest alike for the teacher, the philanthropist, and the patriot.

The story of the spirit of liberty in America shows us a gradual decline throughout the Southern states after the Revolution, a decline accelerated by the invention of the cotton gin, so that, in the quaint words of Horace Greeley, "as slavery grew more profitable it grew less sinful!" The revival started, as we commonly reckon, with the clarion voice of Wm. Lloyd Garrison; but he received his first incentives from the Southern Quaker, Benjamin Lundy.

Of course as slavery grew more profitable it grew more intolerant, and there came a great exodus from the South. This was hastened by the passage of severe laws in one state after another forbidding the teaching of the blacks to read, forbidding the manumission of slaves, debarring the Negro of "all rights which the white man is bound to respect." A large body of Southern Quakers were among these exiles from the South. Mr. Cannon, the present Speaker

of the House of Representatives, was born in North Carolina, and his talents would have adorned that state had not his people been exiled because of their liberal principles.

The one spot where the Southern Abolitionists made a stand for free speech and their rights was in eastern Kentucky. There were perhaps more of them in that region, and they had a fit leader in the person of Cassius M. Clay. This fearless and eloquent man defied the "fire-eaters" and answered them in their own language. It was his pleasant custom to go into a court house, schoolhouse, or church-house, and lay before him a Bible and a copy of the Constitution; and then he would say, "Gentlemen, there are men here who fear neither the law of God nor of man, and we have arguments for them." And he would draw from his saddle-bags a bowie-knife and a revolver. Then he was ready for a discussion!

Old Gen. Clay told me with his own lips how he first discovered the significance of the mountains. He was trying to build up a political party in favor of freedom. The men who were not slaveholders were of course his natural allies — in the Blue Grass region they were the laborers, blacksmiths, carpenters, and other mechanics. But these men he found were over-awed

by their employers and unable to stand up and vote as the custom then was *viva voce* for his liberal party on election day. "Then," he said, "I noticed that the people of the mountains did not own slaves and did own land. This made them independent, and I saw that there was the place where I could build up a party in favor of freedom — men who could be independent and vote as they believed." With this in view he purchased large tracts of mountain land in the southern end of Madison County, and here he invited an Abolition preacher to make a settlement, which was speedily called Berea. An anti-slavery church became the mother of an anti-slavery school.

The preacher as a man of God rejected the use of "carnal weapons," but Gen. Clay gave small tracts of land in the vicinity of Berea to men who were not so religious and who were only too glad to use the revolvers and bowie-knives which he furnished for the maintaining of free speech! Thus the combination of Gospel and fire-arms maintained free speech down to the civil war.

And now let us inquire who was this preacher who came into the backwoods of Kentucky to face mobs and persecutions? His name was John Gregg Fee, scion of a "good Kentucky

family," early called to the ministry; a man of wonderful gifts, combining seriousness with cheerfulness, courage with urbanity, a deep philosophical mind with a sublime faith in the final victory of righteousness. Young Fee was brought up in the household of a severe slave-holder, and was thus the inheritor of slaves.

In the pursuit of theological education he entered Lane Seminary. He has recorded the struggle that overtook him there when the subject of slavery was brought to his attention. Day after day he resorted to a little grove for meditation and prayer. He was alive to all the consequences of his decision — his father's frown, the persecution of his people, but at last, as he tells us in the quaint words of his diary, "I saw that to have peace I must make the consecration, and I said: 'Lord, if needs be, make me an abolitionist.' In all my life since there have been abundant errors, sins, and mistakes, but on this point I do not think I ever wavered. I determined to do God's will regardless of consequences, to preach the gospel of impartial love in my native state. I have never had to fight that battle again. I have never had to consider when in the hands of a mob what my course should be."

And he incurred all the persecutions he antici-

pated. Before he had been married a month his young wife was riding between him and the flying missiles of his enemies. In recent years of peace I heard his daughter tell how as a child it was a common thing for her mother to be waiting with anxiety for her father's return. "We children," said the daughter, "never thought anything more about mobs than about thunder-storms. We supposed everybody had mobs!"

And then came help from the North. The American Missionary Association, then an un-denominational organization, gave Mr. Fee a salary of three or four hundred dollars. Later they sent other workers into the region. And greatest of all came the first Principal of the school, Dr. J. A. R. Rogers, worthy descendant of the Martyr; a man of scholarship and enthusiasm, raised up by Providence to be the founder of a college.

These men actually made their little school in the mountains so popular that many slaveholders sent their children; and they had gathered a good following when they were interrupted by the war. The first trouble came with the John Brown raid, and the Berea people were driven from the state. They were back in '62 and exiled again at the time of Kirby Smith's invasion. But their teaching lived. The people

who had heard their voices and approved their sentiments at heart, stood for liberty and held Kentucky in the Union. Jackson county, immediately east of Berea, sent more men into the Union army in proportion to its population than any other county in the nation. The great mountain region rose up for national unity.

Speedily after the war the school was resumed, and then came the admission of colored students. This was a momentous occasion. Many of the white students withdrew, though most of them came straggling back when the school had begun to move forward undisturbed by the change. Henry Fairchild, an elder brother of James Fairchild, well known President of Oberlin, came to Berea as chief executive in '69 and during twenty years administered a growing work. It was for him to assist in mediating the transition to the reign of freedom, to assist the colored people in getting the right to testify in court, to establish the validity of slave marriages, to secure for them their share of the school funds, to escape the violence of the Ku-Klux; and he lived to see peace and a large measure of justice established.

Then came an interregnum in which Berea dropped from public attention and lost some-

what of its place in the procession of those good causes for which good people pray.

I may be permitted to speak of my own call to this work as providential. With a group of fellow-teachers from Oberlin I took a walk for recreation through the mountains of West Virginia, tracing with one of the old Union officers the line of McClellan's first campaign. But we were soon absorbed in the study of the mountain people and the conditions of isolated life. Some years later, while enjoying a brief residence in Europe, I received a cablegram announcing my election to the Presidency of Berea College, and with it came letters from Roswell Smith and George W. Cable, asserting their opinion that Berea College, because of its history and its unique position, was a school of national importance, to which one might well give everything of life and effort.

My first important purchase in Kentucky was a pair of saddlebags. What other college president has the distinction of such accoutrements! I started forth, guided by one of Sherman's veterans, to find out whether the mountain people would send their children to school, and to find out further what manner of school would be best adapted to their needs and condition. I

had already spread out the map, communicated with the geological and botanical surveys at Washington, and marked out that vast region, portions of the Virginias, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky, which constitute a region which we Bereans soon named Appalachian America — a region greatly varied in surface, elevation and climate, but having one unvarying characteristic — a country hard to travel. Kentucky's part in this vast region is a little larger than the combined states of Massachusetts and Connecticut. The children of that region are born to isolation. The settlers there, coming after the Revolutionary war, brought in the civilization of colonial times. They were soon shut in by more than mountain barriers, for there came feuds between the mountaineer, who was an independent freeman, and the Blue Grass magnate, who set up with his slaves and retainers as a feudal lord. In those mountain homes may be found survivals of much that was quaint, primitive, ingenious, simple, patriarchal and heroic in the pioneer times. The mountaineer needs a friendly interpreter. His outward aspect is strange to our eyes. Many of his customs seem barbarous. But as we approach him sympathetically, realizing his history and the conditions under which he lives,

we may well believe that if the scions of our families who went west along the line of the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes, where they were kept in perpetual touch with the seaboard — if they had gone instead to the mountains west of the southern seaboard they would to-day be groping there in the same fashion.

To bring the better elements of civilization within reach of this great population, to help them to some leadership and some means of progress — this seems to me work of national importance. It was a great responsibility to perfect a program for their relief and to find new friends for the enterprise.

But in both Berea has been really prospered. Our program is an unconventional and direct one. For those who cannot come to Berea we maintain an "extension" service — during the period of good roads some of our teachers are sent out, preferably a man and his wife, with two young men as cook and hostler, with tents and wagons and a stereopticon, to hold "people's institutes" from county to county, spending two or three days in a place. Such gatherings are attended by people from a vast distance. Years after the addresses delivered will be repeated almost word for word by appreciative

listeners. Many a time court has adjourned for the sake of hearing an address on education. Thought is provoked, enterprise is quickened, ambition is kindled. The newly awakened and struggling public school is encouraged.

And then for the young men and women who come to school. They must have short courses; the practical things poured in upon them; industry, skill,— the means of material prosperity, combined with the qualifications for good citizenship. Especially important is the Normal department, raising up teachers for the mountain schools which are beginning to appear. And for the few who have the special means and capability, an academic or college course. Nearly one thousand young people, first and last in the course of a year have been finding their way to Berea. Some resources have come to us: a Brick Yard; a great Chapel building — every brick laid by students; a Forest Preserve, where practical lessons are taught and which constitutes itself an object lesson that has raised the price of mountain land for a hundred miles. Such is our work for the mountaineers, the fruits of which are coming rapidly to view.

For nearly forty years the colored students have attended Berea freely, never less than one

hundred and sometimes twice that number, scattered through all our grades and classes according to their proficiency; the only question asked being whether they could pass the examinations and pay the modest fees.

Now Berea has no fanatical views to express. We do not affirm that such mingling of the races would be best under all conditions, but we must testify to the truth of what we have seen and known. Under the conditions in Berea it has been for good and not for evil. We have forced the opinion of none of our students. No one has been compelled to associate intimately with any one who was distasteful to him; but in the legitimate interests of the school-room and the playground race prejudice and suspicion have been diminished. The negro has had the sobering opportunity to measure himself by the Caucasian, and the white student has been emancipated from the narrowness and bigotry of caste. By this long experience, by the testimony of all its teachers and the vast majority of its students, by the absence of scandal or collision, by the raising up of a group of colored leaders who are sought for above others in all the towns and cities of Kentucky, Berea has "demonstrated the practicability of the ideal."

But the Legislature of Kentucky last winter

passed a law, with Berea specially in mind, forbidding any school or institution to receive both white and colored students unless the one race or color should be established in a separate department not less than twenty-five miles from the other: and this on penalty of a fine of $1,000 for the Institution, $1,000 for each of its teachers, and $50 for each of its pupils.[1]

This attack arose from no fault or scandal real or pretended in connection with Berea College. It was simply a part of the Bourbon movement which had extended over the whole South. To understand the South we must remember that the Southern States have never had a really democratic government and that the

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[1] In its final form the law stands as follows:

1. That it shall be unlawful for any person, corporation, or association of persons, to maintain or operate any college, school or institution where persons of the white and negro races are both received as pupils for instruction, and any person or corporation who shall operate or maintain any such college, school or institution, shall be fined $1,000, and any person or corporation who may be convicted of violating the provisions of this act shall be fined $100 for each day they may operate said college, school or institution, after such conviction.

2. That any instructor who shall teach in any school, college or institution, when members of said two races are received as pupils for instruction, shall be guilty of operating and maintaining same, and fined as provided in the first section hereof.

3. It shall be unlawful for any white person to attend any school or institution where negroes are re-

majority of the people of the South have no comprehension of what fairness, equality, and republican institutions really are. We are mistaken if we suppose that the attack upon a postmaster here and a colored collector of revenue in another place arises from some profound racial instinct. It arises from a motive that is much nearer the surface; there is some white man who wants the job! And then there was the feeling that the political leaders of the South would lose their grip. It cost them more every year in silver dollars and strong liquors to bring out the faithful on election day; and a good blow at the colored brother would fire the Southern heart of the ignorant masses and help the politician. This hue and cry swept over Tennessee two years before, and it reached Kentucky last winter.

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ceived as pupils or receive instruction, and it shall be unlawful for any negro or colored person to attend any school or institution where white persons are received as pupils or receive instruction. Any person so offending shall be fined $50 for each day he attends such institution or school. Provided that the provisions of this law shall not apply to any penal institution or house of reform.

4. Nothing in this act shall be construed to prevent any private school, college or institution of learning from maintaining a separate and distinct branch thereof, in a different locality, not less than twenty-five miles distant, for the education of one race or color.

5. This act shall not take effect or be in operation before the fifteenth day of July, 1904.

The Bourbons are to be pitied as well as condemned. They are not of course the whole South but they are the "bulldozing" and blatant element, and they really believe that civilization will yield to them. They expect to defeat President Roosevelt at the next election as certainly as they expected to win in the rebellion of '61. They expect to change the customs of Europe as well as America and gradually extend race prejudice over the face of Christendom. They will have their temporary victories but we do not believe they will set back the march of the age.

What Berea should do under these new conditions has been a serious question, a question which its trustees have taken time to consider. Whatever they do they are likely to incur the blame of the thoughtless, but they will certainly strive to do that which will have the commendation of posterity and of Almighty God.

First: They have decided to contest the constitutionality of this law; in behalf of humanity white and black we resist this legislative usurpation. There is a limit to the police powers of a State. A State may prescribe the methods for the conduct of a school which is supported by the State, but where a private institution, or an individual teacher chooses to use a school for all

comers, the same being orderly and law-abiding, the state may not enter the private domain of personal liberty and interfere. So we contest, and the court shall give the verdict.

Meanwhile we are assisting our colored students of last year to attend Fisk University and other schools of their choice, paying their railroad fare and insuring them against financial loss because of this new law. What will be the final way in which Berea College shall continue its best service to the colored race we cannot now predict, but we shall find that way and be faithful to the interests of the colored people. The perversity and blindness of our fanatical neighbors imposes upon us new burdens, but we refuse to be discouraged. It is merely the bringing to the surface of certain dregs of slavery which however disagreeable cannot stop the progress of good things at the South.[1]

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[1] The extent to which Berea has influenced its white students in the direction of world-wide Christian sentiment, is shown by the following resolutions adopted by the white students on the retirement of the colored:

BEREA STUDENTS SEND GREETINGS TO THE COLORED STUDENTS OF LAST YEAR.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED IN CHAPEL BY UNANIMOUS RISING VOTE, SEPT. 14, 1904.

The students of Berea College at the opening of the new term send greeting to the colored students who are

There seems to be at this time a conspiracy against the weak — a concerted effort to bring up an evil report against the Negro and prejudice against him his old friends at the North. "We of the South," say these deceptive voices, "we of the South understand the Negro, we are his true friends. The Northerners have made a mistake in wasting money trying to teach him that for which he is not fitted. Let us alone and we will bring things out all right." The Southerner does *not* understand the Negro. He is familiar with the low type of Negro but he has never studied the Negro with a view to learning his capabilities, his aspirations, his human possibilities. The Southerner has been a bad pedagogue in the treatment of the Negro. It is the simpliest truism that "if you call a man a

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this year debarred from the privileges of the Institution.

Friends and Fellow-students:

As we meet for the time under new conditions to enjoy the great advantages of Berea College, we think at once of you who are now deprived of these privileges.

Our sense of justice shows us that others have the same rights as ourselves, and the teachings of Christ teach us to "remember them that are in bonds as bound with them."

We realize that you are excluded from the classrooms of Berea College, which we so highly prize, by no fault of your own, and that this hardship is a part of a long line of deprivations under which you live. Because you were born in a race long oppressed and largely untaught and undeveloped, heartless people feel

thief he will steal"; and in calling the colored man a "nigger" and attributing to him all baseness and inefficiency, the South has in the most effective way repressed his manhood and discouraged his desire for improvement.

The Northern efforts for Negro education have been liable to the usual proportion of human mistakes and errors, but on the whole they have been intelligent — and more than that, effective. Probably no money has ever been expended in any philanthropic cause which has produced larger results. The distinctive schools in the old slave states supported by Northern philanthropy have raised up a body of intelligent, self-respecting, civilized colored people, and this superior class, created by Northern

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more free to do you wrong, and thoughtless people meet your attempts at self-improvement with indifference or scorn. Even good people sometimes fear to recognize your worth, or take your part in a neighborly way, because of the violence of the prejudices around us.

We are glad that we have known you, or known about you, and that we know you are rising above all discouragements, and showing a capacity and a character that give promise for your people. We confidently expect to hear of your success at Fisk University, Hampton, or other schools, and that you will help to vindicate the reputation of your people in the eyes even of those who desire to see no manly or womanly qualities in the Negro race. We know that you can compel increasing respect by your modesty, industry, skill, honesty, truthfulness, and a God-fearing and God-trusting life. In cultivating these qualities and teaching them among your people you will be engaged in as noble and heroic

sagacity and philanthropy, since the civil war, constitutes the hope of the race.

No wise or considerate man will judge any race by its masses, but rather its leaders and representatives. A race that can produce one or two great men can produce others; and we have abundant testimony from the best people of the South that the Negro can rise and is rising. Yea, that in whole groups of families he has risen to a place of responsibility, efficiency, and boundless promise.

The practical arrangements by which Berea pursues its ideals will be of interest. The Institution frankly undertakes to provide some program of progress for any young person who presents himself with three qualifications: First, he (or she) must be not less than fifteen years of

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a work as that of any patriot who ever toiled and suffered for his people's good. And you will always have our friendship, and the friendship of the best people throughout the world. We hope never to be afraid or ashamed to show our approval of any colored person who has the character and worth of most of the colored students of Berea.

We are glad that the College is providing funds to assist you in continuing your education, and we are sure the Institution will find ways in which to do its full duty by the colored race. We know that you have as much right to its care and help as we have, and we shall cheerfully give up a part of our own advantages if necessary in order that the colored people may have their just share.

age. Second, evidence must be shown of good moral character. And third, the applicant must bring that unequivocal form of recommendation — enough money for an initial payment of about $15!

For those least advanced there is provided a system of "Model Schools." These schools are arranged according to grades, from the Primary through the eighth grade. Most of these grades are subdivided into two or three sections. This enables us to group the older students, well-grown boys and girls who are in elementary subjects, by themselves, separate from the children who are pursuing like branches. These Model Schools are of value for practice work on the part of the advanced Normal students, but their chief value is for the pupils who attend them. These pupils in many cases come long distances, are representatives of the "leading families" in their communities, and though they may remain in Berea only two or three terms they will go back with larger ideals than their neighbors and will become the founders of a new state of affairs at home. Except for the subjects which they study they are practically enjoying the same kind of educational advantages which belong to students who go away from home to college. They attend college prayers, become acquainted

with the most aspiring young people from many and distant communities, conduct literary societies, and gather those precious elements of personal enhancement which come from contact with intellectual and spiritual life.

The studies in the Model Schools are the common branches, with industrial training, music, drawing, and lessons in conduct and character based upon the English Bible. The large number of students who get a few terms in these Model Schools and get nothing further, return to their distant homes to exert a leavening influence of incalculable value. Where only one or two come from a far-away county, they are likely to back-slide; but where they come in groups of a dozen or a score, they go back to produce a noticeable impression upon their county. The mingling of white and colored students in the Model Schools has been a marked feature until this year, and has led to advancement on both sides in the art of getting on together. The distance from which the mountain students are drawn may be tersely illustrated by a mere list of the places from which the students came last winter who were members of one division of the A Intermediate school: Berea, Beattyville, Lee Co., Level Green, Rockcastle Co., Dallas, Pulaski Co., Williamsburg, W. Va., Sidell, Clay

Co., London, Laurel Co., Jinks, Estill Co., Grayhawk, Jackson Co., Wallaceton, Madison Co., Wesleyville, Carter Co., Conkling, Owsley Co., Wasiota, Bell Co., Cody, Knott Co., Pear Tree, Breathitt Co., Blanche, Va., Newman, Illinois, Mansfield, O., Paint Lick, Garrard Co., Nina, Garrett Co., Pleasant View, Whitley Co., Viper, Perry Co., Campton, Wolfe Co., Augusta, Bracken Co., Indianapolis, Ind., Lexington, Fayette Co., Salyersville, Magoffin Co., Nashbie, Va.

A Model School student who is as far advanced as the A Intermediate has the privilege of selecting a trade or occupation in which he receives training and earns more or less wages while continuing in school. For these "apprentice students" we have not a very wide diversity of industries but have selected those which are most adapted to the country and in general most available. The young men can take Farming, Carpentry, Printing, Brick-making or Brick-laying. The young women can take Sewing, Nursing, Cooking, or Laundry work.

Pupils who are advanced in their studies beyond the eighth grade have the option of pursuing any one of several courses. For those who are preparing to teach there is a Normal

Course of three years. This embraces the studies required for a State Certificate in Kentucky, and in addition other subjects of general educational value. In fact we insist that all our Normal students shall go forth as advocates of industry and the skill which industrial training yields. All the Normal students have lessons in drawing and Horticulture. The young men have some training in the use of tools and the young women some training in "Home Science." The Normal Department strikes all our visitors as remarkable from the fact that a great majority of its students are young men. This is a wholesome state of affairs. The young men may not pursue teaching for many years but they will pass on to positions of influence in the community as business men, magistrates and school trustees, and thus be enabled to give to the new and struggling public schools of the South a standing which they could not otherwise secure.

The demand for teachers, due to the sudden installation of a school system in so many states, has been very great. It has of course necessitated the commissioning of many poorly equipped teachers. Almost anything in this line was made available to meet the situation and open the schools. We have known more than one wise county superintendent who would select a bright

and devoted young man or young woman and say frankly, "Now you cannot pass the examinations, but I will give you a certificate; you will teach the school this year the best you can, but you must promise me that you will use the money you draw for teaching this school in going to Berea and getting ready so that you can pass an honest examination next year!"

Side by side with this Normal Course are two Academy Courses, one fitting directly for college — four years' work with the usual preparatory studies; and the other a two years' course of general education fitting directly for life, and embracing such practical and cultural studies as Book-keeping, Civil Government, Outlines of History, Physiology, Physics, Readings from Great Authors, Elements of Economics, and Elementary Ethics. Students in this Course may also elect more of commercial branches if they are looking forward to a business life, or more of Horticulture if they are expecting to be farmers, or more of music and Home Science if their destination is the fireside.

Above all these comes the College proper. It is quite a problem as to what kind of collegiate education should be offered in these surroundings. A certain proportion of the young people who come to us show their talent and ambition

and need all the discipline and information they can get for the difficult positions of leadership among their people. We have not cheapened the College Course for these students. It embraces the traditional four years but omits the fancy electives which decorate a college course in most Northern institutions. It contains, however, the branches — Literature, Science, History, Philosophy, etc.— which were the staple in American colleges a generation ago and which are still elected by the great majority of students. These are taught with standard text-books by teachers of fine training and ability, so that the young man who graduates from Berea College can enter upon professional studies anywhere and find himself in step with the world.

This high standard keeps our College classes small — only eleven graduates last year. Nevertheless the College Course justifies itself each year and gives a tone to the work in all departments. The students who take College courses in Berea live in an atmosphere of practical things and drink in a missionary spirit along with their Geology and mountain air. The time is at hand when this College will be training a much larger proportion of the leaders for a wide region. The children of our present

students will be coming to us only a few years hence — coming from homes which can lend intelligent coöperation, and coming prepared to take collegiate courses. They will know Berea and look to us for that education which is called higher as well as for the more practical and elementary forms.

The equipment of an institution which is doing such varied work is a matter of decided interest. If our administration is thoughtful and consistent we shall be able to carry forward these different types of education each in its proper place and each by its proper methods. The Brick-Yard, Planing Mill, Saw Mill, Silo, Cabinet Shop, Steam Laundry, and Power Plant furnish labor for those who need to help themselves towards education, and, with that labor, a very real impulse towards scientific study and genuine discipline. At the same time these industrial outfits present the best of problems for those who are pursuing science in a methodical way.

The natural surroundings in Berea are beautiful. The campus of seventy acres occupies a ridge lying between the Blue Grass region to the west and the Cumberland Mountains to the east. We are near the water-shed between the great valleys of the Kentucky and

the Cumberland rivers. Two miles east is the pinnacle from which Daniel Boone first gazed out upon the Blue Grass when he had traversed the mountain region from North Carolina. Our Fay Forest preserve of over three thousand acres shows a great variety of forest conditions and of picturesque beauty. And the greatest gift of our Forest Preserve is the ten mountain springs which Dr. Pearsons has generously piped down to Berea, so that we have an abundance of mountain water in all our buildings.

The attendance of students is peculiar in its fluctuations. The rural public schools of Kentucky begin in July and close at Christmas. A great army of our young people teach during these six summer and fall months. They are thus kept away from Berea during the fall term, but they return at New Year's time, bringing with them in many cases their older scholars, so that the number of students at Berea is doubled in a week. Then comes the time of crowding and discomfort; three or four students must live in one room and good-nature and patience are put to the test. It is hoped that the Brick-Yard and Planing Mill and the generosity of our friends will provide more shelter before another winter.

The social and religious arrangements of the

school are natural and wholesome. The students gather each day for chapel services, the more advanced students by themselves in order that they may not be bored by the more elementary lessons and repeated notices which are necessary for the larger number of students who are less advanced and whose stay in Berea is shorter.

The good records made by our students are a perpetual reward and incentive. Our mountain students are holding county offices, preaching the gospel, developing the resources of the country, and advancing civilization generally throughout Appalachian America. The teaching profession has claimed among our colored graduates by far the greater number. A gathering of the colored teachers of Kentucky is almost the same thing as a reunion of Berea students; and outside the State Berea teachers are doing distinguished service at such institutions as the industrial school at Manassas, Va., and the Okolona College recently founded by our graduate, Wallace A. Battle in Mississippi. Perhaps the best conductor of teachers' institutes in the State is our Prof. Frank L. Williams, of Covington.

But outside the teaching profession we have such preachers as Dr. James Bond, of Nashville, and large groups of physicians, business men

and prosperous farmers and mechanics. Such records prove to us anew each year that the best investment in this world is an investment in men and women.

III

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

BY

PROFESSOR ROSCOE CONKLING BRUCE

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

It was Emerson who said that institutions are the lengthened shadows of great men. Certainly Tuskegee Institute is the lengthened shadow of Booker Washington. Tuskegee and the Odyssey sing the triumph of personality over circumstance; each hero overcame men and gods and nature by dint of "cool intelligence, patient courage and a tenacious heart."

The cramped log cabin, windowless and squalid, with its gratuitous cat hole and its potato hole ready at hand — this cabin in which the unfathered child was born some unnoted day, the bundle of filthy rags laid upon a dirt floor on which the two little brothers and the little sister slept, the wonderful grape-vine telegraph, the delectable ginger cakes ("Those cakes," says Washington, "seemed to me absolutely the most tempting and desirable things I had ever seen." —), the cruel wooden shoes, the ordeal of the flax shirt, the heart-felt sorrow for "Mars Billy" killed in battle, the profound yearning for freedom of which many a plaintive melody was the voice, the wild immeasurable

ecstacy and the deep brooding gloom when freedom was at last vouchsafed — from these things, compact of smiles and tears, Tuskegee sprang.

The coal mine in Kanawha Valley could not bury the spirit of this boy. A chance reference of two miners, in their rambling talk, to Hampton hinted an opportunity. Hid in the darkness of the mine, the urchin crept with beating heart as close to the men as he dared; his keen wits understood, his boyish ambitions now had a definite object, he made a high resolve. A thrifty Yankee woman from Vermont took Washington into her household and gave him a chance to earn and save a little money; she taught him that cleanliness *is* godliness! With the hesitant consent of his untutored mother, a few dollars from his good elder brother, and the wondering sympathy of the colored neighbors, the boy — all his earthly possessions tucked into a shabby little satchel — started at last for Hampton with a stout heart.

He reached Richmond, tired and hungry and dirty, penniless, friendless, discouraged. Under a board sidewalk at a place where it was somewhat elevated, he lay down to sleep for the night, and this was his bed during his stay in the city. Finally, he saved enough money from helping to unload a ship to pay his way to Hampton; he

reached the school with a surplus of exactly fifty cents with which to begin his education! But, he passed his entrance examination, he swept the room clean!

The novelties of the new life bewildered Washington but he adjusted himself to the conditions by dint of patient effort and many embarrassments. The puzzle of two sheets on the bed he solved gravely. "The first night I slept under both of them, and the second night I slept on top of both of them; but by watching the other boys I learned my lesson in this, and have been trying to follow it ever since and to teach it to others." His experience at Hampton advanced his literary education, trained him to continuous and intelligent work with his hands, and awakened genuine respect for labor; but most important of all, brought him into contact with General Armstrong. From Hawaii Armstrong had journeyed, in 1860, to Williams College to sit at the feet of Mark Hopkins: the gift that Mark Hopkins gave Armstrong, Armstrong gave the shy Negro lad from the mines of West Virginia — and that gift was consecrated common sense.

After being graduated, Washington taught school at Malden, West Virginia, for two years where he rendered himself eccentric by insisting that the pupils be clean as well as grammatical!

In the Fall of 1878 he spent some months of study at Wayland Seminary in Washington. The next Spring General Armstrong asked him to return to Hampton partly as a teacher and partly as an advanced student. Washington proved his efficiency there and was asked to take charge of the night school which Armstrong was about to start for the benefit of such students as could not pay even a part of their expenses; the enrolment grew rapidly and Washington gained valuable experience.

The call to Tuskegee came in 1881. In response to the enquiry of George W. Campbell, an ex-slaveholder, and Lewis Adams, an ex-slave, General Armstrong recommended Booker T. Washington to teach the Negro school at Tuskegee. Washington reached the town early in June and spent the first month in making a social survey. With a mule and a cart he drove all over Macon county of which Tuskegee is the county seat; he ate and slept with the people and studied their actual life on the plantation, in the home and the church and the school. At that time there were 4,500 whites in Macon and nearly three times as many blacks. The odoriferous one-room cabin stuffed with parents and children and nondescript relatives; the fat pork and corn bread regimen; the high-priced organ

to satisfy musical aspirations as against one rusty fork to convey food to nine or ten mouths; the Saturday exodus from plantation to town; the cruelty of the crop lien and the stupidity of the one-crop system; farming by spasms and not by calculation; the three month ungraded school; the astonishing fervor in religion matched by an equally astonishing laxity in morals — these things the new teacher saw and felt and thought about and argued with the elders of the people.

Now the New England curriculum was not designed with an eye to such conditions; it presupposes a well-ordered home life which was as well understood in some parts of the Black Belt as cuneiform inscriptions! With something of the spirit of that Chinese emperor who burnt the libraries to emancipate the scholars from inapplicable traditions, Washington determined to make his own curriculum — a curriculum adjusted to the actual needs of the particular people he dealt with rather than to their theoretical needs. He was fresh from Hampton where General Armstrong, fortified with his experience as commander of black troops and as viceroy of the Freedmen's Bureau, had boldly blazed the way. The heart and the hands as well as the head need disciplining.

On July 4, 1881, the school was opened in a shanty church with thirty students and an inspired teacher. Nobody under fifteen years of age was admitted and none who had received no previous schooling; some of the pupils were thirty to forty years old and most had been or were school teachers. To a surprising facility for memorizing rules and definitions this motley array linked a surprising inability to apply the rules and appreciate the definitions. At the end of the first month nearly fifty persons were enrolled; two weeks later an additional teacher reached Tuskegee. Educated in the public schools of Ohio, Olivia A. Davidson was also a graduate of Hampton and of the Massachusetts State Normal School at Framingham; equipped with a large fund of experience in teaching Southern schools in city and country, she was a teacher of notable skill, a woman of indomitable energy and noble spirit. Miss Davidson re-enforced Mr. Washington's determination to have the students study things as well as books, acquire wholesome personal habits as well as desirable intellectual habits, learn the parts and the care of their bodies as well as the parts of speech and their use.

About this time an abandoned farm one mile from town came into the market; the ground has

an excellent natural drainage and many other advantages as a school site. The owner asked $500 for the land, and although the Nile valley may possess a slight pre-eminence in point of natural fertility, that was really a low price. With the assistance of General Marshall, Hampton's treasurer, the tract was bought. In three months, thanks to the festival and suppers arranged by the resourceful Miss Davidson and to a personal canvass of the whites and blacks of the community, enough money was raised to repay the General's personal loan of $250; and in two months more the last cent of the purchase money was paid. And so a permanent site was secured. The farm's stable and the hen-house were deftly metamorphosed into recitation rooms.

The first industry introduced was of course farming. The actual need of vegetables and corn and hogs and chickens for students and teachers to eat and the pressing need of providing some method for students to help support themselves in school were the immediate reasons for recourse to agriculture, but a fundamental factor was the fact that this industry would be of prime industrial importance to the students and their prejudices against it should at all hazards be overcome. In the eighties the average

student fled farming as though it were the pestilence; but nowadays there is no more popular study at Tuskegee than agriculture, and the improvements in methods of teaching have invested it with high educational value.

In point of fact, every one of the thirty-six industries now taught at Tuskegee Institute was originally introduced in obedience to some frowning fact; whim and caprice and the smile of fashion played no part in the matter. Brick-making was introduced because bricks were needed for a new building and, there being no brick-yard in the neighborhood, the price of bricks "f. o. b." Tuskegee was beyond the school's purse. The growth in number of industries has been no hothouse growth.

In passing, I may indicate the spirit in which the embarrassments incident to the first introduction of an industry by inexperienced persons, were met. It takes 25,000 bricks to make that most cunning contrivance, a kiln, and to burn one takes a week. Three several times the attempt to complete a kiln of bricks was tried and three several times the costly experiment collapsed in failure. Without a dollar to pay the cost of another trial, Mr. Washington pawned his watch and with the meagre proceeds rallied his men. This time, amid great rejoicing, the kiln

was completed. The brick-yard is the best investment the school ever made; every brick in the buildings on the grounds was made by the students and a profitable trade with the townspeople has been developed. In the handsome and durable brick lay an irrefragable argument that the new idea in education is sound. These gratifying results are the proceeds of quiet faith and simple perseverance.

Among the colored people of the State it was noised that no student, however well-to-do his parents might be, could attend Tuskegee unless he studied a trade as well as the three R's. This raised a very storm of protest: by letter, by messenger, and in person Mr. Washington was informed in effect that "the more books, the larger they were, and the longer the titles printed upon them, the better pleased the students and their parents would be." This illuminating information had one important effect; it showed the Principal the importance of his using every opportunity to travel about the State addressing the colored people upon the inadequacies of the traditional teaching and the advantages of the new. At any rate he did conduct such a campaign of education and the institute's attendance did not decline.

Without a dormitory and a boarding depart-

ment, the school could not accustom the students to well-ordered home life. The very first building put up was a dormitory, Porter Hall. Later a dining-room was added, the cooking being done out of doors in pots and skillets, Black Belt fashion. Small local contributions to the fund for this building were supplemented by funds raised by Miss Davidson in the North. The new building was dedicated to the education of Negroes by Honorable Waddy Thompson in the presence of the county officials and the most eminent white citizens of the community; the delight of the colored people was unbounded for they did not forget that on this soil just sixteen years before to teach a black man to read was a criminal offense.

Immediately upon the opening of the boarding department, a steady stream of students came pouring in not only from the Alabama Black Belt but from Georgia and South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Two difficulties were accentuated — that of securing the food supply and that of providing bedrooms. The charge for board, room, fuel, and washing was eight dollars a month and a part of this amount was offset by credits for productive work done by students in the industries. Bricks may be made without straw, but where is

the cook who can make bread without flour?

The boarding department was rich in good intentions, but it lacked hard cash. To provide more bedrooms, the school rented certain tumble-down cabins nearby; during the winter months — and winter is most wintry in the Sunny South — the young men who slept in the cabins suffered. More than once a square shouldered, deep-chested, taciturn man went at midnight from shanty to shanty to see his boys. Huddled with four or five room-mates about a cheerless fire and wrapped in a blanket, was many an uncomplaining Negro lad, shivering from cold but thankful for his opportunity to rise.

The problem of providing systematically for the support of capable but penniless students in school grew pressing and, following the Hampton precedent, Principal Washington opened a night school. The night-school student worked doggedly ten hours a day at some trade or industry and studied the three R's two hours each night, receiving credits on the school's books for his work at a rate somewhat in excess of his current board bill. The night school acted as a severe process of selection and the student who emerged from its toils into the privileges of the day school, with its four days of books and two

days of manual labor, was pretty certain to possess solidity.

The number of students continued to increase and a girl's dormitory to cost about $10,000 was planned. Although there was not a cent with which to begin the building, Principal Washington decided to name it — names are plenty — and the name selected was Alabama Hall. Again contributions were solicited from the neighbors. In the nick of time a telegram arrived from General Armstrong asking Mr. Washington to come north to spend a month travelling with him and the Hampton quartette through the principal cities of New England and the Middle states *in behalf of Tuskegee.* In this way the good General introduced Mr. Washington and his work to the people of the north. The erection of Alabama Hall was assured and soon after Principal Washington began his long, single-handed, but notably successful campaign in the north for funds to continue and develop the work of Tuskegee.

How to get a hearing from the dominant class in the South was still a problem for Mr. Washington; and an invitation to address the International Meeting of Christian Workers in Atlanta, followed by an invitation to speak at the opening of the Cotton States and Interna-

tional Exposition in the same city, offered a ready solution. "That man's speech," said Clark Howell to James Creelman, when Washington concluded the Exposition speech,— "that man's speech is the beginning of a moral revolution in America."

It was in 1893 that Mr. Washington married his present wife (nee Murray), a graduate of Fisk University. Teachers and students go to her in time of doubt for guidance, in time of struggle for fortitude, at all times for motherly sympathy and encouragement. The social life of the community she has organized, giving it wholesome impulses and making Tuskegee home, and teachers and students members of one great family. And her labors with the women of the town of Tuskegee and of Russell Plantation — not to mention her interest in the larger activities of the federations of colored women's clubs — stimulate the social conscience and arouse to emulation.

The rest is fresh in your minds — the Farmers' Conferences, the National Negro Business League, the national reputation won for the institute by the constant public speaking of the Principal, his academic honors at Harvard and at Dartmouth, the visit of President McKinley, the hearty reception accorded *Up From Slavery*

in many lands and climes; and the stream of gifts that have made possible the Tuskegee of to-day.

Hastily I have sketched, anecdotal fashion, the life and striving of Tuskegee up to very recent years. Since its foundation, the school has sent out into the world more than 6,000 men and women who had completed a partial or the full course; to all parts of the South these men and women have scattered and have won or are winning the rewards of intelligent industry and generous service. Last year (1903–4) the total enrolment of the institute was 1,500; and the total number of officers, teachers, and other employees was 151. The total valuation of the school's real and personal property was $696,000, the endowment amounted to $1,030,000, and the annual current expenses foot up to about $160,000. Friends of the late William H. Baldwin, Jr.— than whom Tuskegee never had a wiser counsellor or a nobler friend — are now gathering funds to erect at the school some fitting memorial to his faith in black men and his devotion to their uplift. Of the annual current expenses only $70,000 are now assured in advance; omitting the need of expenditures for permanent improvements, this leaves $90,000 to be collected each year mainly by the personal

efforts of the Principal. This means that Mr. Washington must raise on an average $246 every day in the year in order to provide merely for the current expenses.

Two remarks cannot be omitted. In the first place, no dollar has ever been "begged" for Tuskegee; on the platform and elsewhere the work the institution is actually doing has been presented clearly and the needs stated frankly. Tuskegee so largely enjoys a nation's interest and sympathy because, along with many another institution, it is doing that nation's work. In the second place, the strain incident to the administration of an extremely difficult educational experiment and a great industrial community; the burden of continual travel and incessant public discourse; the inevitable misunderstandings of public life in America, increased an hundred fold for that rare black man who seeks to serve and to convince the white north, the white south, and the Negro people; the unceasing application of every leisure moment to the further study of Negro problems and to the preparation of magazine articles and books; the wear and tear of exercising a potent constructive influence in every field of Negro enterprise; the infinite anxiety which hovers like a shadow, menaces like a demon, and gripes the heart with a hand as

cold as death's,— this is the price Booker Washington pays to serve his people and his country.

The productive work of Tuskegee is fundamental pedagogically and deserves careful attention. For 23 years the institution has been in process of construction and has relied very largely upon the student-body for skilled and unskilled labor. To display the effectiveness of this labor and the opportunities the students have for applying the principles learned in their industrial and academic classes, it may be worth while to describe a few of the products of a few of the shops last year.

The brick-yard made two million one hundred thousand bricks. The contrast between the bricks in Cassedy Hall, one of the earlier buildings, and the bricks in Douglass Hall, recently completed, exhibits the notable advance made in this industry. The improvement is due to the fact that the Cassedy Hall bricks were laboriously made by hand (at the rate of 8,900 per day of 10 hours), whereas the Douglass Hall bricks were made by steam machinery (at the rate of 30,000 per day). Moreover, the bricklayers have been increasing their efficiency from year to year. Anent the use of modern machinery at the brickyard, it is interesting to note that, whereas in the old days boys were assigned

to the brickyard *vi et armis*, now the waiting list of eager applicants is a yard long!

These bricks were laid by the Masonry Division, which last year completed four large buildings,— the Huntington Memorial Building, Douglass Hall, the Office Building, and Emery Dormitory No. 1. In addition the Division almost completed Emery Dormitory No. 2, and did much other brickwork such as that on cottages, and the building of a new pumping station. The Huntington Memorial Building, a three story edifice with two wings and a front projection accentuating the front entrance, built of machine-made Indian-red bricks with red mortar, is a model of Twentieth Century school building design and construction. The ground space is 11,179 square feet, and the structure contains about 900,000 bricks. In the basement is an ample gymnasium for girls, and in the main centre of the third story an assembly hall seating 300 persons. Douglass Hall is a girls' dormitory with 33 bed rooms and a large study hall; and in style is an outgrowth of the colonial type. The Emery Dormitories represent the purely colonial type; each building is of dark red brick and red mortar, and contains 38 bed rooms and one sitting room. The Office Building, built on Norman lines, contains

the offices of the Principal, his Secretary, the Treasurer, the Auditor, the Business Agent, and also contains the Post Office, the Bank, etc. Finally all the excavation, lathing and plastering done on the grounds were done by the Masonry Division.

The carpenters follow and work along with the brickmasons; most of the wood work on the buildings mentioned,— and an immense amount it was, some of it very intricate,— and an infinite number of other jobs have been done by the students in the division of Carpentry. A part of the lumber used by the carpenters, and all the laths used by the masons come directly from the division of Saw Milling.

The roofs put on by the carpenters are covered with tin by the students of the Tin-smithing division. Besides 105 coffee pots, 394 dippers, 423 dust pans, 446 slop pans, 763 buckets, and other tinware innumerable in kind and quantity, this division made 6,375 square feet of gutters and valleys.

During the year the division of Electricity installed one 7 kilowatt dynamo for street lighting, removing the street lights from a large monocycle alternator to a small dynamo; kept in operation in 27 buildings a total of 1,717 lights, and installed lights in Douglass Hall, Emery

Dormitories Nos. 1 and 2 and the Academic Building. For this division the crowning achievement for the year was the installation of one 150 kilowatt dynamo.

Even more significant is the year's work of the Machine and Engineering Division. Its foundry turned out 9 tons of sash weights for buildings, 11 tons of castings for machinery, stoves, boilers, agricultural implements, etc., besides the castings for 250 iron beds for the dormitories. The division filled an important order from the German government for castings for cotton-gin machinery. Moreover, the division repaired 40 pieces of machinery for other divisions, including metal-working, agricultural, and steam machinery. To increase the steam for heating the buildings, two new boilers were installed. The Douglass Hall and Emery Dormitory No. 1, were fitted with steam heating system, cast iron radiators being used; and also with water works service, such as lavatories, sanitary closets, etc. The machine and engineering division installed with the aid of the brickmasons, a new water works system; this plant is equipped with a new tower, and tank, a forty horse power boiler, and a duplex pump; and has a capacity of 10,000 gallons per hour. This plant furnishes the water needed by the live stock. During the

month of April 637,739 gallons were pumped from the plant. The students made the installations to which reference has been made in accordance with drawings which had been made in the Mechanical Drawing Room. Almost daily 13 steam engines and 11 steam boilers were in operation and although student engineers and firemen were used exclusively not one serious mishap or wreck occurred during the year.

You see that, although I have purposely dealt with only a handful of Tuskegee's shops, I have nevertheless dealt with a large number of trades; and that each student may learn and often does learn, more than one trade. The student in the masonry division regularly learns what in the North and in the urban South constitute two distinct trades — lathing and plastering, and brickmasonry. Similarly, engineering is distinct from the work of the machinist, and the machinist may be a "vise-hand" or a "machine-tool" man; finally, the steam fitter is distinct from the other three. But at Tuskegee, the same boy attains moderate skill in the four trades. In addition to these, moulding, casting and plumbing are taught in the Machine and Engineering Division. The Tuskegee boy does not put all his eggs in one basket; he is equipped for earning his living under the actual industrial

conditions of the South. Tuskegee teaches the principles that underlie the trades and industries, and she supplies that abundant and costly practice which is after all the making of the workman.

I despair of giving you any adequate impression of the extent and significance of Tuskegee's farming operations; however, a brief description of a horse-back ride over the farm may not be amiss.

Even the car-window student of Southern life is familiar with the hang-dog aspect of what passes in the Black Belt of Alabama for a farm. Forty ill-kempt acres of sand, an old gray mule, stupid and lank and underfed; a rusty plow, heavy and ill contrived; an illiterate Negro, recklessly good-natured, who knows no crop but cotton and scarce knows that, with a slatternly wife, lucky if robust, four or five meagerly clad, hungry-eyed children, and a yelping yellow dog,— these serve with too great justice as a sign and symbol of farming in the Black Belt.

But, one August morning I went horse-back with the Superintendent of the Tuskegee Institute Farm on his daily tour of inspection. A keen faced, calculating man he is, spare but enduring; with clear eyes always looking, always seeing, always noting; with an incisive high voice

that means business; with a mind whose thought is clear and quick and straight, well balanced with circumspection, well ballasted with fact; with the high geared energy of one who is up and doing betimes. No farmer this,—I thought; and I was right, and I was wrong.

Merrily trotting down the road we went — I was merry, he was thinking — past the spacious Agricultural Building, with its flapping weather signals and its windows banked with flowers; past the Boys Trades Building, with its jaunty little pipes emitting streams of whitest vapor and its mighty smoke-stacks belching clouds of blackest smoke, with its various machinery droning, buzzing, whirring, producing, teaching; past the Emery dormitories,— one completed by the disciplined heads and deft hands of student workmen, and the other growing right lustily,— out at last into the farm.

To our right I remarked two great fields of sugar cane, green and waving. "A rather good crop," vouchsafed my guide. The crop represented what energy and intelligence — the energy and intelligence of men of the same blood as that of the typical, illiterate, and improvident Negro farmer of the Black Belt, can do, are doing, have visibly achieved with land apparently done to death by ignorance and thriftlessness.

"How many acres in your farm?" I ventured — ventured is the word, for the Superintendent was a bit uncommunicative with a view, perhaps, to letting me steer the conversation. "Including 1,600 acres of woodland, 2,500 — nearly all of it new land, that is to say, land recently acquired by the school, but old and worn out because hitherto regarded as a cotton mine."

In that crisp phrase, the average Black Belt farmer regards the unresisting soil frankly as a mine from which to extract indefinite nuggets of cotton stored beneath its surface. According to Tuskegee doctrine enunciated by Mr. Washington on the Northern platform and (what is more to the point) according to Tuskegee practice worked out on this farm — the soil is a laboratory in which, guided by scientific principles, alertness may with patient energy assemble the conditions necessary for divers bouncing crops.

These ideas were re-enforced by what we saw at the Truck Farm, into which we now turned our eager horses.

Here we met the manager whose name, being Brown, it were hopelessly ambiguous to mention. He is a Tuskegee graduate or more exactly, a former student of the school whose powers in the academic studies did not balance his

abilities in the industrial. But, last year the Principal decided that by capable management of this beautiful garden, the man had quite atoned for his literary turpitude; and the Principal was certainly just in this matter, just and sagacious. The steady control of the wary cabbage; the shameless, self-assertive onion; the too modest tomato; and the frolicsome watermelon is incalculably a finer art than the mere knack of using with monotonous accuracy the identical case behind the back as before the face of the verb *to be.*

This truck farm, great though its product be,— and its product, including this season 5,000 bushels of sweet potatoes and 26,000 dozen onions, is prodigious,— is no mere productive enterprise; or better, its products are in part material and in part spiritual, for fundamentally it is a school room. Here a great many boys and a few girls learn the essentials of gardening and some of the more delicate tricks of that engrossing art. How miserable, stale, flat, and unprofitable is the teaching of apologetic nature study in certain classrooms of the North with unpalatable text-book, blackboard, diagram, and semi-occasional specimen carefully dried and irretrievably dead, as contrasted with the way in which this man, Brown,— whole-hearted zest

serving for apology — teaches gardening by gardening out in the open air in the sunlight under the sky.

After scrutinizing the work of the groups of student gardeners and giving Brown some orders that were more than Greek to me, my companion reined up his horse from nibbling a delicious stalk of corn, and with a wave of the hand to me, started off.

Up the road we went at a brisk trot. This road, by the way, is a county institution which the school at its own expense has put in excellent trim, because the road runs for a least a mile through the centre of this section of the farm. On both sides have been planted trees; and in a few years when the trees have grown high enough to afford a grateful shade, to drive down that road will be a delight.

To our right was a great field of corn sweeping from one end to the other of this division of the farm. Much of the crop was to be used for ensilage; later we passed the three capacious silos in which the corn was to be stored to sweeten until winter. This year corn and the enriching cowpea will probably be planted together, the stalks of corn giving the pea vines enough backbone to permit their passing through the cutting machine, preparatory to being stored, without

being tangled and crushed. Though technically not so successful as the management had hoped, that field of corn,— the utilities aside,— was a magnificent spectacle as it waved and tossed in sunlight and glistened and dimpled and gleamed.

To the left the Superintendent pointed out herds of cattle grazing in fenced lots on the stubble of an oat crop as vast as the corn. The school owns 160 milch cows, 64 calves, 94 yearlings and two year olds, and 8 frowning bulls,— every one vigorous, sleek, and fine; and in addition 235 beef cattle which are being fattened to sustain hungry boys and girls in their life and labor. The grazing herds consisted of thorough-bred Shorthorns introduced from Pennsylvania; Guernseys, from New York; Jerseys, both thoroughbred and grade; a few Holsteins; and an infusion of Devon, Durham, and Ayrshire blood.

After traversing this section of the farm, my companion and I,— the 11 o'clock bell to quit work for the morning had just rung,— hastened to the other section by a well graded road over school land.

Here on both sides of the road were great, generous plots of sweet potatoes. Down the hill to our right we caught a glimpse of the relics of a strawberry patch, whose sweets I had been

privileged to taste one Spring. Beyond the ghostly abode of the strawberries, my eyes feasted on the glorious orchard with its pear trees, its plum trees, and o'ertopping all in my secret thought, its 6,000 peach trees, many of which were deliciously fruiting.

Down the sweeping circle of the broad road we went at a fox-trot past a little vineyard of luscious Catawbas and Concords, and then up the steep hill at whose top many an unpremeditated squeal announced in no uncertain terms the aromatic presence of some 700 hogs. Hogs and filth, my previous experience in the Black Belt had instructed me, are chemical affinities: and, therefore, imagine my delight to see the rows of little white sheds — the residences of the squealers — all clean and white and well ordered! Next came the barns with their 125 horses and mules, including two royal stallions, 14 silly prancing colts, and one Spanish jackass rapt in speculation.

The milk-white cow barns came next. In illustration of the comprehensive system which keeps this great farm, like some huge factory, always at the topnotch of efficiency, my guide here explained to me the method adopted for feeding the milch herd. "The cows," said he, "are known by their fruits, that is, fed accord-

ing to milk flow." In front of each stall,—above which the name of the cow, whether scriptural Delilah or secular Nellie, has been neatly inscribed by some student sign painter,—hangs a neat billet with a number on it, "1" or "3" or "5," to indicate the ration to be fed. No. 1 says that the cow's milk flow is over two gallons a day, and No. 5 that it is less than three-fourths of a gallon. Cow No. 1 receives the reward of 5 pounds of cotton seed meal with bran and green corn to match; cow No. 5 is thriftily allowed to go dry. The nutritive ratio,—that is, the ratio of the flesh-forming nutrients to all the others,—of the current daily ration was 1:54, that prescribed by Prof. Bailey of Cornell being 1:57. Thus, not a penny's worth of corn or meal or bran is wasted. A system every whit as precise stands guard over every section and every process of the Tuskegee Farm.

Next came the cleanest dairy in the South, where Gordon — truck-farm Brown's classmate and analogue — compounds an odorless Cheddar that tastes famously well and as excellent cream cheese as ever refreshed wearied traveller in Neufchatel-en-Bray. And last we galloped by the enormous poultry yards swarming with chickens and turkeys and ducks; and the little house where the incubators travail, marked the

end of that memorable trip around the farm.

Agriculture is of course the fundamental industry,— fundamental in recognition of the fact that the Negro population is mainly a farming population and of the truth that something must be done to stem the swelling tide that each year sweeps thousands of black men and women and children from the sunlit monotony of the plantation to the sunless iniquity of the slum, from a drudgery that is not quite cheerless to a competition that is altogether merciless. But, the teaching of agriculture even in its elementary stages presupposes a considerable amount of academic preparation. How can chemical fertilizers be carefully analyzed by a boy who has made no study of general chemistry? — how can a balanced ration be adjusted by an illiterate? Similarly, the girl in the laundry does not make soap by rote but by principle: and the girl in the dress-making shop does not cut her pattern by luck or guess or instinct or rule of thumb. And so the successful teaching of the industries demands no mean amount of academic preparation.

Industrial training of the Tuskegee type unmistakably develops character, vigorous and substantial. However valid and imperative the economic considerations that sustain this training,

I do not hesitate to say — and in doing so, I merely echo the appeals of Armstrong and Washington — that the moral considerations loom larger. To ingrain in the child of the plantation the habit of regular labor, to endow him with a keen sense of responsibility, to invest him with a reasonable confidence in his own power to bring things to pass,— to do these things is incalculably more important than to train that child to any particular form of technical skill. The education is no mere by-product of the training.

Alongside and in closest correlation to the industries of Tuskegee, are the academic studies extending from the third to ninth grades, inclusive. Education is for life and "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things that he possesseth." Through history and English literature, the Tuskegee student is brought to develop an appreciation of life and the worthier ends of human striving. Then too, wood and iron evoke no enthusiasm for serving one's fellows and one's community; a material infinitely more subtle and delicate must be used. But, it is precisely this spirit of social service that Tuskegee must arouse in all her students if she would attain her greatest usefulness. And so the school is glad to utilize the incentives sup-

plied by history and literature. And lastly, the mission of Tuskegee Institute is largely to supply measurably well equipped teachers to the schools — teachers able and eager to teach gardening and carpentry as well as grammar and arithmetic, teachers who seek to organize the social life of their communities on wholesome principles, tactfully restraining grossness and unobtrusively proffering new and nobler sources of enjoyment.

The crude, stumbling, sightless, plantation boy who lives in the environment of Tuskegee for three or four years, departs at last with an alertness, a resourcefulness, and above all a spirit of service that announce the educated man.

Howard and Fisk and Atlanta and Berea, Hampton and Tuskegee,— every one except Tuskegee has been built up and is administered by white men: Tuskegee alone is the fruit of a black man's heart and brain and effort and administrative skill. Tuskegee Institute is at once a powerful instrument for the uplift of black men and an irrefragable proof of the black man's capacity for the tasks of civilization.

IV

HAMPTON INSTITUTE

BY

PRINCIPAL H. B. FRISSELL

HAMPTON INSTITUTE

More of historic interest centers about the lower end of the Virginia Peninsula than about any other spot in this country. Here are Jamestown and Williamsburg and Yorktown. Here are Fortress Monroe, Old Point Comfort, Newport News, and Hampton Roads. Between Capes Charles and Henry came the ship that bore the first English colonists; still later entered another craft bearing a cargo of black humanity; and again, centuries afterward, there steamed through these same Capes that strange looking vessel, the Monitor, with its antagonist, the armor-plated Merrimac, which revolutionized all naval warfare.

On this peninsula John Smith worked out a system of industrial training for whites that made Colonial life possible, insisting that in the Jamestown Colony, unless a man would work, neither should he eat. Here, many years later, General Armstrong, as one has said, " recognized and utilized the economic and moral value of industrial processes, making clear to the people of this country and to the world that no educa-

tional system is complete for white, black, or red, which does not train the hand to work." Here he demonstrated the special value in the uplift of the Negro and the Indian of combining the training of the head, the hand, and the heart. At Jamestown began the expansion of England "from five million to five hundred and fifty million," made possible largely through the efforts of John Smith, as Mr. Fiske clearly shows in his "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors."

At Hampton, near by, where the Negro was first made "contraband of war," began the real emancipation of the black race through a system of education which transformed the labor of the hand from stupid drudgery into an intellectual process. Hither came also the children of the red man to learn the same system and to carry to the West a scheme of education that has been adopted in hundreds of Government industrial schools for Indians for which the United States now appropriates hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Hampton was the first of the great schools started by Northern philanthropy and established at the points where the great battles of the war were fought, extending from Virginia to Texas. These schools carried on the work of

emancipation and sent out young soldiers to make a long fight against ignorance, shiftlessness, and vice. On the very spot where hundreds of white and black soldiers had died, in the old barracks of the Hampton Hospital, which was filled with wounded Union soldiers brought in after the battles fought on the Peninsula; on grounds surrounding the great National Cemetery where sleep, side by side, the boys in blue and the boys in gray; on the site of the old Indian village in which the Kecoughtans welcomed the first white settlers; and not far from the old church where the first recorded baptisms were those of a Negro child and an Indian youth, has grown up this great industrial school that has had so important a part in the uplift of the black and red races of our land, and whose influence is being felt in the educational work of the islands of the sea and in the dark continent of Africa.

Not only is the Virginia Peninsula an interesting spot historically. It is also a point of strategic value. Its commanding position was recognized by the early colonists, and by the generals of the Revolutionary and Civil Wars. General Armstrong, as he lay wounded in the hospital barracks, recognized the importance of this situation in the educational work of the

country. Midway between the North and South, not far from the nation's capital, in the midst of a large Negro population, in the old State of Virginia, which has held such an important place in great national movements, he realized that here was a most satisfactory spot in which to demonstrate to both whites and blacks the possibilities of the Negro race under a system of practical education. He felt that if the blacks were to be raised it must be through co-operation with the Southern whites. No better place than Hampton could be found for uniting the white, black, and red races, the North and the South, and Federal and State governments in an effort toward better things. Being near Washington, it can easily be used as an object lesson for the lawmakers from different parts of the country in the educational possibilities of two races. On one occasion when a company of these lawmakers were spending the Sabbath in the town of Hampton, they visited the school, and one of the speakers, a Representative from Texas, in his address to the students expressed in true Western style his appreciation of this object lesson. "We read in the Bible," said he, "that it is right to pull out an ox or an ass from a ditch on the Sabbath day and I suppose that is what Hampton is doing for us."

On account of its proximity to Old Point Comfort it is not unusual for the Hampton School to be visited by two or three hundred Northern tourists in a single day. "Are you civilized?" said a visitor to an intelligent Indian girl from a Western reservation. "Yes, are you?" was the answer. "Can you speak English?" continued the interested visitor. "That which I am speaking to you is English," said the girl, with freezing politeness. Hampton is also easy of access to the South. Thousands of people from the interior of the Southern States seek each summer the shores of the Chesapeake, and most of them visit the Hampton School. Some of you have read, perhaps, that terrible book, "The Negro a Beast," written by a former slave owner. As a Southern man said to me, "The dreadful thing about that book is that the man who wrote it believed it." It is of the greatest importance that the Southern man should realize that the Negro is something more than a beast of burden. As he has watched the Negro in the Hampton shops, working out difficult problems in wood and iron, as he has seen him on the land successfully tilling the soil, as he has followed him to the schoolroom and listened to his intelligent recitations, as he has observed his courteous, self-respecting bearing,

the Southerner has come to believe that the Negro has a head and heart as well as a body. Occasionally a Southern visitor has sworn at the Hampton students, as a man once did on leaving, when the Negro guide who had intelligently shown him through the grounds refused the tip that was thrown to him; but more frequently the Southerner has gone away converted to a belief in the possibilities of Negro education. Thousands of black men and women from all parts of the country have come to Hampton and have helped their people to overcome the strong aversion to industrial training which they had for many years, and which caused them to call the Hampton School a " slave pen " and a " literary penitentiary." At the Hampton summer school hundreds of Negro teachers from all parts of the South have spent from four to six weeks obtaining instruction which enabled them on their return to introduce sewing, cooking, agriculture, and woodworking into their schools. Companies of Indian chiefs visiting Washington have come to this cradle of Indian industrial education and have been led to believe that the white man's teaching was of value to the Indian brave.

Hampton Anniversaries have for years been important national educational gatherings where

the governors of Southern States have helped Southern and Northern clergymen and laymen to understand some of the difficulties of Southern conditions. Largely through the instrumentality of Hampton's Board of Trustees and its efficient President, Mr. Robert C. Ogden, the Southern Educational Conferences have been established and held in every part of the South. At these meetings, bishops, presidents of colleges, senators, state superintendents of education, and prominent business men have met to discuss the greatest question which the South has to solve — how to give every child an education which shall fit him or her to perform intelligently the duties of life. A prominent Northern educator said at the meeting of the National Educational Association in Boston that these conferences represent the most important educational movement of our time. Through the same instrumentality has grown up the Southern Education Board, which is standing behind the strong, fine men of the South who are demanding the education of all the people, and whose Secretary, Mr. Edgar Gardner Murphy, a Southern man, has written a book, "The Present South," confessedly the most statesmanlike utterance which has appeared on the Southern question. Another outgrowth of these con-

ferences is the General Education Board whose Secretary, Dr. Wallace Buttrick, is making the most careful scientific study of Southern educational conditions that this country has ever known. At the Hampton Summer Conference gather each year the best representatives of the Negro race to discuss economic, business, sanitary, religious, and educational questions affecting their people and to make plans for their improvement. Even from Asiatic and European countries and from Hawaii, the Philippines, Porto Rico, the West Indies, and South Africa come men and women of all races and nationalities to study Hampton methods of industrial education. A member of the Moseley Commission said that he found Hampton the most interesting educational institution in this country. General Armstrong was right in thinking that Hampton was an important strategic point.

Not only is Hampton fortunate in the strategic value of its position, but perhaps even more so in the very varied character of the people who have served it in various capacities. General Armstrong brought to it volcanic fire from the Sandwich Islands. He was full of enthusiasm and force, thought and devotion, bristling with ideas gained in the islands of the Pacific, at Williamstown, and in the army. General and

Mrs. Marshall, that charming couple led to Hampton by their love for the young Sunday school boy, Samuel Armstrong, whom General Marshall had helped to train in the Sandwich Islands, made an indelible mark upon the school's life. Into it has gone also the wholesome influence of Albert Howe, that cheery soldier from Dorchester, whom General Armstrong enlisted, and under whose direction almost every building on the school grounds has been erected. The Woolsey family, the Bellows, the Beechers, the Bacons, the Briggses, the Ludlows, the Gillettes, the Hardings, the Richards — all have helped to make life possible to these children of the black and red races. Here Mary Mackie and her sister Charlotte, with their Scotch-Irish force and grit, taught that black boy, Booker Washington, from the mines of West Virginia, the dignity of labor, working with their own hands alongside of him, recognizing and developing the power that was in him. Here Elizabeth Hyde, the niece of the long-time head of Framingham has moulded and directed the thought and character of hundreds of Indian and Negro youth. Dr. Waldron, sitting by the bedsides of the sick, caring for the dying, has served these children for more than a quarter of a century. Smith and Wellesley and Bryn

Mawr and Vassar and Williams and Amherst and Yale and Columbia and Boston University have sent of their best to make Hampton possible. Leaving a position of great trust and responsibility where he was assured of business success, the present treasurer, Mr. Purves,[1] son-in-law of Mr. R. C. Ogden, labors for the school's good, and Rev. Mr. Turner, the chaplain, by his Christian life and his words of love leads the black and red youth to follow the Master. Alongside of these men and women have labored devoted Southern white men, having under their care some of the most important industries of the school. Here Booker Washington taught, and Annie Dawson, the Indian girl. Here Major Moton and Captain Washington and Messrs. Banks and Barrett and Daggs and Davis have kept the thought and feeling of the student and graduate body loyal to the ideals of its founder.

If one were to ask the secret of Hampton's success we would say it is to be found in the fact that the country has given her its best. Dr. Mark Hopkins was one of its first trustees. Dr. Strieby, Dr. Whipple, Dr. Hitchcock, and Mr. Elbert B. Monroe pleaded and labored for

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[1] Mr. Purves died March 30, 1905.

it. Phillips Brooks, Henry Foote, John G. Whittier, and Mrs. Hemenway were its devoted friends, and to-day hundreds of men and women are saving and denying themselves in order to share their inheritance with these disinherited races. Mr. Ogden, the Peabodys, Dr. McKenzie of Cambridge, Bishop McVickar of Rhode Island, and others of the most efficient board of trustees in this country are giving of their time and thought to make the school effective. Dr. Peabody of Cambridge is accustomed to say that "at Hampton one meets the aristocracy of three races, the white, the black, and the red." Here Boston's first citizen, Edward Everett Hale, is accustomed to spend some weeks of his year. Carl Schurz and his family spent three weeks of last year on the school grounds. Hon. Dr. Curry, that Southern apostle of education for the common man, was wont to come often to Hampton. The question is sometimes asked why Hampton is not, like Tuskegee, placed under the care of colored men. Because, important as is the work of black for black, the colored man needs also, now more than ever, contact with the best thought and life of the white race. Booker Washington is a spiritual descendent of General Armstrong, and no man is quicker than he to acknowledge how much his

contact with Anglo-Saxon thought has done for him. He has often acknowledged, too, the influence of the Indian and the value to him of a knowledge of the wrongs and difficulties of the red race.

But we must hasten on to discuss more fully the problems that Hampton has to meet, her methods in meeting those problems, and the results of her work. General Armstrong in his Hawaiian home not only recognized the difficulties of the natives, but also came to understand how tremendous was the task of those who were trying to uplift them. It was as an agent of the Freedman's Bureau that he first came to the Virginia Peninsula. His duty was to adjust the affairs of whites and blacks, and the problem which he presented to himself in the founding of the Hampton School also concerned not one race but two. The question was not merely how the black race could be uplifted, but how it could be helped to meet the conditions in which it found itself and how its members could learn to be of service to the communities in which they lived. We used to hear much in our educational literature of how to make an ideal man, mentally, morally, and spiritually, with little or no regard to his environment. The relation of education and vocation is more and more considered

because the ideal man can be produced only as he learns to adapt himself to his environment. General Armstrong came to a realizing sense of this fact as he worked among the crowds of Negroes who had come from Virginia and North Carolina to put themselves under the protection of the guns of Fortress Monroe. They were huddled together, living upon government rations, a motley, improvident mass. The first question which presented itself was as to how these people could be made self-supporting, for he felt, as did John Smith, that they could make but little progress until they worked for their daily bread. Hundreds of them he sent North, others he settled upon the land, and still others were placed at service among the white planters of the Peninsula. Second, he endeavored to provide houses for them, for he realized that there could be no morality as long as fathers, mothers, children, dogs, and strangers huddled together in the one-room cabins. Third, he provided schools and churches, for he thoroughly appreciated the necessity of academic and religious training. But to him from the first, education did not mean merely a knowledge of books. To him, education was life. He believed in making the whole of life an education. When, later, he was called by the

American Missionary Association to take charge of the Hampton School, his aim was " to train selected * * * youth who should go out and teach and lead their people, first by example by getting land and homes; to give them not a dollar that they could earn for themselves; to teach respect for labor; to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands; and, to these ends, to build up an industrial system, for the sake not only of self-support and intelligent labor, but also for the sake of character." He realized that the great mass of the blacks lived upon the land. He knew that they could obtain what was impossible to European peasants, land and homes of their own. He knew that more than eighty per cent of the population of the South lived in the country and that intelligent methods of agriculture were most needed. He knew that the young teacher in the rural school, or the Negro preacher could be of immense value if only he could instruct his community in proper ways of farming, so the farm became an important factor in the educational process at Hampton. As the school grew, trained teachers of agriculture were secured, laboratories and school gardens were added, agricultural leaflets were issued. Evey student in the school was given a fair knowledge of plants, animals, and

soils. Dairying was introduced, poultry raising was taught. Large herds of cattle were secured. An experiment station was added where experiments were made in rotation of crops, various fertilizers, drainage, and inoculation of the soil. A small model farm and barn gave an opportunity to show how intensive methods of agriculture could be introduced. Large greenhouses were built, and roses and carnations raised for the market.

It became evident before many years of freedom had come to the blacks that they were losing the trades that they had monopolized in slavery. The old plantations were, many of them, trade schools where the youth of the Negro race were trained. It seemed necessary to make some provision for trade teaching. Shops were opened for blacksmithing and wheelwrighting, carpentry and bricklaying, tinsmithing and painting, shoe and harness making. A large trade school was provided and at its head was placed a graduate of the Worcester School of Technology, who had practical knowledge of manufacturing, had acted as supervisor of manual training in St. Paul, and had carefully studied the educational side of trade work. Hundreds of carefully trained mechanics and teachers of trades have been sent out, more than

sixty-five per cent. of whom have practiced or taught the trades they have learned.

General Armstrong felt the necessity of providing homes for his blacks on the Virginia Peninsula, so he made it a part of his plan that those who were to go out as teachers and leaders should help the people to obtain decent homes. While a few of the house servants, through contact with their mistresses before the war, had a knowledge of what a real home should be, the great mass of Negro slave women had no conception of the meaning of the word. To give them that conception and to fit them to perform the duties of mothers and home makers became one of the important objects of the Hampton School. A building for the teaching of domestic science was erected. Every girl was taught sewing, cooking, the care of the dining-room and bedroom, weaving, basketry, laundry work, garden making, and the care of poultry, but these were taught in such a way that they should be an integral part of their education. To illustrate: The Hampton laundry is one of the most important educational departments of the institution. Carefully trained teachers are placed in charge of the work. It is one of the most interesting places on the school grounds. Many of the girls spend their first year there.

The work of washing and ironing clothes has been changed from dull routine to an interesting series of lessons. They pass from one part of the work to another so as to gain a thorough knowledge of the whole. When the day's work is over they go to the laboratory where they learn by actual experiment how soap and blueing are made; they study textiles; under the microscope they watch the effect of hot and cold water upon woolen cloth. They pass to the classroom and their first study of English has to do with the work of the day and their experiments in the laboratory. They write about the things that they have known and done. The result is that their language is simple and exact. Their words have experiences behind them. When they go to the arithmetic class, their problems also have to do with the work of the day. They are learning how much soap and starch are needed in the washing of a certain number of clothes. So their daily work is dignified by being made a most important part of their education.

Religion and education have had in the case of both whites and blacks too little to do with daily life. For long years education was not supposed to be within the reach of the man who had to labor with his hands. Now we are

beginning to understand that the best education is not possible to the man who can and does not labor with his hands; and that any kind of manual labor is a most important part of education. A new fireproof kitchen with complete equipment has just been finished at Hampton and is helping the students to realize some of the possibilities connected with the preparation of food. We have in the South, as in many other parts of the country, poorly fed land, poorly fed crops, poorly fed animals, poorly fed men and women. The improvement of land, crops, animals, and men and women must go on together and it is to this improvement that Hampton is devoting itself. Boys and girls are gaining some little knowledge of what the body needs for its proper nourishment, and each year greater interest is shown in cooking and the preparation of food. The spring time finds companies of boys and girls devoting themselves to their gardens; later they are instructed in the preparation for food of the vegetables that they have raised. The superintendent of schools in one of our large cities recently said to me that his system of instruction was superficial because, living in a great city, his pupils grew up in ignorance of the groundwork of an education — a knowledge of plants, animals, and

soils. This groundwork is provided at Hampton, and English literature means all the more to the students because it often has to do with objects in nature that they come to know and love.

But while Hampton gives great prominence to the work of the hand, while it realizes that the power of self-support is in itself most educational, while it believes with President Eliot that content in work, enthusiasm for the daily task, is the only solution for some of the greatest difficulties which this country has to meet, while it lays stress on preparation for home life and realizes that unless we can brighten and purify the source of life, the home, the best things are impossible, yet it by no means underrates the value of academic or religious training. It is necessary, in order to produce young men possessed of industrial initiative such as shall enable them to lead their people, that along with industrial training they be given sufficient knowledge of history to enable them to understand their people's position in the world; sufficient acquaintance with geography to help them to discover the natural resources of their State and their community; a practical knowledge of chemistry and physics and some training in mathematics so that they may understand the laws of nature.

No people was ever more interested in race problems than are the Negroes. It is essential that they know the laws under which they are to live and therefore thorough training in civil government is important. Economics, too, is essential. A careful study has been made by the Senior class the past year of the recently published special census report on the Negro.

As has already been intimated, careful correlation is made between the agricultural, mechanical, and home making departments and the school's academic work. Instead of using the ordinary school arithmetic, problems are taken from every-day transactions at the barn, the commissary, the kitchen, the laundry, the carpenter shop, the printing office, and the store. The Hampton School is really an industrial village with mill, workshops, homes, church, stores, barns, where is carried on a large business with the outside world, amounting to thousands of dollars. The sort of education described in Professor Dewey's "School and Society," which centers in the life and work of the community, goes on at Hampton to an extent unknown anywhere else in this country. Far-off South America and South Africa are made real to the students by the plows and wheelbarrows that they make and ship to these countries. Through

its exports and its imports, through its manufactured articles and its farm products, through its barns and dairies and greenhouses, through its steam and water plant, and its complicated machinery, these young people are introduced to life, not merely as it is portrayed in books but as it really is in the great world outside of the school. Dr. Albert Shaw gave the title "Learning by Doing" to an account which he wrote of the Hampton School, and declared that for $10,000 a year he could not secure for his boy in New York City a training so valuable as that given free of charge to the children of Hampton's Whittier training school.

A very important part of Hampton's training is that given in the study of the Bible. David and Moses and the other Biblical characters are much more real to the colored people than even Lincoln or Washington. To weave these characters into a continuous history and to unite the scattered fragments of Biblical knowledge that we find in our students' minds into a connected whole is a most interesting and helpful work. To lead them out from the erroneous and one-sided interpretations of Scripture which tradition has brought down to them, into a rational understanding of God's Word is a rare privilege. The story of the Exodus, the wan-

dering in the Wilderness, the entrance into the Promised Land, probably never meant as much to any people except the Jews as they do to the Negroes. They study with eager interest the story of the growth and development of the Jewish people from barbarism into high intellectual and spiritual life, and learn to realize, as they could not in any other way, some of the processes through which their own people must pass. The poetic parts of the Bible they keenly enjoy, with an appreciation of the Oriental imagery which is perhaps not possible to us of the Anglo-Saxon race. A series of questions in regard to the Scriptural allusions in Shakespeare brought twenty per cent more of correct answers from Hampton's Senior class than from the same class in a leading college for young men in the North, and from a corresponding one in a young women's college. An attempt is made to harness the emotional religious life of the students to real tasks and duties. Kindliness in word and deed is absolutely insisted upon at Hampton among both teachers and students. "Cantankerousness is worse than heterodoxy," said General Armstrong. Hate, racial or individual, is excluded. Mr. Washington's statement in his Atlanta speech: "No man, white or black, from North or South, shall drag me down so

low as to make me hate him," fairly represents the thought of the Hampton student. We sometimes think of race prejudice as belonging to the whites alone. It is quite as much a characteristic of the black and red races. "What did you think of white people before you came to Hampton?" said a teacher to an Indian boy. "I thought they were devils," was the answer. The mother of one of our students, when told that he was instructed in religious truth by a white teacher, expressed her dissatisfaction by saying, "White folks' religion ain't no 'count no how." But at Hampton race prejudice finds no encouragement. One of the highest compliments ever paid the school was that given by Dr. Curry when he said that as an agency for allaying race prejudice he considered Hampton the most important factor in the South. Closely related with the minimizing of race prejudice is the inculcation in the minds of the students of a belief in their own people and a respect for their own race. The folk-lore songs of the Indians and Negroes are cultivated at Hampton as in no other spot in this country. The military system of the school demands implicit obedience to officers of their own race. In the teaching of history the stories of their own people have a prominent place. "Up from Sla-

very" is one of their English text-books. In all possible ways a kindly feeling toward the white race and belief in their own are inculcated.

The great central thought of Hampton has always been that what is obtained of agricultural, mechanical, scientific, or academic knowledge is to be used in the service of others. To this end every boy and girl is trained to teach or to be of service to the community in other ways. The jail, the poorhouse, the old log cabins, the Sunday schools, the churches of the neighborhood are called into requisition to fit these young people to labor for others. Every Sunday, squads of boys and girls may be seen manning boats, harnessing teams, or starting out on foot to care for the young and old of the Negro race in the vicinity — reading and singing to the old and blind; teaching the children in Sunday schools; on week days mending the log cabins or preparing and planting gardens.

The students are not only taught in this way to be of service to the poor and needy but they are also given instruction in methods of teaching in the classroom. At the Whittier School, named after him who sang of love and service, may be found four or five hundred children of the neighborhood. Here are kindergarten, cooking, sewing, basketry, and woodworking classes,

and the largest school garden in the world. This primary school serves as a practice school for the normal department. Here is given a knowledge of the great art of teaching, a real acquaintance with children, and, in the case of most, a real love for them. It is not expected that every boy and girl who leaves Hampton shall teach in the schoolroom, whether academic subjects or manual training, but it is expected that every one shall have acquired the central thought of service to others and shall have gained a knowledge of the principles and practice of teaching. To aid in this work there have come to us the past year Mr. Phenix, the successful head of the State Normal School at Willimantic, Connecticut, and Miss Walter, whose long years of service at Oswego and later at Willimantic and Hyannis have fitted her, as few women are fitted, to impart the best methods of normal work.

No graduate of Hampton becomes a drag on the community to which he goes. Nearly thirteen hundred graduates and over five thousand ex-students have been sent out since the school was founded. Eighty-seven per cent of the school's living graduates are known to be profitably employed. Many are leaders in business enterprises; 35 per cent are farmers, tradesmen,

or part time farmers; and a very large number are teachers of industries.

But you need concrete examples to help you to understand the work of Hampton graduates and ex-students. In 1881 there appeared at Hampton a most unusual student — a bronze-faced man of thirty with his little son and nephew and three other children. He knew but little English, the others none at all. This man was Antonito Azul, son of the chief of the Pima Indians, who, desiring to improve the condition of his people, had come East with the leading young people of his tribe in order to learn how to do it. He himself entered both school and shop as a pupil, working earnestly for a year and a half, not only in the departments of the school but in the community. He then returned home, taking with him specimens of work to interest his people, and plans by which he hoped to bring about many improvements. One of his first public acts was to stamp the seal of his disapproval upon polygamy, by honorably divorcing one of his two wives and settling her comfortably in her own home. To replace the rude hut of his earlier days he built himself an adobe house, and began improvements on his land, setting his neighbors an example of industry, thrift, and enterprise. The following words show the esti-

mation in which Antonito was held by the veteran army officer, Gen. O. O. Howard:—

" In bearing, in a steady purpose to do right from which he was seldom known to deviate, in courage and straightforwardness amid the most unfavorable circumstances, in suppressing his natural sentiments of hatred and revenge, and in striving to understand the new conditions of his tribe among our increasing white people, Antonito Azul has been a worth disciple of Montezuma. His conduct was as good as that of Peter the Great, for he also took a long journey and studied as an apprentice that he might return and lead his people into higher reaches of knowledge."

Recently I went to the home of two of our graduates on one of the side streets of Hampton. This couple have a comfortable frame house of six rooms, which they have paid for from their earnings. The husband has been a bookkeeper in the school treasurer's office since his graduation in 1885. The wife, who was a graduate of the previous year, went back to her home in Georgia and taught for a year in a country school, spending her Saturdays in going from house to house and showing the people how to make their homes comfortable, and her Sundays in instructing old and young out of God's Word.

After a year of this work she returned to the town of Hampton and married the young man of whom I have spoken. Her home became, as do those of most of our graduates, a sort of social settlement. Every week on Tuesday a company of girls who were out at service gathered to learn how to cook and sew. Her girls' club has grown from ten or twelve to over a hundred members, and her efforts to help the neighborhood in various ways have developed into real social settlement work. Her husband has built a clubhouse as a centre for this work on the lot adjoining his own, and here, three days in the week, gather large classes in plain sewing, hemstitching, shirtwaist making, basketry, and cooking. A kindergarten class meets in a little upper room in her shed. A boys' club has been started, and in the summer there is a class in gardening. A song service is held every Sunday. In all these activities she is assisted by three other Hampton graduates, who give their services cheerfully. The head of the settlement keeps in touch with the white women who employ her girls, and assists in adjusting difficulties when they occur. She keeps her own house and cares for her three children, makes her own garden, and still finds time to help her neighbors make theirs. The whole community is cleaner and better because this

young woman lives there. Work similar to this is being done by scores of Hampton women in Virginia, the Carolinas, and the Black Belt of Alabama.

The work of the husband of our Hampton settlement worker is no less important than her own. Soon after his graduation several of the graduates of the school joined with the people of the town to form a colored building and loan association. The young man of whom I am speaking became the secretary and mainstay of the association. It commenced business in 1889 with twelve stockholders and eighteen shares of stock. It has grown until now it has 636 stockholders, owning 2,212 shares, and a paid-in stock of $105,000, of which the colored people alone own $75,000. More than $200,000 has been loaned to colored people of the vicinity; more than 350 pieces of property have been acquired and homes built through its aid and it has long been regarded as one of the safest financial institutions in Hampton. It is difficult to estimate the influence of this one home of Hampton graduates.

At Calhoun, Alabama, there was started in 1896 a movement intended to encourage the Negroes of the cotton belt to abandon the "lien system of cropping," which virtually enslaved

them anew, and to establish themselves on land and in homes of their own. This movement, known as coöperative land buying, was inaugurated by Miss C. R. Thorn and Rev. Pitt Dillingham, Principals of the Calhoun School, one of Hampton's outgrowths. The practical details of the land buying have been worked out by John W. Lemon, a Hampton graduate, class of 1890, who has also acted for ten years as farm manager of the Calhoun School. The Principals say of him that he has the entire confidence of the people, that he has endless patience in working out the details of the land company's business, and that his management has been most wise and sympathetic. The first piece of land purchased was a lot of 120 acres at cost of $800. On this four families were placed. At present (1904) the land company owns plantations containing nearly 4,000 acres of land. On this land 88 Negro families have settled and have paid in eight years $27,400. Sixty of these families hold the deeds for their farms and are living in comfortable two- or three-roomed houses, are raising their own food supplies, and are enjoying the self-respect which the ownership of property brings. The remaining families are gradually paying their balances and securing their deeds. What this means to the poor mort-

gage-ridden farmer of the Black Belt it is difficult to estimate. The men are being trained to business habits; and thriftlessness and hopeless poverty are giving place to energy and a degree of prosperity.

The latest development of the work at Calhoun is the buying of land and the building of homes by the school's graduates. One of the first to build a better home for his mother was Boyd Rhetta, who came to Hampton after finishing his course at Calhoun, graduating in 1901. On his return home he found his mother and brothers and sisters in a very uncomfortable one-room cabin, and heard the story of his father's thriftlessness, debt, and misused opportunities. Inspired by the Hampton and Calhoun ideas of self-help and self-support, he determined to join the land company, get a good farm for himself, and make a new home for his mother. Seeing a chance to earn money in the mines near Birmingham, he left home to work there. In a little over a year he forwarded to the land company $525.75, besides supporting his mother and her children. He has now made his first and second payments on fifty acres of land, and his mother is living in her own neat little three-room cottage, well built and painted, and fitted with glass windows — a luxury in that community, where

the solid wooden shutter is almost universal. Having studied agriculture at Hampton, Rhetta is able to do good work on his farm. He has put up a substantial poultry house and is giving attention to his garden and orchard, as well as to the diversifying of his crops. He is determined to show that the people of Lowndes County can, if they will, make a good living from their farms.

When I first went to Hampton twenty-five years ago I went into an evening class called the "plucky class." It was composed of boys who had worked all day in the sawmill or on the farm. The teacher was a Hampton graduate — Booker T. Washington. Just what this one Hampton graduate has meant to this country, and the influence that he has had over his own race in teaching them kindness and patience and industry, can never be estimated. General Armstrong was right in saying that if Hampton had done nothing else than graduate Booker Washington it would have paid for itself. In Mr. Washington's class was a small thick-lipped Negro boy from a back county. He had come with no money, and was working his way through school by his labor in our sawmill. After graduation he went back to his home and took a school. The little building was soon too

small for the crowds that came to him. He determined to enlarge it. This he did himself with the help of his boys, who worked Saturdays on the land in order to raise the money. After he had succeeded in getting his own school in order he induced other Hampton boys and girls to come to his county as teachers. He built his own home and cultivated land. Almost all the colored people in his county were renters. He helped them to buy land and build homes. The churches were improved. The migration from that county to Northern cities has been stopped. It is now more than five years since a Negro has gone from that county to the penitentiary. Ninety per cent of its Negro farmers own and manage their land. The relations between the whites and blacks are of the best. Not only in his own county, but through all of tidewater Virginia has the influence of that man been felt. He has driven out the saloon from a number of counties, and has helped to increase landholding, so that in thirty-three counties of tidewater Virginia more than seventy per cent of the Negro farmers own and manage their land.

In my early days at Hampton I had a class of Negro preachers. They used to come from all the country around, spend the week at Hampton and go back to their homes to preach on

Sunday. I tried to teach them the doctrine of making the Kingdom of God come here in better, cleaner homes. One of them became inspired with the idea of being a sort of "shepherd of Kingdom Come" among his people. He had a little church one mile outside the city of Portsmouth in Virginia. Here he started a model Negro settlement. With the help of other Hamptonians he bought thirty acres of land, divided it into building lots, and commenced to sell to colored people working in Norfolk and Portsmouth. When the settlement began, $500 would have bought all the property owned by colored men there. They now own over one hundred and twenty-five buildings, costing from $350 to $2,500 each. Over three hundred colored people live there, and there has never been an arrest nor has there been a saloon in the town. The morals and order of the place are as good as anywhere in the South. The Hampton student did become "the shepherd of Kingdom Come."

One Sunday a colored boy at Hampton named Sheppard went with me to establish a mission station at a place called Slabtown, a little out from the school. He gained there, as he afterward said, his first idea of missionary work. After leaving Hampton he became a missionary

of the Presbyterian Church, South, and was sent with a son of Judge Lapsley, a prominent Southern white man, to Luebo, a station one thousand miles from the west coast of Africa, on a branch of the Congo. Both these missionaries became interested in the Bakuba, who lived fifty miles farther inland but often passed their doors carrying ivory and rubber to the traders. Although the king of these people had forbidden all foreigners, on pain of death, to visit his territory, these missionaries decided to go to them. Sheppard learned their language from the men who came to his door. The white missionary, Lapsley, died, but with much courage and tact Sheppard pushed his way into the Bakuba country. Because of his discoveries on that journey he was made a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. Instead of being beheaded by the chief of the Bakuba, he was well received and given much power. He has built a large church where recently sixty converts were baptized on one Sabbath. A late number of *The Missionary* said of him: "He not only builds churches and preaches the gospel and beautifies the land with broad avenues and boulevards, but, like, Luke, he is also the beloved physician. He is known, loved, and reverenced by the natives far and wide." Still another

Hampton student, who went as a missionary to Liberia, not only preaches but has a large coffee farm and has been practicing the blacksmith's trade which he learned at Hampton. One of his last letters tells of having just completed the only iron bridge ever built in Liberia. Thus the influence of the Hampton School is felt even in the remotest parts of the earth.

V

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

BY

PROFESSOR W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY.

Most men in this world are colored. A faith in humanity, therefore, a belief in the gradual growth and perfectability of men must, if honest, be primarily a belief in colored men. Atlanta University was founded as an expression of the same faith in humanity within, as in humanity without the color line. That faith in men meant a firm belief that the great mass of human beings of all races and nations, withal their differences and peculiarities, were capable of essentially similar development and that the method of bringing about that development was by the education of youth. The founders of Atlanta University did not wait until this thesis was absolutely proven beyond peradventure — they held it to be a perfectly valid assumption to make, and to work on, immediately, and therefore they established Atlanta University, two years after Lee surrendered.

They did not establish simply a primary school, or a grammar school, or high school. On the contrary they established all these schools

and in addition to this a college, and made the college the centre and norm of all their work. They did this, first for the development of individual Negro talent,— second, for inspiration and leadership of Negro communities, and third, for the supplying of teachers. Their primary idea was stated in perfectly plain language; they proposed to train men; they believed that a black boy with the capacity to learn, was worth teaching and that the only limitations to the development of an individual human soul were that soul's capacity and its obligations to its fellow men — its duty to society. In the case of the emancipated and enfranchised Negro this duty to his fellow men revealed itself most pressingly and imperatively as a call for enlightenment and inspiration for the mass from leaders. Much as the Negro race needed to know in agriculture, they needed to know still more as to life. They were poor carpenters, but they were still poorer fathers and mothers; they did not understand the methods of modern industry, but they knew even less of the aims of that civilization which industry serves. Sad it was that the slave was an undeveloped hand, it was far sadder that he was an undeveloped man. This, then, was the second problem to which the founders of Atlanta University ad-

dressed themselves, and it was no small one. There are many ways of developing manhood and inspiring men. All ways this institution did not try, but it did try one which the experience of four thousand years of civilized life on this earth has proven of foremost value — and that is the sending of missionaries of culture among the masses. This is not the only teaching a mass of untaught people need — they need teaching in the technique of industry, in methods of business, in the science of agriculture. But they need especially in their halting, hesitating beginnings the guidance of men who know what civilization means — who stand before them as guides not simply to teach them how to walk, but to teach them whither to go, and while logically we may argue that learning to walk ought to precede preparations for a great journey, yet as a matter of fact and history, it is the inspiration of some goal to be reached that has ever led men to learn how to get there.

The third object of Atlanta University was to train teachers. Everybody, both in Reconstruction days and now, agrees that some amount of elementary training is necessary for the Freedmen's sons. Missionaries, government agents and army officers all agreed from the first that schools were needed. But schools call for

teachers and, therefore Normal schools were needed. Nor was this all. A Normal school in Massachusetts trains an educated person in the art of teaching. In the South, among Negroes after the war, there was no such educated class to train. A normal school then in the South must be primarily a high school and college; it must first educate its teachers and then train them to teach.

And, moreover, in case it cannot do both these things well, surely it is far better to send out among the masses educated persons who lack technical training in methods of teaching rather than to send persons who have technique without education. So that in these three ways Atlanta University was demanded: to train talented Negro youth, to disseminate civilization among the untaught masses, and to educate teachers.

It is, however, one thing to conceive a great human need and quite another thing to realize this in deeds and sacrifices, in bricks and stone. And when in the world's history struggling human beings have in doubt and travail, in weariness and anxiety, established a great engine of human betterment, it behooves us who sit and see and hope in God's good time to help — to ask what they did and how they did it and who were the men that did these things. These

questions it is my task to answer and to show how there to the southward, where the great Blue Ridge first bows and crumbles before the far-off sea, twelve men in 1867 founded an institution of learning which has meant so much to the higher aspirations and untrammelled development of two hundred million black men on this earth. These men created on the barren red mud of North Georgia a little cluster of brick buildings, now six in number, which have mothered five thousand sons and daughters in thirty-five years and which first, last and ever have stood for one unwavering ideal. They created this institution out of poverty and distrust in the midst of enmity and danger, in the face of ignorance and crime. Dying, they left their legacy to us — their legacy and their burden.

What sort of men established and carried on the work of Atlanta University? They were not all visionaries and dreamers, and yet among them were men who saw the vision and dreamed the dream. Two of the original founders represented the American Missionary Association, that great movement born at the slaveship that wandered into Connecticut and coming to the fullness of manhood just as the nation needed it in the reconstruction crisis. One was a tall

and dark-haired man, who afterward carried the idea of equal opportunity for black men to Nashville and founded Fisk University there; three were northern business men, resident in Atlanta; two were Negroes, new clothed with authority, and one was Edmund Ware. These men are nearly all dead to-day, but around the work of their hands have clustered many and diverse helpers. A bishop like Atticus G. Haygood, Southern bred, but emancipated and honest; a justice of the Georgia Supreme Court like McKay; a president of one of Atlanta's greatest banks; and men like Charles Cuthbert Hall, of New York, and Samuel M. Crothers, of Cambridge. To-day Atlanta University is directed by four of its own graduates and by members of the governing boards or faculties of Harvard and Yale Universities, Williams and Dartmouth Colleges, Union Theological Seminary, and Tuskegee Institute.

But, after all, the founder of Atlanta University was Edmund Ware, and Edmund Ware was a man of faith. We are not dealing in faith these days. We are discounting it, and sometimes half sneering at it. Because in the past a certain type of simple-hearted enthusiast has believed so piteously in things absurd, impossible and false, we have come to discount the whole

proceeding, striving to know even where knowledge is yet impossible, and pitying loftily that old-fashioned goodness that believed in men, that glorified in sacrifice, and had an unwavering faith that somewhere beyond the mists was a good God, and that the world was as good as the God that made it. Edmund Asa Ware was born in North Wrentham, now Norfolk, Mass., a few miles from Boston, in 1837. He fitted for college at the Norwich Free Academy, Connecticut, and was graduated from Yale University in 1863. After his graduation, he taught for a time in the school in which he had fitted for college, and then was principal of a public school in Nashville, Tenn. Soon the way opened for him to enter a field of labor of which he had dreamed and planned in his schoolboy days, and he began the life work for which he believed he had a divine commission and from which he could not be diverted by his alluring offers of money, comfort and position. His friend has written of him:

"He was conscientious. His mother had no recollection of his ever being untruthful. His village teachers all commended him for his unvarying conformity to the right in school. It is said that when fifteen years old, he had never been absent a day, nor had a mark for tardiness.

One morning as the bell stopped, writes one, his seat was observed to be vacant. Those near the windows, looking out, saw him running at full speed, trying to gain his seat before his name should be called. The teacher was seen to cast an eye to the window and then to linger a moment before he called the roll. Thus he was seated to respond when the W's were reached."

What sort of a man did such a boy make? Certainly not a good business man in the modern sense; not a leader in literature or polite society; not a member of Congress; nor even a promising pillar of the State Legislature. And yet, after this man had lived less than fifty years and lay white, thin and dead in the darkened halls of Atlanta University, there came a stream of men who had known him, black and white, student and teacher, Northerner and Southerner, and this is the picture they painted:

The Superintendent of the Freedman's Bureau for Georgia, said: "It was he who counselled and advised with the colored and other members of the constitution convention and secured the wise provision in the constitution for the establishment of a public school system, and afterwards, with members of the first Legislature, by which it was established and put into operation. He was in thorough sympathy with the

religious work carried on at the same time by the Christian teachers and church organizations, but found oftentimes his greatest difficulties in overcoming the sectarian differences which interfered with the harmonious operation of the school work. This he had always in view, and, by his gentleness and forbearance and generous catholic spirit, he removed many ignorant prejudices that stood in the way."

A student said: "His manner of speech was terse, laconic, forceful, animated, in perfect harmony with the fervency of soul, with that restless activity which was so peculiarly manifest in all his doings. On leaving him I felt that I had been talking with a man who was living a higher life, living above the ordinary aims and petty ambitions of this world, a man who, though toiling in a field obscure and unpopular, nevertheless was entirely devoted to the cause he had espoused, and showed in every look and word a faith which rose sublimely above the mists and shadows of the present." . . . "This spirit of work which so completely possessed Mr. Ware, he naturally endeavored to transfuse into his pupils. I shall never forget those talks he used to give to the students every year just before the closing of school for the summer vacation. With what emphasis he used

to say to the young men: 'Now, if you can get schools to teach, it is well. Teach them. Do all the good you can. But if you can't get schools to teach, don't hesitate a minute to work with your hands. Go into the field. Dig, hoe, pick cotton. Labor is honorable.'"

Another graduate said: "After that interview with him alone, after feeling his tender caresses as he sat near me, and after listening to the mild tones of his voice, and seeing, face to face, those eyes, not now indignantly flashing, but full of sweetness and tenderness, after this, there never was any terror in that face or those eyes for me during all the following years that I knew him. During the last eighteen or nineteen years I have seen many a student quail before that steady, withering gaze, which Mr. Ware knew so well how to use. But for me there ever remained that same soft expression, first seen during our first interview, in the little library upstairs at Storrs' School in 1867. That look has, in a great measure, influenced my course of life; has often kept me in the right path, when temptation was strong to go otherwise."

A friend added: "I think I never knew a man so strong of will who was so free from the lower self. If ordinary ambition entered into

his calculations, it strengthened by the reaction it aroused, the very virtue it assailed. It was preëminently as moral teacher and quickener that he excelled. True as steel himself, he felt a lie as men feel a personal insult. He did not like even an insincere or merely conventional tone."

And finally Bishop Atticus G. Haygood, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and author of the "Brother in Black," and who was at one time a trustee of the University, in speaking of the "Man who can wait," said: "Only those who began with Mr. Ware nearly twenty years ago this new and difficult work of trying to educate in a rational and Christian manner the enfranchised people of this country, and so to help in introducing into the family of Christian and civilized nations a new race, can understand how much Edmund Ware, when he first began work in this city, needed to be a man who could do his work and wait. The conditions under which this work is carried on are different now; very small encouragement do workers in this field get from us of the white race in the Southern States, although next to the Negro race, we are, of all men on earth, most concerned in the success of your work and most concerned because we have most at stake in this work. The social environments are not inspiring now; but

let me assure you 1885 is very far from 1865. To have gone on as President Ware did during those early years there must have been in his heart deathless love and pity for men who needed what he could give them,— a faith in the gospel and eternal righteousness that never wavered, and a love for God that made work easy and suffering joy."

I have dwelt upon the character of this man because, in some places, it is the fashion of the day to represent those who went south after the war to help the freedmen as officious busy-bodies, goody-goody sort of folk, with heads very nearly as soft as their hearts. And yet that wonderful call which sounded in the ears of the sons and daughters of the North in the later sixties was a call to far greater heroism and self-sacrifice than that which called them earlier through the smoke of Sumter. They could not, like the soldiers, expect monuments, the notice of historians, or even (shall I write it?) pensions, but they could expect work, danger, contempt, and forgetfulness, and those who dared this, at least deserve the respect and reverence of thinking men!

I said that Edmund Ware was a man of faith. As early as 1867 he was writing North in his

capacity as state superintendent of education; he said:

"The Education Association will meet in Macon on the 9th of October, and then will come the demand for teachers. Please let me know before the time, how many teachers (board paid by colored people) you can give me, besides those at the points you already hold. Make a rough estimate, only make it large enough. You must do something on faith. I know the people of the North will do much more than they have yet done, if the matter is only presented in the right way to them. Get young ladies in each town to agree to carry round a paper, and get all the people to subscribe from ten cents to ten dollars per month, and then go round and collect it monthly. All that is wanted is a few workers in each city and town and it will all be done."

After he became president of an institution on paper, then this wonderful unwavering faith, slowly, surely became transmuted. The first building came from the American Missionary Association; the second from the State of Georgia, with its growing number of black legislators. The Recitation hall and the Manual Training building came from two Massachusetts women, the Housekeeping Cottage from circles of the King's Daughters and Rev. Dr. D. L.

Furber, the Training School from the General Educational Board and other friends, and now a Library from Andrew Carnegie. This has been the material growth. But that which Western colleges call the "plant" of Atlanta University, is the least of its real being. Our buildings are simple and small, not unpleasing in appearance, neat and substantial, but nothing calculated especially to impress the beholder. The peculiar spiritual growth which this institution typifies is on the other hand the object of our especial pride. Not even the heavy loss caused by President Ware's premature death checked for a moment this inner growth, for a leader and successor stood ready trained in heart and mind for the work.

Atlanta University is fortunate in having but two presidents in her thirty-five years of existence. The successor of President Ware was the son of a man who, at one time, furnished many of the text-books which were used in the schools of Boston, and a nephew of Nathaniel P. Willis.

President Bumstead was born in Boston in 1841, was graduated at the Boston Latin School, and in 1863 at Yale. He was major of the Forty-third United States Colored troops in the civil war and afterward graduated at Andover and entered the ministry. He joined Atlanta

University as teacher of Science in 1875, and since that time as teacher and president has given to that institution the best years of a singularly devoted life. His name will go down in history as that of the Apostle of the Higher Education of the American Negro.

Many men and women of energy and devotion have built their lives into this work. Every stone on that broad campus has meant the pulse of some man's life blood and the sacrifice of some woman's heart. There sits to-night within those Southern walls a woman bent and bowed, old with years, and yet ever young in the hearts of a thousand black men to whom, for thirty years, she was more than mother; there sounds within those halls to-day the voice of a white-haired man who, thirty-five years ago, sacrificed a government position and a good salary and brought his young wife down to live with black people. Not all the money that you and yours could give for a hundred years would do half as much to convince dark and outcast millions of the South that they have some friends in this world, as the sacrifice of such lives as these to the cause.

I have said that the founder of this institution planned a college — even a university. How far has that plan honestly been carried out? There are in name to-day numerous universities

in the South for colored men, and this is often brought as an argument against Negro Colleges — their absurdly overwhelming number. This is, in reality, untrue. There are very few institutions in the United States really doing college work for Negroes. Many institutions called colleges represent an ambition or an ideal, while as a matter of present fact such schools are higher institutions simply in name; in reality they are great primary and grammar schools with a score of high school students and a few or none of college grade. They represent, in many cases, high hopes and laudable ambition, but in some cases they have no present prospect or design of developing into real colleges, and in some other cases they have been tempted to be content with calling a high school a college, possibly after the venerable example of Harvard in its early days. This practice, however, has led to the suspicion that all Negro colleges are of low rank and parading more or less under false pretenses.

There are in the United States to-day about five institutions which, by reason of the number of students and grade of work done, deserve to rank as Negro colleges. How far, now, is the work done at an institution like Atlanta Uni-

versity deserving of the respect due to liberal training?

If there is one thing at Atlanta University upon which we pride ourselves it is that we have never succumbed to the temptation of mere numbers. We have to-day seventy-five students of a rank above the high school — fifty in the regular college course, and twenty-five in the teacher's college. It is fair to say that we might, by a general lowering of standard, easily have a college of one hundred to one hundred and fifty. This we have steadily refused to do. On the contrary, we have sought unceasingly, year by year, to raise and fix a fair standard, and I think it is perfectly just to say that so far as our work goes in Atlanta University, the standard equals that of any New England school. We have a high school of two hundred and twenty-five pupils, divided into two parallel courses of three years, an English and classical. This gives one year less than the New England high schools with their four-year courses. Above the high school there are two courses of study offered: a regular college course of four years, leading to the bachelor's degree and a teacher's training course of two years, leading to a normal diploma. Our college rank is thus one year behind the smaller New England colleges, and

this rank has been proven in case of several of our graduates, who have afterward taken the A.B. degree in leading Northern colleges after one year's study.

In maintaining this standard we have, of course, our peculiar troubles. In New England there is difficulty in articulating the high school and college courses. In the South the almost total absence of high schools for Negroes makes a preparatory department necessary to a college like ours. All other Negro colleges in the South have grammar grades in addition, but we have simply the high school and the college, and consequently find our great difficulty in fitting our Junior high school year to the eighth grade of the public schools. The varying quality of work done in the public schools makes it necessary that our first year should be one of sifting and examination. About one-half of our public school candidates do the work of this class in a year; a fourth more do the work in something over a year, and are given electives so as to start even with the regular second year class. The other fourth, from poor preparation or lack of ability and other reasons, drop out.

For admission to the high school we require eight grades of common school work. If the pupil proposes to take the full college course,

he has before him about 2,800 recitation periods of forty-five minutes each, or, in laboratory work, of twice that length. Three-tenths of these are given to ancient languages, three-tenths evenly divided between science and mathematics, two-tenths to English and modern languages at the rate of English seven and German two, and two-tenths to history, sociology, philosophy and pedagogy at the rate of history and sociology nine and other studies two. In addition to this there are 384 hours of manual training. By electives the proportion of modern languages can be increased.

The length of the entire normal course is five years, and the total number of recitation periods, of forty-five minutes each, is 2,028. Three-tenths of these are given to pedagogy, three-tenths to mathematics and science, two and a half tenths to English, one-tenth to philosophy and history, etc.

How far is the charge true that old-fashioned studies and out-of-date methods are being used in Negro colleges to fit black boys for a world which prides itself on being rather ahead of time than even up with it? We willingly plead guilty to a persistent clinging to many of the older forms of discipline. We still count the teacher as of considerably more importance than

the thing taught. This explains considerable amount of Latin in our curriculum. We have one of the most successful Latin teachers in the South, a man not only learned in method, but of great and peculiar personal influence. We are willing and anxious for our college men to have four or five years' contact with this man, and we seriously doubt if a greater course in engineering under a lesser man would be a real gain for the development of manhood among us. On the other hand, our teachers and instructors have been drawn from Yale, Harvard, Dartmouth, Wellesley, Boston University, Worcester Polytechnic, Fisk and our own institution. Our dean ranked his class at Dartmouth; a former dean was the DeForest medal man at Yale; the head of our normal department is from Bridgewater, and for sixteen years has done some of the most successful normal work in the South; two classmates of President Ware at Yale joined him in his work, and now his two children, from Yale and Columbia, are taking up their father's mantle.

There are five full professors and ten instructors. The library has 11,500 volumes, classified by the Dewey system and well selected. There is a physical laboratory 50x22 feet, in which all class work is carried on by individual experi-

ments and measurements. Adjoining this is a science lecture room with considerable apparatus. The chemical laboratory is 50x25 feet, with individual desks and chemicals. There are small geological and mineralogical cabinets, and the beginning of a zoological cabinet in the lower orders. The astronomy class has a small telescope, and in the mathematical department there are surveying and engineering instruments. The department of Sociology and History has sets of modern and ancient maps and a class room library with reference works, duplicate text-books and statistical treatises. The recitation rooms are large and light, and nearly all furnished with tablet chairs.

Manual training is an integral part of our work, and is carried on in two buildings, one for the girls and one for the boys. Manual training is required of all High School students. The boys' building has a floor devoted to wood working, with power saws, planers, etc., a lumber storage room and a paint room. Another floor is occupied by the turning lathes, twenty individual benches with tools, and a drawing room with eighteen sets of instruments. In the basement, iron-working is carried on with forges and lathes. The printing office has a full equipment, including a power press.

Manual training for girls is carried on at the Housekeeping Cottage, and consists in cooking, sewing, dressmaking, drawing and general housekeeping.

When we enumerate these facilities for manual training, people are usually surprised, and say, "Why, you have, then, an industrial school after all!" This we disclaim. We do not have an industrial department for the important work of teaching trades. Our equipment, almost without exception, is an integral part of our educational work, and is designed for its educational effect alone. Just as the boy works with his own hands in the chemical laboratory or the laboratory in sociology, so he works in the manual training shop, and the object in all three cases is the same, viz.: to develop the boy to the full capacity of his powers, mental and physical. With the education thus gained, the boy might use his chemistry in the study of medicine, or his sociology in the ministry, or his manual dexterity at a trade school, but we do not pretend to train either physicians, clergymen or carpenters. I speak of this because there is so much confusion of ideas on the point, especially so far as southern schools are concerned. Schools of higher training in the South are often supposed to be places without manual

training, despising and ridiculing it, and knowing nothing of its great educative power, while an industrial school is supposed to be necessarily and always a centre of education.

If you should visit Atlanta University you would see little evidence of student manual work in finished products of wood, or iron, or stone. Our furniture is from the factory, our buildings erected by hired labor, and our important repairs largely done by outside workmen. Nevertheless, the influence of our manual training of the students is easily traceable in their after life. When the conference for Southern Education, popularly associated with the Ogden parties, met in Athens, Ga., they especially admired the industrial exhibit of the Negro schools. "That is the sort of work that is needed," they said repeatedly, "where was the Principal trained?" And then they found out that he and all his teachers came from Atlanta University. They had never learned basket making or clay modelling there, but they had received a far more fundamental training in human power. With this as a basis, it took them but a short time to master the technique.

The work of teacher training is also carried on by the laboratory method — that is it is centred in the model school containing a kinder-

garten and four grades (to be extended to eight grades eventually) with all the equipment of a modern school. Here, under instructors, the normal students teach, observe and experiment.

I have indicated the formal curriculum of Atlanta University and the facilities for carrying it out. But this is not all of our educational work with our students. A centre of education with us is our school Home; among the earliest ideals entertained by the University is one that may be designated as home-building. In its first days, officers and teachers kept before the minds of students and their parents the desirability of securing land and homes, and many a cottage in Atlanta owes its existence to the personal counsel and pecuniary assistance of some teacher in the University; and when, at the beginning of a summer vacation, some three or four hundred were sent out to teach school in the smaller towns and rural districts, among other injunctions it was impressed upon them to encourage and assist the people among whom they were to labor, to buy land and make themselves homes, and specific items of information with reference to accomplishing this were given them. And when these student teachers returned from their summer's work they were asked to report what they had done in this line

and also to give facts they had gathered as to the amount of land the people owned or were buying.

The effect of this policy is shown in the statistics of Negro property in Georgia. Of course it would not be fair to claim that Atlanta University is solely responsible for this record, but certainly the influence of this institution has been a potent factor in the increase of property from nearly nothing in 1860 to a real value of nearly thirty-five millions in 1905.

Atlanta University is more than a school, it is a home. The dormitories are not simply a collection of rooms where students may study and lodge and care for themselves, but each of them is under the supervision of a competent woman, who takes the place of a mother and sees that the students are regular in their habits, tidy in dress, neat in the care of rooms, attentive to study, polite in manners, careful in regard to health, and made comfortable in illness. The dining room, too, where teachers and students assemble for meals, is not merely a commons, where simply a sufficient quantity of food is furnished, but is a place where teachers and students eat together, talk and learn to know each other; where the etiquette of family life is carefully observed — indeed this is one of the

few places in America where black and white people meet as simple, friendly human souls, unveiled from light and unguarded from feared contagion; bound in human sympathy and help.

And so, in these ways, is carried out the intention expressed in the first catalogue of 1868–70, and in the latest 1903–04, in these words: "It is designed to make the school as far as possible a home for those who attend," and it may be added that in thus making it a home it becomes a home builder.

With the home life go the home chores and duties — the care of the rooms, the sweeping of the halls, the washing of the dishes, and the little errands here and there. The comparatively small number of our students makes the home life peculiarly cheerful and cozy. Teachers and students know each other intimately, and in a way impossible in large institutions, and always the graduate looks back upon the home life as the greatest and best gift of the Alma Mater.

Not only is Atlanta University a school and a home; it is in the larger sense of the word, a church. I do not mean by that anything narrow or sectarian, but I do mean that we whose work it is to train youth in the South have to face some patent facts: first, the religious conditions among both whites and blacks are such

that the differences between Methodists and Baptists sometimes overshadow the differences between heaven and hell; that particularly among young educated Negroes this is a day of rapid religious evolution which might easily end anywhere or nowhere; consequently it will not do in the South to leave moral training to individual homes, since their homes are just recovering from the debauchery of slavery, and only in a minority of instances are they capable of the necessary teaching. As the larger home, then, of its sons and daughters, Atlanta University is, and always has been, a teacher of religion and morality. Our chaplain, the son of the late president, and a graduate of Union Theological Seminary, is a young man of clear-hearted devotion, and both his work and example are of great influence. A part of our religious exercises are voluntary and all of them are maintained at a level of high earnestness with a manimum of cant and empty form.

Such is our course of training. The great question, however, which men of right may ask of Atlanta University is, "What has this training resulted in? How far has this institution justified its existence? How far has it trained men of talent, civilized communities, and given real teachers to the black south?"

It is in the answer to this question that Atlanta University makes its greatest claim to public attention; and yet it is a very difficult thing to exhibit a process of education to the eye.

The experience in this line with which every teacher is so familiar is exaggerated in our case, for we and the whole Negro race are often judged for time and eternity by a fifteen-minute visitor.

On the other hand, when in the towns and country districts of the South the work of the graduates and former students of this institution is carefully studied, the verdict is always unanimous; that there is not in the country an institution which, in thirty-five years of work, has sent into the world a set of men and women stronger in character and attainment, and more useful in their fields of labor. The General Educational Board, after investigation, came to its endorsement on this ground particularly. Southern born men who still oppose Negro colleges have repeatedly acknowledged the remarkable character of our graduates. The School Board of Atlanta has put the Negro public schools of the city under the almost complete control of teachers whom we have trained; the state of Georgia, while it gave us aid repeatedly, bore testimony through its committees of the

high quality of work done, and when afterwards that aid was taken from us and given to a new institution at Savannah, the institution was largely manned with our graduates, from its president down.

Atlanta University has taught some five thousand students. Of these 677 have finished a full high school course, and 487 of them have received a degree or normal diploma:

Occupations of Graduates	College	Normal	Total
Total	124	367	*489
Male	101	15	116
Female	23	352	*373
Living	108	311	*417
Dead	16	41	57
Teachers	62	178	240
Ministers	13	...	13
Physicians	4	...	4
Lawyers	2	...	2
Dentists	1	...	1
U. S. Service	12	2	14
Business	7	8	15
Students	4	3	7
Wives	1	†110	111
Others	2	10	12

* Two graduated in two departments.
† 44 other wives are classed as teachers.

In its work of training teachers, Atlanta University has rendered its greatest service to the country. Sixty per cent of our grad-

uates teach; they teach in city and county, in public and private schools, in primary, secondary and higher schools, and the schools of all religious denominations; five are presidents of colleges and normal schools, fourteen are principals of high and secondary schools, twenty are connected with industrial schools. I presume it is no exaggeration to say that our graduates and former students are reaching 20,000 black boys and girls each year, and handing on the light which they have received.

The work done by these men as students has been honest and fair. Our graduates have made good records at Harvard, Dartmouth, and the University of Chicago, University of Michigan, and Northern professional schools like Andover and Hartford theological seminaries, and the University of Pennsylvania Medical School. Research work done at our institution has been, in several cases, published by the United States government, and even recognized abroad. We have not, so far as we know, graduated any men of very exceptional genius, but we have sent out a score of men of unusual ability, measured by any standard, and we have trained a few who, by ability and forceful personality, are above the average of the trained men of any race.

Our great work, however, has been the sending

of missionaries of culture throughout the south, and in this work Atlanta University has had conspicuous success. Of course such an influence is difficult to measure.

Considering the intimate connection of Atlanta University with the State of Georgia, we may, perhaps, best measure its influence by studying that state; in a sense Atlanta University founded the public school system of the state, since its first president was the first state superintendent of education. Of the thirteen leading Negro institutions in the state outside of Atlanta University, seven have presidents trained at this school, and two or three others have some of our graduates as teachers; and all of them have students trained by our graduates. The public schools of all the leading cities, Atlanta, Savannah, Athens, Columbus, and Macon, are very largely manned by our former students, and in all walks of life the influence of our graduates and former students is felt.

A recent study of Georgia* shows that Negro population, property and literacy in Georgia are increasing, while serious crime has begun to decrease.

This record is not due to any one single cause,

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[1] Some Notes on Negro Crime. Atlanta University Publication, No. 9.

but certainly the influence of Atlanta University has been a most potent factor. In the work of Negro uplift throughout the land our graduates are not alone nor altogether singular — graduates of a score of other worthy institutions are working with them, but the long, thorough courses of study in our work, the unbending mental discipline as a foundation for all work, whether manual or intellectual, has left its enduring mark on the Atlanta University man. The work of these college trained men from this and other institutions is not to be judged simply by what they have done, but still more from what they have prevented. I am persuaded that Americans do not dwell enough on this side of the case. You complain of crime and vagrancy among Negroes, and both are large and threatening, as it is perfectly natural they should be, but consider what they might have been if this race had been left without leaders — not leaders who could simply read and write and hoe, but real thinkers, men of vision, men who realized the tremendous import of this vast social movement and could stand ever ready within the veil to calm passion and direct energy and say to the turbulent waters, "Peace be still."

The peculiar character of work, however, makes Atlanta University more than a simple

college — it is a social settlement where, for six or seven years, the best we can find of the growing generation of Negroes is brought into contact with the standards of modern culture in school and home and campus. Nor do we wish to stop here — the Social Settlement aims to do more than teach the slums; it seeks also by studying slums to teach the world what slums mean. And Atlanta University seeks to become a centre for the careful, earnest and minute study of the Negro problems, through the experience and active cooperation of other graduates scattered all over the south. For this purpose we have established a department of social inquiry and an Annual Conference to study the Negro problem; we have been careful not to let the size of the field or the intricacy and delicacy of the subject tempt us into superficial or hasty work. Each year some definite phase of the problem is taken, the inquiry is limited in extent, and every effort is made to get thorough unbiased returns. To establish such a work with few funds, and untrained investigators was difficult, but to-day, after nine years of work, we feel as though the department was permanently organized for efficient work, and that interesting and instructive results will follow its further prosecution. The nine investigations already

accomplished make a fairly well rounded study of human life as lived by the American Negro.

They consist of the following studies:

1. Mortality among Negroes in Cities, 1896.
2. Social and Physical Condition of Negroes in Cities, 1897.
3. Some Efforts of Negroes for Social Betterment, 1898.
4. The Negro in Business, 1899.
5. The College-bred Negro, 1900.
6. The Negro Common School, 1901.
7. The Negro Artisan, 1902.
8. The Negro Church, 1903.
9. Crime Among Negroes, 1904.
10. Methods and Results of Ten Years' Study, 1905.

Our present plan is to begin a second cycle of studies similar to these beginning with a study of Negro Mortality in 1906.

The results of these studies have been widely used; they are in the chief libraries of the world and have been commended by the *London Times*, *The Spectator*, *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Outlook*, *The Nation*, *The Dial*, *The Independent*, and leading daily papers.

While we believe that social inquiry of this sort is fully justified if it seeks merely to know and publish that knowledge, we have also sought

in addition to this to inspire our graduates in various communities to use the information we collect as a basis of concrete efforts in social betterment, and we can already point to some results of this policy.

I have sought, thus far, to tell you who founded Atlanta University, what the institution is, what it is doing and what it has done. There arises now naturally the question, What judgment is being passed upon this institution by its neighbors? After all the judgment of a man's peers is of great, if not of final value in determining his desert; and so to-day there has arisen in the North a not unnatural desire to give at least some weight to Southern opinion in judging the merits of Southern schools. This is perfectly proper, but it has some limitations. In the first place, you must not forget that Southern opinion is composed not simply of the opinion of whites, but also of blacks. Among the blacks it is hardly necessary to say that Atlanta University has long been regarded as the chiefest bulwark against the assaults of all forces within and without the race, which consciously or unconsciously work to narrow the opportunities and to curb the righteous ambitions of black men. Where we stood thirty-five years ago, to-day, on a plank of the widest and

best education for black boys and girls, which they are capable of assimilating and using, we still stand. We do not regard this stand as the stubbornness of senility, but rather as the steadfastness of the true faith. Many, however, both North and South, do not agree with us. To these we can only say, examine, not hastily nor superficially, but carefully and frankly, the results of thirty-five years of higher education at Atlanta University and let us hear your verdict. We have said this to Northern skeptics and such as have investigated have in the large majority of cases come to agree with us. We have said this to the whites South, but in only a few cases have we been able to get the best class of Southern whites to examine and really learn about our work. The larger part of them either remain indifferent or unfriendly toward us. Why is this? Unless you visit and mingle with your next-door neighbors, you can easily remain perfect strangers to them. In the South the whole community is cut in twain along the color line, only at the bottoms among the shadows of crime do they mingle; in real life, their bond is becoming more and more purely economic. At the top among the better elements of both races there is little communication. It is therefore easy to see that the very class among which At-

lanta University is working is the class least known by the average Southerner of to-day — the teachers, professional men, the business men with Negro clientele; on the other hand, he knows and is interested in colored labor skilled and unskilled, and he is easily induced to visit Negro industrial schools. As the work of Negro colleges becomes in time known in the South it will be more and more appreciated, but it is largely unknown to-day. One of our white teachers was talking to an intelligent Southerner not long since about education as a means of alleviating distressing social conditions. "And yet," said he, "education doesn't always help. Take the case of the Negro: when did education ever do a Negro any good? Why, do you know three-fourths of the Negroes in our prisons are educated?" "How much education do you suppose they have?" asked the teacher. "They can read and write," he answered, "that is about as far as the Negro can go in education. Whatever else he acquires is purely through the faculty of imitation and the pity of it is that he always imitates what is worst."

So, too, the president of an important white school assured a recent French visitor that our graduates could find nothing to do except as bootblacks and porters. He had no intention

to deceive. Most of the Negroes he saw were unskilled menials, and he naturally supposed that practically all of them were. Moreover, it did not seem worth while for him to find out.

To be sure there are exceptions and signs of progress: The Hon. G. R. Glenn, late State School Commissioner of Georgia, has said:

"Many of our very best school teachers who are now at work in the public schools for colored children have either graduated at that institution or have spent considerable time there acquiring their professional equipment. I commend the Atlanta University very cordially to all those friends of education who may desire to help the cause of education in the South."

The present superintendent of the Atlanta Public Schools writes:

"Atlanta University furnishes seventy-five per cent of the teachers for the Negro schools of this city. They are the best we have been able to obtain from any source. We have tried other teachers from other schools and colleges, and in proficiency they fall far below the normal school graduates of Atlanta University."

The Hon. Hoke Smith, of Atlanta, Ex-Secretary of the Interior in President Cleveland's cabinet testifies:

"I have had occasion to watch the work of

the Atlanta University for many years. I went very carefully through the institution several years ago and wrote the report upon it as State visitor from the University of Georgia. As President of the Board of Education of Atlanta, I have watched the institution, for from it largely we draw our teachers for our colored schools. My observation justifies my saying that we have obtained no better teachers for our colored public schools throughout the State than those furnished from the Atlanta University."

Hon. Rufus B. Bullock, Ex-Governor of Georgia, says: "The Atlanta University during its thirty odd years of continuous work has won by its merit the highest esteem of the best people of our city and State. Its graduates are sought for by our State School Commissioners and by the school boards of our cities."

Hon. Allan D. Candler, another Ex-Governor says: "I know that this institution has done more (and I do not desire to disparage other institutions; I do not mean to disparage them), so far as my information has gone, to elevate the colored race than any other institution in the bounds of this State."

And finally we may add the testimony of the Hon. John L. Hopkins (formerly Judge of Superior Court, Atlanta, Ga.): "My opportunity

for observing its work and for knowing the very spirit of the institution has been of the best. Being by birth and education a southern man, I could but look with critical eye, and really with some distrust, upon this attempt to confer the higher education upon the Negro, but the years have left me with no doubt as to the wisdom of all that has been done. It has been a noble and a successful work. With scant means and under great difficulties, the consecrated men in control have accomplished much direct good for the Negro, with a valuable reflex influence upon the white people."

The active open opposition to our work has long since disappeared and here and there men who accidentally or through their daily work have been brought into contact with us have not hesitated to testify to its value. After all, the opposition to higher training for Negroes is not usually based on actual knowledge of its results, but rather upon its supposed inherent and theoretical absurdity when viewed as a policy; and back of such view, hidden or clouded, forgotten or artfully concealed, sits the real unspoken thing that prompts the oposition — namely, the feeling that black men are not men. There is no doubt of the unfortunate spread of anti-Negro prejudice in the North in recent

years. There is no doubt of the spread of the caste spirit, even beyond the color line. This is a national calamity and calls for something more than exclamations and sighs on your part. It is not surely too much to ask that parents and teachers of the future citizens of the nation should see to it that they themselves are broad enough and honest enough and brave enough to recognize human desert and accomplishment under any human guise and to teach their pupils and children to do likewise; for this is no passing difficulty; no merely local problem; nothing of even simply national concern. We have a way in America of wanting to be rid of problems. It is not so much a desire to reach the best and largest solution as it is to clear the board and start a new game. Of this, our most sinister social problem, the future status and development of 9,000,000 Negroes, most Americans are simply tired and impatient. They do not want to solve it; they do not want to understand it; they want simply to be done with it and hear the last of it. Of all possible attitudes, this is the most dangerous, because it fails to realize the most significant fact of the opening century, namely, that the Negro problem in America is but a local phase of a world problem, "The problem of the Twentieth Century is the

problem of the color line." Many smile incredulously at such a proposition, but let us see. The tendency of the great nations of the day is territorial and political expansion, but in nearly every case this has brought them in contact with darker peoples, so that we have to-day, England, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, Portugal, Holland, Belgium, and the United States in close contact with yellow, brown, and black peoples. The older idea was that the whites would eventually displace the native races and inherit the earth; but this idea has been rudely shaken in the increase of the American Negroes, and of the native races in India, South Africa, and the West Indies, and in the development of South America. The policy of expansion, then, simply means world problems of the color line; the color question enters into the German and English imperial politics, shadows the problem of the Turk, shook the Triple Alliance through Italy's overthrow in Abyssinia, covers the islands of the sea from Australia to Hawaii and floods our continent from Alaska to Patagonia. Nor is this all. Since 732 when Charles Martel beat back the Saracens at Tours, the white races have had the hegemony, so far that white and civilized have become synonymous in every-day speech and

men had well-nigh forgotten where civilization started. To-day for the first time in a thousand years the great white nation is measuring arms with the yellow nation and is shown to be distinctly inferior in civilization and ability. Whatever its end may be the Russo-Japanese war in epoch-making. The foolish modern magic of the word "white" is already broken and the color line has been crossed in modern times as it was in the great past; the awakening of the yellow races is certain, whether Japan wins or loses; that the awakening of the brown and black races will follow in time no unprejudiced student of history can doubt; shall the awakening of these sleeping millions be in accordance with and aided by the greater ideals of white civilization or be in spite of them and against them? This is the problem of the yellow peril and of the color line, and it is the problem of the American Negro. Force and fear and repression have hitherto marked our attitude toward darker races. Shall this continue or be replaced by freedom and friendship and opening opportunity? Atlanta University stands for opportunity.

VI

FISK UNIVERSITY

BY

PRESIDENT JAMES G. MERRILL

FISK UNIVERSITY

The smoke of the titanic civil war had hardly lifted when Fisk University was born. It was cradled in the army barracks, abandoned by the Union Army; it was christened by the name of a gallant soldier who had in charge the disposal of the property of the United States at Nashville. Governor Brownlow and other politicians, John Ogden and other educators, a regimental band and a motley crowd of ten thousand Negroes of all ages and conditions surrounded President Cravath on the initial day. He was the field secretary of the American Missionary Association, an old anti-slavery society. By his side stood the representative of the Freedman's Aid Commission. Moved by the inspiration of the occasion, under the influence of a life-long interest in the colored race Chaplain Cravath then and there announced the foundation principles of what has come to be one of the largest and widest-known Negro colleges in the world. Believing in the brotherhood of man and the inherent capabilities of the Negro he made the proclamation that the founding of the Fisk

School was the beginning of a great educational institution that should give to the emancipated race the opportunities and advantages of education which had so long been furnished to the white race in their colleges and universities. A corps of sixteen teachers soon had under their charge a thousand pupils. The fifth reader, arithmetic and grammar were the most advanced studies at first, but, in less than ten years, four graduates received the A. B. diploma and three the diploma of the normal department.

Poverty and faith went hand in hand until in sheer desperation was initiated the movement which has received its name from the world-renowned Jubilee Singers. The Treasurer, George L. White, was from the beginning instructor in vocal music. He conceived the idea that by the singing of a company of colored young folk the hearts and hence the pockets of the North could be reached. Borrowing money from all of the teachers and from a few of the citizens of Nashville the little company went forth. Their path lay through Southern Ohio, where indignities and disappointments awaited them. It was only by the generosity of old-time abolitionists in the towns which they visited that they were enabled to fulfill their Ohio engage-

ments until they reached Oberlin, a town consecrated to human freedom. The National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States was in session at this place. An opportunity was afforded the singers to appear before the Council. The effect of their singing was indescribable. A new day had dawned for Fisk University. Not many days later Henry Ward Beecher gave them a welcome to his church, and "Beecher's Negro Minstrels" packed Plymouth Church. Engagements for concerts followed quick and fast until money had been forwarded to Nashville sufficient to buy the present commanding campus of the institution and to determine the Trustees to erect a building which should make evident the fact that Fisk University was to stand for all time.

The triumphs of the company were not confined to America. Great Britain and the continent of Europe witnessed even more brilliant successes than America afforded. They appeared before the Queen of England, the Emperor of Germany, and other crowned heads. They were the guests of the nobility and, at the end of seven years, they had laid at the feet of the University one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, one hundred thousand of which paid for Jubilee Hall. Where in the annals of education

has the student body of any institution given, before graduation, such munificent gifts to its Alma Mater?

One building after another has been erected upon the beautiful campus of thirty-five acres until now property valued at three hundred and fifty thousand dollars attests the faith of Fisk University in the higher education of the Negro, until to-day its collegiate department outnumbers that of any other of like grade in the world. Its aim to secure the best training has been attested by the fact that a graduate of Fisk in Nineteen Hundred and Three received from Yale University an A. M. in Nineteen Hundred and Four. Over two hundred and fifty have completed the college course.

The vast majority of the Alumni of Fisk from the Normal and Collegiate departments are teachers; fifteen thousand pupils are taught annually by those who have received their equipment for teaching at Fisk University.

Allow me briefly to follow the career of a dozen of our graduates. James N. Calloway graduated in 1890 and immediately began to teach in Tuskegee Institute. He became business manager, and then farm manager and in 1900 was sent to Africa in charge of four Tuskegee graduates to experiment for the German

government in the matter of cotton raising in West Africa.

Prof. W. E. B. DuBois graduated in 1888. A native of Massachusetts, he recognized the importance of coming in contact with his race and took his college course at Fisk. Afterward he received his Master's and Doctor's Degrees at Harvard and gathered sociological data for the University of Pennsylvania, he studied in Germany for two years. Of his career as an author and his authority as a sociologist I need say nothing.

Thomas S. Inborden, Principal of the Joseph K. Brick Industrial School, Enfield, North Carolina, graduated from Fisk in 1891. Few men have had a harder fight against poverty, while in college. Soon after graduation he organized a normal school in Helena, Arkansas, then he re-organized a school of like grade in Albany, Georgia. So successful was he that when a principal was to be found for the important enterprise which he is now leading, Mr. Inborden was chosen to undertake this great undertaking. At present the institution has ten large and conveniently arranged school buildings and a large corps of teachers. A farm of about twelve hundred acres is owned by the school, and courses of instruction are offered in varied industries.

Harriet F. Kimbro has been for six years preceptress in the State Normal School at Prairie View, Texas. A hundred and twenty young women in the dormitories of this institution benefit by the rare womanly attributes and wide experience of this graduate of our first Normal Class, who also spent several years in teaching in the North.

Mrs. Susan M. H. Lowe was also a member of the first Normal Class. After the death of her husband, Mrs. Lowe became a teacher in the Tennessee School for the Blind. She now has charge of the colored department of this school.

Rev. George W. Moore graduated in 1881, took a Theological course at Oberlin, was called to the pastorate of the Lincoln Memorial Church, Washington, D. C. He led a successful crusade against thirteen saloons in "hell's bottom" the district in which his church was located, and thereby made it a desirable residence section. During his stay in Washington he was Professor of Biblical History and Literature in Howard University. At present and for the past thirteen years he has acted as Field Missionary for the American Missionary Association. His eloquence as a speaker, his sagacity as an adviser, and his sympathy as a friend have made him preeminently successful in his responsi-

ble position. He has visited Europe as a delegate to several international gatherings.

William Richard Morris graduated twenty-one years ago, was a tutor for three years and in 1889 moved to Minneapolis, Minn., and entered upon the practice of law. He has an excellent practice and is an important factor in one of the leading churches of that city.

Rev. H. H. Proctor has been out of college fourteen years. He carried off honors at Yale Divinity School. He has now a strong church of nearly five hundred members, so thoroughly organized for work as to have received the commendation of having the best organized church in the South, from an editorial correspondent in the *Outlook*. He has successfully opposed several unwise measures introduced in the Georgia Legislature. He is a power for good in Atlanta.

F. A. Stewart, M. D., graduated in 1885, was at the head of a class of ninety-eight in Harvard Medical School. His professional life has been spent in Nashville where he has built up a large practice. Many of his patients are white. He owns a beautiful home in a good residence section of the city and is Professor of Pathology in Meharry Medical College.

Four years after Dr. Stewart, M. E. Stevens,

M. D., now of Texarkana, Texas, graduated. He received his medical degree from the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Chicago, where he has also done much post-graduate work. In addition to his large practice as a physician he owns a drug store which is doing a lucrative business. The value which he sets upon the education which he received at Fisk University is attested by the fact that he has bought a fine home near the campus where his wife watches over the educational training of their four children.

Thomas W. Talley, Professor of Chemistry at Fisk, graduated in 1890 with literary and musical honors. In studying for his Master's Degree he took for his major study chemistry and thereby discovered his aptitude in the sciences. He came to us after a term of service as Instructor in Chemistry and Physics at Tuskegee, preferring as he did to have under his tuition those who had the benefit of college training. He has done considerable work in histology, chemistry, geology, and zoology and in botany. He has a valuable private collection. He is a member of the American Ornithological Union, The American Negro Academy, the Society of Chemical Industry of London, the Bio-

logical Society of Washington. He is a prince of teachers.

Allan A. Wesley, M. D., graduated in 1884, and three years later from the medical department of the Northwestern University. He has obtained eminence from the practice of his profession in Chicago. He was one of the founders of the Provident Hospital, which has connected with it a training school for colored nurses. He was surgeon of the celebrated Eighth Illinois Volunteers, a regiment officered throughout by colored men, which did honorable and responsible garrison work in Cuba when the First Illinois regiment was invalided home. Dr. Wesley was appointed to represent the Medical Department of the National Guard of Illinois at the convention of Military Surgeons of the United States. He is a member of the American Medical Association, Illinois State Medical Society, Chicago Medical Society, and associate member of the Military Service Institute at New York.

Mrs. Booker T. Washington graduated from the College Department in 1889. As the wife of the Principal of Tuskegee, to which school she went as a teacher, she has had a large part in securing the success of this famous school. She has represented her Alma Mater in addresses given at the St. Louis Exposition on Fisk Day,

and on other equally important occasions. Her literary work in the institution is matched by the grace with which she presides over her home and the helpful sympathy and instruction which she gives to the poor in the institution and in the vicinity of Tuskegee.

The above are samples of work done by those who have been long enough out of college to have achieved success. Of the graduates from our school there are exceedingly few who are not doing faithful work, many have risen to positions of influence. Naturally of the young women a large number become the wives and mothers of Christian homes.

Of late a much larger proportion of the young men, than formerly, are studying medicine. Of the out-going class of this year there are those who purpose entering the professional schools at Harvard, Columbia, the University of Pennsylvania, and medical schools in Chicago. Without exception they purpose returning South for their life-work. Of course those who graduate from our institution are only a fraction of the great number who are shaped by its life. There are many who for financial reasons are unable to complete the course who have shown that they caught, while in Fisk, the spirit of the

institution, whose underlying principle is "education for service."

During the history of the institution there have been times when manual training was given; this was sustained by an appropriation, but the fund employed having been withdrawn, this department ceased to exist. All the money that could be secured was needed for the sustenance of the College and Normal Departments the output of which has been and is in instant demand.

In fact the economic conditions of the South are such, as will appear later in this chapter, that it would be unbusinesslike to diminish in the least the efficiency of our college work, while the many schools devoted to industrial training amply meet the demand for those who are to work in industrial lines in that portion of our land where the rewards for those who work with their hands are exceedingly meagre. It must not be understood in the least that I decry industrial training; on the other hand, as a source of mental development it is of great value to the college student, and I hope the day is not far away when, for this reason if for no other, Fisk can have a well-equipped industrial department. The two types of education are not antagonistic and can be made so only as those who are at the head of the different schools lack breadth of view.

Our only contention is that those who manage our educational institutions should so wisely interpret the economic conditions which suround them as to furnish the facilities to meet these conditions and, what is even more important, should never for a moment surrender faith in the capacity of any human being or yield to a spirit of cast which should shut the door of opportunity in the face of any bright mind and earnest soul.

I think it is rarely, however, understood in the North that economic and social conditions of the two sections of country are widely variant and hence that he alone can decide upon the type of education to be given to the Negro who has mastered the situation along these lines.

The chief asset of Fisk University is its student body, those who are upon the ground, and its Alumni. To one attending morning prayers in Livingstone Chapel a sight is met alike pathetic and inspiring. The capacious hall is crowded with a company from the Guinea black to the blue-eyed and red-cheeked Saxon, there are black Germans, Irish Negroes, while in the veins of some of the students flows the blood of the far-famed Southern aristocracy. They come from nearly thirty States and Territories. They have been attracted to Fisk much as the

young men and women of the United States are drawn to Yale and Harvard, Smith and Vassar. Varying motives bring them to Fisk but speedily they find themselves surrounded by an atmosphere of service, to be a factor in the development of a belated race becomes their ambition; not wealth, not place, but ability to lift up their fellows is the goal placed before them and few of those who receive the diploma of Fisk fail to reach this goal.

Some characteristics of the Negro race work greatly in our favor. They are rarely revengeful, ordinarily they are of a forgiving spirit. They have learned to endure suffering and obloquy, and as the years go by they are making manifest the persistence requisite to overcome the tremendous odds against them. I have often told a story narrated by one of our young men when he was urging his fellow students to use the very obstacles which they meet as stepping stones for their success. He said, "We must have the spirit of an old mule on my father's farm. He had out-lived his usefulness. Die he wouldn't and kill him we couldn't. We could not afford to keep him. It became a family problem what to do with him. One day in wandering about the pasture he fell into a dry well; we thought that Providence had solved the

question for us. We had no means to extricate him; the only alternative was to bury him alive. We gathered about the open well. Some tears were shed at his untimely end for he had been a faithful servant to the family. 'Bring the shovels,' said father, and the dirt began to fall upon his back. He trod it under his feet. More dirt fell, this he also trod under his feet until at last he came out on top, and there is where we are going to come."

The pluck and perseverance which will enable a young man to work twelve months in a year for three years in the academy, four in the college and four in the professional school is the marked characteristic of the boys and young men whom we are trying to train. Certainly with such material to work upon we have a right to insist upon it that they should have the education which they crave and by means of which they are to be fitted for the solution of the biggest problem which the United States has on hand.

We do not believe in the short cut to an education. "A little learning is a dangerous thing." It is the graduates of the lower grade schools, not of colleges, that make the so-called criminal classes against which Governors Vardiman and Jeff Davis inveigh in their tirade against Negro education. There has never been

a graduate of Fisk University, convicted of crime, within the walls of a penitentiary. We keep a very close tally of our hundreds of graduates. We publish their names and their occupations each year in a carefully prepared roster appended to the annual catalogue of our student body. We know therefore of what we speak from an experience of more than a generation, and with ample time to learn the legitimate effects of the higher education when we declare that the Negro of America, constituting one-tenth of the population of the United States and by virtue of the Constitution of our country, a citizen of America, has a right to the same kind of an education that is afforded to the other races and peoples who constitute our body politic.

There is something sublime in the magnificent way in which our young country seizes hold of the youth of the millions of immigrants to our shores and by means of the common schools and higher schools of learning fits them for citizenship. Rarely in the history of nations has been surpassed the training which we have given to the children of our antipodes falling to us as a legacy from a war with the belated Latin nations. Is it possible that a people believing in a square deal and in fair play are going to deny a tenth part of its population this boon,

so freely given to the stranger within our gates and the greater stranger across the sea, to those who have every claim upon us in view of the cruel treatment which they have received at our hands in the three hundred years of African slavery, simply and solely because of a race prejudice?

Is it possible that the United States of America is to accept as its code the sentiments belonging to a civilization out of date, unscientific, and unscriptural? Is there to be such a thing as cast in education in America? Is a Bourbon dynasty to be regnant in a republic? Shades of the Pilgrim Fathers, whose creed and life have shaped the destiny of the republic, rise in your might against your recreant sons who would tear away the foundations upon which our country rests, who would obliterate from the Word of God and the life of mankind, the brotherhood of man.

The scheme of education at Fisk includes in the Institution proper the grammar grades, a college preparatory, and a college normal, musical and theological departments. Connected with it and under its management is the Daniel Hand Training School.

This training school while affording an opportunity for Normal pupils to practice, gives

the children of the vicinage an elementary school shaped according to the latest approved theories of teaching. It employs many of the kindergarten methods in its lower grades and uses industrial methods in its upper grades. It implies a course of six years at the shortest.

Out of this school the grammar grades of the University secure their best equipped pupils. The lowest grade in the grammar school is the sixth. To enter this a candidate must be able to write a letter and punctuate it correctly, have completed the elementary geography, have a thorough knowledge of both common and decimal fractions, of what is equivalent to the work required in Milne's arithmetic, up to denominate numbers.

There are four grades in the grammar school. In order to pass from this school to the college preparatory or normal departments a pupil must have had a year in the essentials of algebra, two terms of Latin, a term of physical geography, and English history.

The college preparatory course includes three years, not merely the Latin, Greek and mathematics of the traditional schools of this name but such teaching in science and English literature as is adapted to pupils of the age ordinarily found in an academy.

In the college proper two courses are open to the pupils, one reaching the degree of A. B., the other B. S., the latter has no study of Greek and substitutes for this additional study of the sciences.

In the Junior preparatory year pupils instead of German can take a course in pedagogy including the practice of teaching in the training school.

A comprehensive movement is on foot to correlate with the work hitherto undertaken by the University instruction which may perhaps be best designated by the term applied science. This as we use the term, is an enlargement of our present instruction in the sciences. In chemistry, biology, histology, botany, and geology, as well as physics, our teaching force is to be increased by the co-operation of the John F. Slater Board, and thus the bearing of these varied sciences upon the life of the Negro as an agriculturist and home builder will be emphasized and especially will our large contigent of teachers be fitted to teach those who are to be the farmers and house builders and tradesmen of the succeeding generations.

This department will necessarily include some of the features of the distinctively industrial schools but they will be subsidiary to the main

purpose of the University, which is to train pupils who are to work along the lines for which the normal school and the college stand.

There will be farming and horticulture and some of the labors of the artisan and the tradesman, domestic science and the like, carried on under competent instructors who in turn, will be under the supervision of the professors of the college department. As soon as a building can be secured to house this department the institution will be able to carry forward strongly an undertaking that has long been desired by its management and which by the generous cooperation of the Slater Board can be now undertaken.

The normal department which affords literary instruction equivalent to the college preparatory course and two years in the college proper in addition to the specialization implied in normal training is becoming more and more a potent factor in the University. Its pupils to do justice to the course must have native ability and add to this attainments which enable them to work alongside the college students. The tendency which had become marked to have the normal department a kind of finishing school for young ladies after the type of the seminaries and academies for young women which have been

so greatly in evidence in the South has been arrested in our University and in place of this a severe training which shall fit the pupils of this department for the amazing opportunities which await the young Negro teacher has been aimed at and to a large degree attained.

Of the theological department little can be affirmed. Its graduates have been few. Until the past year its numbers have been very limited. It has taken on new life for a twelve month. Its future we hope will be more worthy of its broad foundations.

It aims to give an equipment to its pupils which will enable them to feel at home in any evangelical pulpit. It adapts itself to the probable constituency which they will be called upon to serve.

The musical department at Fisk is naturally a very important factor in the University. The most costly and imposing building upon the campus was erected by Jubilee Songs. The South no less than the North has learned of the value which is put upon musical training in Fisk University. The underlying principle of the department is in accord with the familiar maxim, "Give me the songs of a people and I care not who makes the laws." This, true of every people, is peculiarly true of the Negro. Full of

rhythm and melody he delights in music of every form. Naturally by his environment acquainted with crude types of music it has been found that with rapidity and ease a love for the best classical music is secured. Moreover much of the so called rag-time music is composed to arouse the baser passions. To perpetuate it is to multiply incentives to vice. The surest and most direct way to eradicate it is to create and perpetuate a love for the highest and best in music.

A race which in its Jubilee Songs has produced genuine American music, original in its structure and pleasing alike to all not only in America but also across the sea, has a right to a peculiar recognition in the value of music and should be encouraged to utilize this art for its own mental and moral advancement and for the delight of those to whom their songs so amazingly appeal. It may be added that the graduates of our musical department are in great demand. Twenty times their number could find instant employment.

It is in view of these underlying principles of our school that I would briefly present as my main contention: An American education for Americans.

There are three axioms underlying my theme:

First.— Every boy and girl of school age in the United States has a right to an education that will fit him for citizenship.

Second.— Each generation in America is responsible for the education of the succeeding generation.

Third.— Property in the United States should be taxed to support the schools which lie at the foundation of true prosperity in the Republic.

America goes even farther than this, as is seen in the public opinion that impels men of means to endow schools and colleges to an extent that would make Crœsus envious.

I do not know of a more magnificent sight than the array of figures that represent the millions upon millions which have been given by American millionaires to afford opportunities for an education, such as few of them had, to the generations to come in our land which is already a rival to the lands that have had centuries the start of ours in the matter of educational facilities.

But the above factors in our problem are not equally potent in all portions of our land. The civilization of our beautiful Southland has a different type from that of the North and West.

The Cavalier and the Puritan, a community of cities and villages and one more rural in its nature will take on different forms and it is not surprising that before the war none of the principles which I have enumerated above held sway in the South.

But we have now a New South. Manufactories are springing up on every hand and village and city life follow. The freeing of the slave has vastly increased the number of those entitled to an education. The sentiment of the South fits itself in to the new order of things and the common school has among its best friends the public spirited men and women of that portion of the land which is coming to the front with rapid strides in the opening years of the new century.

Another set of axioms underlie my theme:

First.— The same degree and kind of schooling should not be given to all.

Second.— While the common school education should be afforded to all, manual training and technical, so far as possible, should be given to those who because of natural gifts or anticipated opportunities can make use of them.

Third.— The Higher Education should be afforded those who have the mental equipment to acquire it and when educated to use it.

Here as you can readily see come in two matters that lie at the root of the widely diverse opinions concerning the education of the Afro-Americans.

One of these opinions is based upon prejudice. The man of the South can not conceive of the ability of the children of ex-slaves being a match to that of the children of ex-masters. The man of the North is holding to the doctrine of human brotherhood and his interpretation of the Declaration of Independence has expected of those who did not have the heredity of an educated ancestry achievements which can only be attained by the training of centuries. Fortunately we live in an age when men who differ in their views are not for this reason enemies. Prejudice no longer rules all the people and the North and the South are to a larger extent than ever before seeing eye to eye in this matter. Within the last month Dr. Booker T. Washington before a crowded audience in the most fashionable church in Boston made a magnificent plea for the Higher Education of the Negro. He declared that to say that the Industrial School alone should be opened for the Negro was an insult to his race and cast a slight upon the type of education of which he is the unmatched champion while to-day in the

city of Nashville the men who represent the best things socially, educationally, and in a business way, endorse enthusiastically and unequivocally Fisk University which, through thick and thin, has stood for the highest education possible for the Negro, while, moreover, as I have before intimated, it can be said that the man is both benighted and belated who does not know that the Afro-American has the mental ability and moral determination ample to take on the best schooling that the proudest Universities of America can give.

The second of the opinions that divide the people of our country is based upon ignorance of the economic conditions which affect this educational problem. This ignorance is not confined to any one section of our country. It prevails in the North as well as in the South. A bit of experience can illustrate the state of affairs at the North. I called to see a leading citizen of Philadelphia, a lawyer, a man who has no superior in educational circles and a life-long friend of the Negro. "I would like," said I, "to talk with you concerning the Negro problem with which my University has to do." The man in a gentlemanly manner, but none the less decidedly, made me feel that he had given the matter much more thought than I had, telling

me, as he did, that for reasons that he would not give he had an acute interest in all that pertained to the uplifting of the Negro. "I made up my mind," he said, "some years ago that I would give two bright colored boys a college and professional education. I fitted one for law and the other for medicine. Three years after they had graduated one was a barber and the other a porter in a Pullman car. I concluded that a man could make up berths without studying conic sections and could shave his customers without Blackstone. From that time I have given all that I could spare of my means to maintain a hospital for crippled colored children in Philadelphia."

I have told this incident to many an audience in the North and have seen an expression go over the faces of nearly all present which said, that man's head is level. It is of no use to give the Negro college and professional education. He can not use it.

Another incident shows the ignorance of the man living in the South. A friend of mine who has lived in Nashville for ten years was calling at my house and in the course of the conversation I told him of the achievements of the graduates of Fisk in the city of Nashville. I have rarely seen a more astonished man. The col-

ored people that he knew were the cook in his kitchen, the boy who waited on his table and the laborers in his mill. The others were the loafers on the street corners and the crowd on the electrics. Were he ill he would not think of inquiring into the skill of the Negro physicians, who are gaining a most enviable reputation as practitioners, so enviable as to be employed by many white people. Did he have a case in court and want a lawyer he would be equally ignorant of the attainments and successes of the Negro lawyers. He never dreamed that Nashville has a colored dentist whose income is to a very large extent from the white people who employ him. He had never visited a public school taught as well by a force of Negro teachers as are any of the white public schools of the city and whose pupils on the days of promotion are advanced in a ratio fully equal to that of the white pupils. He had never been in a bank where a graduate of Oberlin and a grandson of the first Negro lawyer of the United States is cashier and Negroes own all the stock and direct all of its affairs. He had not hired as fine a livery team as Nashville affords, of a Negro liveryman, and, may he long be spared calling upon an undertaker, but when he does, if he wants to be buried

in style he could, if he wished, employ not only the proprietor of one of the largest undertaking establishments in the city and what is more the owner of one of the best-cared-for cemeteries of the capital of Tennessee, a Negro.

It has often been said that those only knew of the situation of affairs in the South, as far as the educated Negro is concerned, who because their work has been challenged so sharply both North and South, have taken the pains to ascertain the facts of the case.

The fact is that the economic conditions south of the Mason and Dixon line are such that *the graduate of a negro college has a more favorable chance to use his education than does the average white graduate North or South.* Here comes in the law of supply and demand, a law as inevitable in its working as the law of gravitation. A white boy fitted to practice medicine faces a situation that as a rule makes it necessary for him to go through years of starvation and after that how very few get a practice that is lucrative. On the other hand the young colored doctor can hang out his shingle in our Southland with the assurance that almost anywhere he can find such a practice as will afford him a comfortable living. He can not, to be sure, look forward to the receiving $50,000 fees, such as one

in fifty thousand of the white doctors can aspire to, but more and more as the social separation between the whites and the blacks of the South increases and the colored people become more loyal to their own, will the Negro doctor have occasion to thank God that he was born black.

The same principle holds in the case of the Negro teacher. Theoretically there ought to be ten openings to the one he now has in the case of every college trained colored teacher. When our schools get out of the hands of the politicians and into the hands of the educators this will be true and the signs of the times point in this direction and will point more decidedly so so long as such men as Superintendent Mynders, of Tennessee, hold office. Even under the present condition of things the law of supply and demand works in favor of the black race. Fisk University has to employ white teachers because it cannot afford to hire colored ones. Our graduates step at once into positions that command better salaries than their teachers receive. The same is true of the druggist. So long as, in the white drug store, the colored man can not "treat" his fiancée, so long will the pharmacist who can with his drugs sell the beverage that is so highly esteemed by the young people be in evidence.

In all these matters the one law prevails, that of supply and demand. And this has sway because of social conditions that to us seem unfair. Here as elsewhere our Heavenly Father restrains the wrath of man and causes it to work for good to those against whom harm was intended.

If the conditions which prevail in the North had prevailed through the South I can not see how it would have been possible to have escaped the perpetuation of servile employment on the part of all colored people that so largely obtains there. In the North we have one Maria Baldwin; in the South many men and women hold positions of equal honor and emolument. Where are the clergymen of the North who have churches of the size and influence of a great number of the pastors of colored churches in the South? Dixie is the land where the Negro is to win his spurs. In the midst of his own troubles he is to find among his own people the successes that have been won by the leaders of other races.

I must be pardoned for dwelling thus at length upon the economic situation as, because of ignorance in this direction, many men have held that the Negro race was to afford an exception to the cardinal principles of education which have shaped the destiny of America.

There can be no doubt to a candid mind alive

to the great principles of human fraternity which underlie our Republic that *so long as Science, Scripture, and the Constitution of the United States unite in declaring the manhood of the African, so long is he entitled to all the education that is granted by public taxation to the most favored youth of the community in which he resides.*

Finally American Education in its inception included culture of heart and soul no less than of mind. I am sorry to confess that for many years the tendency has been toward the culture of the mind and body leaving in the background character. If I am not mistaken a return to the original type is begun and, at the time when the Afro-American is coming into the kingdom of letters, that type of education which his religious nature craves is beginning to be emphasized. They are regarded as the best teachers who by precept and example can best equip their pupils for such citizenship as can come alone through the training of the heart as well as the head and hand.

Here is found the mission of all those schools among us which, without sectarian bias but with Christian zeal, are sending forth, from year to year, the young people who are to mould into Christian citizenship our Negro youth. In the

great temple of education being builded in America there is a place to be filled by those who have come into possession of many traits of character which more favored people have lost and which the state must have if it is to be a part of the on-coming kingdom of righteousness. I look for the present century to disclose in the United States of America a contribution to culture and character which can come alone through the education of Afro-America.

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